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CONTENTS

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INVOKING THE MONSOON

Bolsla Mangai I

Artist: Anant Da Gupta

Founded by—**RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE**

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NOTES

Bankruptcy, Starvation and Defencelessness

India is not actually bankrupt but the fear of bankruptcy assails the heart of the rulers of India. We would refer to Sri Krishnamachari's recent statement that while he was there India was not going to be bankrupt. Such a statement cannot be made in an uncalled for manner and one may assume that doubts are creeping into our minds as to the solvency of India. The rupee, they say, now has a purchasing power equal to one sixth of its pre-war value. This is quite obvious from the price of rice and other foodstuff. Meat is now sold at a price which is about seven times what it sold for before the war. Fish, when available sells at seven, eight or ten times its pre-war value. An eight anna piece of sweet looks like an anna size pre-war piece. Before the war a cotton suit cost anything from twelve to twenty-five rupees. Today the same suit will be sold for a hundred to two hundred rupees. Shoes cost forty to eighty rupees a pair and a dozen roses may sell for five rupees. Books that sold for eight annas now cost four or five rupees and a loaf of bread costs a rupee. Rents are twenty times higher than in 1939. One could go on in this manner to prove that the rupee has fallen in purchasing power to an extent which causes alarm. Land sells at Calcutta or Bombay at prices which are fantastic. Thirty, forty or fifty times the pre-war rates. Wages, naturally, have gone up by ten or

fifteen times and, yet the wage-earners have less than a bare minimum of existence. Middle class people live like the unskilled workers of the thirties and unemployment stalks the land in an uncontrolled manner. Industries are the passion of our rulers and they tax the people to devastation so that industries may be set up; but industries cannot run smoothly for want of machinery, raw materials, skilled workers and orders at a steady price. There is something very wrong with the State of India and those who flounder in nameless ecstasy in the mess they have made, know not what is wrong. But they have not the honesty to call the nation to conference to discover methods of recovering economic health. They find time, and plenty of it, and foreign exchange to visit other lands to make inane gestures in the field of international relations. Internally India is in a position which may not be called bankruptcy yet, but her economy is suffering strains and stresses in various directions and showing ominous symptoms of falling to pieces. In such a situation her international trade cannot flourish. If foreign buyers obtain only Rs. 13.6, which is the official rate of exchange, per pound (sterling), their purchase of Indian goods will be naturally at an exorbitant price on account of the rupee's vanishing buying power. They will only buy Indian goods if exports are subsidised by our Government, which perhaps is done by the State Trading Corporation by quot-

ing deflated prices to foreign buyers. But there is a limit to such subsidies and we believe the exchange earning power of India through exports is not commensurate with her production of exportable commodities. Her production of such goods is also hampered by want of imported components, machinery and parts. Bankruptcy in the sense of a tottering economy is therefore a fact which cannot be side stepped by the Congress leaders by the simple expedient of going abroad very frequently. That causes a waste of foreign exchange which is preventible.

India imports food. In case of war this import will stop automatically and as many people will die of starvation as are now kept alive by imported food. This is a very dangerous position for a nation with nearly five hundred million people. There is constant talk about population control but with about 75% illiteracy, the talk is only for keeping departments and jobs in existence. There must be other methods of population control than press and radio propaganda which communicates the advantages and the urgency of this matter to only those few who can read and listen in. Food production must be increased at a rate which will soon give us the quantities of edibles that we require to be self-sufficient. Fish, poultry and other live stock have not been fully exploited. Dairy farming too has been neglected. These must be stimulated and encouraged by supply of stock in a village-wise fashion. A few Haringhatas or Anands will not feed the millions who will starve to death at some future date. Statesmanship is founded on the powers of anticipation that the Statesmen have. Anticipation is dependent upon enlightened imagination, which in its turn draws its nourishment from education. Our leaders are not famous for their education and training. They have had greatness thrust upon them by their Party organisation. But in times of emergency a nation has to have trained men who can deliver the goods. There are such men available in India but not among those who live by hero worship and wait to become heroes themselves.

Training naturally directs our thoughts to warfare, for India is harassed by enemies on all sides and she requires trained soldiers to defend her borders. These men cannot be found through political party agents. During the NEFA emergency not many, if any, Congress men joined the army navy or the air force. The superannuated leaders of course were unfit to join the forces but they had sons and grandsons. How many of these younger men volunteered to fight for National defence? In Europe or America the sons of the highest social or economic classes join the forces in times of national emergency. Our V.I.Ps, both political and commercial, do not share these patriotic emotions with their counterparts in other lands. Our patriotism as noticed in the political and commercial classes is of a gainful nature. There is no spirit of sacrifice in it. The nation cannot afford to lionise those who are not lions in courage and strength. One may think that a lion is recognised by the fact of its share of the national wealth. Sometimes one finds a lion's skin draped on a lesser animal to dupe the spectator. These regrettable human subterfuges cause untold suffering and humiliation to the peoples of the world.

Membership of Political Parties

A political party in India is like an exclusive club of which membership can be obtained only with the approval of the leading members of the party. Any applicant can be "black balled", that is refused admission if he is not popular with the leaders of the party. This exclusiveness has been intensified since political parties have discovered its profit potential. The profit is not necessarily in money. Parties in power can grant selected members highly paid jobs, powerful positions, business opportunities, and all sorts of desirable privileges. So that men do naturally seek the membership of political parties in order to achieve their business objectives and personal ambition. Now that the elections are approaching and the Congress is hoping to be returned to power membership of the Congress is

coveted by many. We cannot say that the memberships are being granted to persons who can buy them; but we can say that many are being refused membership for reasons which are known only to those who have the privilege of choosing new members. In a democracy all nationals are considered equal and all should have equal rights, opportunities and freedom to aspire. The political parties functioning in a democracy should also be open to all who fulfilled the terms and conditions of membership. A democratic party should not be like a Close Shop Trade Union. If the parties became too exclusive, democracy will suffer and the party system will slowly but surely become oligarchical and exploitative.

Sandesh

There have been notices in the press that the manufacture of **Sandesh** will be prohibited. **Sandesh** is prepared from casein and sugar and the reason for its proposed abolition is that 3000 maunds of milk is used up daily for making the casein. If this milk is conserved it can be used for drinking purposes by large numbers of children. We suppose more milk is used by tea drinkers than by **Sandesh** eaters and we know that tea drinking is a bad habit while **Sandesh** is a first class food. The late Sir Nilratan Sircar who was one of the World's greatest physicians considered **Sandesh** to be of great nutritional value. Many have been the people suffering from loss of health who were prescribed **Sandesh** by Sir Nilratan Sircar. One particular variety of **Sandesh** was named **Daktari Pak** on account of the fact that Sir Nilratan Sircar laid down the rules for its preparation. **Sandesh** is not a mere luxury. It is a food article of great dietetic value. It must not be subjected to prohibition like wines and spirit or other articles which do not benefit the consumers. The best way to obtain 3000 maunds of milk per day is to get about 10000 good cows. The City of Calcutta is rich enough to organise a few more dairies which can produce all the milk that its inhabitants can consume. That which causes the maximum of inconvenience and discomfort to the people is not necessarily the best and the most effective solution of social problems.

Dirty Currency Notes

It has always been the practice with note issuing banks to withdraw from circulation all currency notes which were damaged, discoloured and about to fall to pieces due to wear and tear. Indian currency notes were also issued or withdrawn according to this principle. But during last several months currency notes in India have assumed such a dirty and moth eaten appearance that quite often one has payments refused on account of the appearance of the currency notes that one pays with. The reason for this highly objectionable state of affairs is perhaps the same old conservation of foreign exchange. India has to buy the paper for her currency notes from foreign countries and has no foreign money to buy the paper with. So India has to reissue the dirtiest and filthiest currency notes over and over again. This foreign exchange business is slowly reducing India to a condition in which it will only be possible for the most backward type of people to live in India. The better types will die out due to lack of proper amenities of existence. Only those who can remain alive without proper food, proper clothing, proper housing, proper medical aid, proper schools, playgrounds and recreations; and with endless dirt, disease and discomfort will continue to live. Survival of the worst will be the order. The Chinese once said that if due to atomic war the peoples of the world mostly died out, the few survivors will be Chinese, they being the largest in number among all nations. These Chinese will then repeople the Earth with a pure Chinese population. After India has achieved socialism by her Spartan methods of toughening up the population with no food or adulterated food, rags for clothes, hovels and kennels for houses, distilled water for medicine, no education, no foreign travel, no delicacies to keep alive the physical and mental tastes

which constitute civilisation; we believe India will have no "soft" living persons left. India will then be a land of the ascetics who wear no clothes or very little, eat bovine or equine food, use no soap nor toilet goods and buy no furniture, crockery, cutlery, linen or art objects. It would then be like a vast **Ashram**, only, unfortunately, there will be a great concourse of factories built under the serially endless plans.

Algeria

The Algerian fight for freedom began many years ago. But the first organised battles against the French took place in the early Fifties of this Century. In 1958 the first free Algerian Government was formed. Algeria thereafter continued to be in a state of agitation until President de Gaulle took action in the early sixties to give Algeria a stable Government. On 3 July 1962 President de Gaulle proclaimed the independence of Algeria and on the 25th of September of the same year the National Assembly elected Ferhat Abbas President and Ahmed Ben Bella Prime Minister. On the 15th September 1963 a national referendum made Ben Bella President and Prime Minister. Col. Honan Boumedienne was Ben Bella's Defence Minister. He remained true to his Chief for a little less than two years and has now captured power by a **Coup d'Etat** which has not yet consolidated and taken a firm footing. The Chinese recognised the new Government with indecent speed and laid themselves open to charges of being in league with Col. Boumedienne. Algeria is a fairly civilised country physically in so far as she has 12 cities with large populations, a University with about 7000 students and numerous schools. She has 146 public hospitals with 40000 beds, 1200 doctors, 449 dentists etc., etc. There are lower Courts, higher Courts and a Supreme Court. After Algeria became free and formed a relatively stable Government the USSR granted her a loan of £36 million and China £18 million. The Algerian air force uses Mig-15 jet-fighters of Soviet design. Other planes are also of Soviet

design. In these circumstances and in view of the relations existing between the USSR and the Peoples' Republic of China one may easily conclude that the Sino-Russian squabble for ascendancy over under-developed countries is at the root of this new revolution. Just as Humanitarianism is debased and takes the shape of international power politics, so does patriotism degenerate and go down into the cess pool of competition for money or power. A military **Coup** is by its very nature anti-democratic and dictatorial. The Chinese love military **coups** for her own Government is dominated by a fighter General. Her ally Pakistan is another military dictatorship. Indonesia, N. Vietnam are no better. Those nations which love liberty and equality cannot be swayed emotionally by China. Individuals and small anti-social gangs may find a hope for greater adventure by associating with the Chinese. The Shastri Government have done very well by keeping away from Algeria and we congratulate the Prime Minister for his last minute decision which we sincerely hope he will stick to.

Pakistan Fights

The history of Pakistan is interesting from the military angle in so far as this new born offspring of imperial malice generated in a Fleet Street Test Tube by British inventors, fought her war of independence in street riots with daggers, clasp knives, acid bulbs, soda water bottles etc., etc. Hooligans were engaged by politicians who, perhaps, obtained funds from the British and stabbing affrays were the main features of this "war". A few hundred thousand men, women and children died in these riots. The men were mostly beggars and low paid carriers of loads and the women and children were such as were temporarily undefended. The British controlled Indian police moved away from all places where the soldiers of Pakistan got the upper hand and they turned up with lightening speed wherever Indians could assemble in sufficient numbers to fight the hooligans. This

type of warfare has no name. The Pakistanis call it **Zihad** but that is a slur on those great soldiers of Islam who fought the crusaders. Men who kill defenceless women and children by stabbing and other foul means cannot be called soldiers and their crime is not fit to be called a battle. It was killing in a cowardly, insidious and criminal manner. In guerrilla warfare soldiers fight soldiers. The various resistance movements occasionally called for killing persons of military importance but not beggars, women and children. We shall not therefore try to give a name to the Pakistani style of warfare as we found it fought in the back lanes of Indian cities before the partition of India. Since independence and the partition, Pakistan has got a status in the world of nations. Her soldiers wear uniform and are members of a regular army, navy and air force. Apparently Pakistan has a recognised government and embassies in civilised courts. But her military ethics has not changed. She still tries to achieve political ends by letting loose her hooligans in the dress of soldiers of a nation which the world expects to have a sense of decorum and national prestige. These hooligans shoot off their guns and fire mortar shells at people who are at peace with Pakistan. Whenever possible the soldiers of Pakistan forcibly move into Indian territory, steal cattle, loot the property of poor peasants or build outposts in order to claim these places as Pakistan territory.

Pakistan's moral sense has surely not come out of the holy **Quoran** and no conclave of **Maulavis** will ever condone the actions of Ayub Khan from the stand point of Islamic ethics. Yet Pakistan goes on, hand in hand, with the usurpers who ousted the Dalai Lama from the Theocratic kingdom of Tibet. Communism, Islam and the American way of life have found a friendly meeting ground in Rawalpindi. The monarchical Commonwealth of the British is providing background music for the farcical performances indulged in by the U.S.A., China and Pakistan. We could laugh at it but one requires a very desperately coura-

geous sense of humour to laugh at bullets, mortar shells, the threat of nuclear bombs and of stoppage of food supplies. Then we are progressively going deeper into a financial mess and hoping to be fished out of it by the Anglo-Americans who do not particularly love us. The hooligans are experts at beating up the minorities in Pakistan and to push them out of their ancestral homes. They have, in this manner, dispossessed millions of Hindus, Buddhists and Christians and driven them out of Pakistan. These people have entered India to seek a home. They bring with them little handfuls of the earth of their ancestral home land to remember the homes that have been taken away from them by brute force. They mix this with the soil of their new homes. So, Pakistan has an army of hooligans in uniform which fights in plain clothes too with civilian collaborators against her own nationals! This hired hooliganism has become a national characteristic of the Pakistanis and they are now beginning to hire themselves out on a national scale to the U.S.A., Great Britain or even to China for a consideration. A mercenary nation of more than a hundred million people is a source of danger to the world. For though Pakistan now fights India in the back lane stab-and-kill style, she may be induced someday by interested nations to make the attack in force. Unscrupulous leaders with no sense of morality or even national integrity and honour can turn vicious any time and without provocation. Pakistan does not lack such leaders. We do not know what our External Affairs Ministry do to enlighten the civilised nations of the world about this danger to world peace. Apparently nothing which has succeeded in its aim.

Foreign Exchange and Education

Foreign Exchange shortage has taken us back a hundred years. For in spite of modern travel facilities Indians can no longer visit foreign lands unless they could wangle their way into a committee, delegation, team of observers or some such thing approved of by the Ministry of Finance,

who appear to know what is good for us in the way of contact with the outside world. They know, for instance, that individual Indians, not connected with the Government or its various appendages, offsprings and feeder organisations, have no reason to visit foreign countries. An artist, a historian, an economist or a person well-versed in music, drama and literature cannot just want to go over and spend a few months in the British Museum, the Vatican Galleries, the Louvre, the Bibliothéque Nationale, the Pitti, Uffizzi or Dresden art galleries and go about among the sights of Egypt, Rome and Greece. For that will not, according to the Ministry of Finance, increase our exports or national output of steel, copper, machine tools or something else. The Ministry will also not approve of anyone going to foreign universities for the study of "Art subjects", that is History, Economics, Classical and Modern Languages, Philosophy, Linguistics, Political Science or Law. Science subjects are good for the nation's economy. A man studying nuclear physics, astronomy, paleontology, genetics or hibernation among rodents will immediately increase our exports, our production potential and revenues. Study of Humanities were an essential part of I.C.S. training. Good administrators have to have a broad and comprehensive outlook which specialised knowledge in Chemistry cannot by itself produce. But we shall be told by the Ministry of Finance Humanities can be taught in India. We agree, but so can the sciences be learnt in our Universities. Not to that degree of excellence; will be the Ministry's reply. We shall also say that, English, French, German or Russian cannot be learnt very well in India. Nor can one learn History, Linguistics, Economics, etc., to that degree of excellence in this country. Apart from that, there is such a thing as the finishing of one's education by foreign travel and by mixing with University Dons and students of other lands.

In any case, if we have not enough foreign exchange to allow all who want to go abroad for higher studies freedom to do

so; let us lay down rules restricting such travel and studies abroad in a sensible manner. Let there be standards which the students must attain in all subjects that they have studied in order to qualify for foreign study. Let not hide bound red tape mongers decide who should study abroad and who should not. And there must be standards too for qualifying for just foreign travel for grown up persons. Scholars, Writers, Administrators, Artists, Musicians, Dramatists and others should attain certain recognised standards in their sphere of work to qualify for travels abroad. Universities, learned societies, recognised associations, etc., can easily determine who are the best and the most representative men and women in their particular lines of work. They can thereafter go abroad in greater or lesser numbers for longer or shorter periods according to the funds which the Ministries can allocate for this purpose. But in no circumstances should Governmental departments be given the power to decide who will travel or go for higher studies and who will not. For that will be the end of Civil Liberties.

Mt. Everest, Climbed Again

There is justifiable criticism of the British habit of naming well-known geographical features according to their wish. They have not named **Kanchenjunga** or **Nanda Devi** after one of their civil servants or soldiers but they have named the highest peak of the Himalayas after one such person on the ground that the height of the peak was first measured by an Indian assistant of his department. The Indians certainly had noticed this peak and named it too. So had the Nepalese and the Tibetans. The Indian name of the Peak is Gouri Shankar or Gouri Shringa, but the Indian Government has not taken the trouble to insist upon giving it the right name. Not that they do not care for such mundane matters. They have named practically everything worth naming after their own fashion and without reference to the history of the places, states, roads, etc.

However, what's in a name? Let us refer to this well-known Peak as Everest. The main point is that an Indian team of mountaineers have climbed it four times in one expedition. This is a feat which has not been equalled by any other nation and is an achievement worth recording and being proud of. India does not hold a very enviable position now in the world of politics, economic development, sports, scholarship, military achievements or anything else that matters internationally. This exceptional feat of climbing has clearly put India in a leading position and we are proud of those strong, tenacious and disciplined men who have achieved this great feat. Let our politicians try to emulate this example set by Kohli (The leader who did not climb to the top), Gyatso, Gombu, Cheema, Vora, Angkani, Wangyal, Rawat, Ahluwalia and Dorji and begin to achieve things rather than to waste their time and the country's finances in aimless movements which somehow leave us in no better a position in any sense than before. Internationally we have now first places in Hockey and Mountaineering. Hockey has suffered from politics at times, but mountaineering, so far, has not been tainted. Let us hope our brave climbers will forever keep clear of those who bring politics into everything and create difficulties for those who can make this nation strong, great and progressive.

Castro Condemns Boumedienne

Dr. Castro, Prime Minister of Cuba, has declared that Ben Bella "is the leader of the Algerian People". "He holds a historic position", says Dr. Castro, in the fight for independence carried on by the Algerians for many years. Dr. Castro condemned Col. Boumedienne who was the Defence Minister in the Ben Bella Government and organised a military **Coup** to get rid of Ben Bella. Whether Col. Boumedienne had any support from the people of Algeria or whether he carried out his **Coup** with foreign assistance and for a purpose which cannot be nationally advantageous to the people of Algeria,

is not clear yet. But one has noticed the undue eagerness that China, Pakistan and Indonesia have displayed in "putting things in order" in Algeria. They have now taken a lead in "Postponing" the Algerian conference to November 1965, though they have been opposing the idea all along. Actually, the explosion of a bomb at the Conference venue by pro-Ben Bella people and the strong attitude adopted by the African nations and India forced Pakistan, China and Indonesia to sneak out of their previous anti-postponement position in a manner hardly in keeping with political dignity. Pakistan and China, no doubt feel exhilarated if they can do some dirty work; but their interference in the internal affairs of other nations in order to build up an international front with China and France at two extremes, is dirty work of the first degree. This Algerian **Coup** must be examined carefully by capable students of politics to find out what secret hands helped Boumedienne. In the crime novels that used to be written before China became a powerful nation militarily the villains were always impressive looking pseudo mandarins in silk robes. They sneaked into courts, palaces and embassies with snakelike ease and committed murders or abductions with a rare audacity. The fact that a Chinese dignitary walked into Marlborough House during the Commonwealth Conference and collared the Pakistani Foreign Minister to induce him to act according to Chinese dictation, shows up the criminal effrontery of the Chinese. The British too appeared to be too meek and obliging to be truly disinterested. Or what prevented them from throwing the Chinaman out when he entered Marlborough House?

It seems that international politics will now adopt the cloak and dagger method for "negotiating" treaties, loans and **ententes**. The American gangsters of the bootlegging days are now doing small time jobs in landing queer cargo in queer places and bumping off stray persons of not very great importance. But they may have a greater future if they took part in the Pakistan-China type of politics on a large enough

scale. There is a growing scope for murders in the political field. We have not forgotten the "War" that Pakistan fought to attain "freedom". Her men had their inspiration from the goondas. We do not know what happened in China. The hooligans of Indonesia have a fairly important position. North Korea, North Vietnam are also active in this type of unprincipled behaviour. Secret societies and gangsters will surely not miss this opportunity.

Vietnam and Vietcong

The Indian Government is run in a manner which would appear like a fantasy to those who did not know about our relations with the World at large. We have been like an aged spinster aunt to all nations since 1947. We give an opinion on all matters that do not concern us and volunteer our suggestions for the solution of all problems of which the true dimensions are quite unknown to us. Vietcong is fighting Vietnam with Chinese support and Vietnam is defending her territory with American assistance. If Vietcong can wipe out Vietnam and force a Communist Government upon the people of that area: the Chinese will become all powerful in S.E. Asia. It is bad for India to allow China to grow in strength. Yet we want China to win in so far as the Vietcong forces are a branch of the Chinese army. If the Americans go on blasting the Vietcong bases, the Chinese should do something about it. They may for instance attack the American bases out in the Pacific. If they cannot do so, they lose face and the people of South East Asia will realise that the Chinese are not strong enough to attack the Americans. If the Chinese allow Vietcong to call in the Russians, then again the Chinese lose their prestige in Asia. The Russians and Americans may come to a settlement about the Vietcong-Vietnam squabble. That will damage China's position very badly. Her bid for Asian leadership will then end ignominiously. All this is very well-known to us. Yet our leaders go out of their way to meddle in other people's affairs in an uncalled for fashion.

Defence of India

The defence of India depends on the protection of our frontiers. It also depends on the protection of the entire home territory which may be made unsafe by the activities of enemy fifth columnists, insurgents hoping to bring off a revolution to overthrow the Government established by law and by such other peoples as try to undermine the Nation's strength, and prestige in various ways. We find that our frontiers have been violated and our territory occupied by enemy forces at many places. On the Tibetan frontier the Chinese have occupied large tracts of India territory by force and they have not actually vacated all that they had occupied. There is also a sort of mystery about our sovereignty in the NEFA where our armed forces cannot move about freely right up to our frontier. We may be mistaken, but we think our Government are carrying out the orders of the Chinese, in a manner of speaking, in certain parts of India's national territory. The Chinese have also acted in a similar manner in the Ladakh region. We do not know how far our troop movements in that area are restricted by Chinese threat of military action; but we have a fear that the Chinese are lording it over us in certain parts of Ladakh too. They have also taken over entirely portions of Kashmir from Pakistan by a friendly arrangement. Pakistan had forcibly occupied a large slice of Kashmir long ago and they stuck to their illicit gains in spite of all appeals, correspondence, diplomatic negotiations, intervention by the U.N. and neutral countries; by which means the late Pandit Nehru defended India. Pakistan had occupied little bits and pieces of Indian territory in other places too and the Government of India had not been able to do much about these acts of aggression. The latest act of invasion was committed in Kutch. Pakistan occupied certain places in Kutch, made fun of the fighting capacity of the Indian Army and sat tight while the American Press cooed gleefully at this display of Dictatorial strength against a Democracy. The

latest position in Kutch is delightfully vague and nobody knows quite clearly which part of Kutch was, would be or should be Indian territory. This vagueness is advantageous to Pakistan.

The Government's defence of India on the Bazar front is much stronger than on the military front. Here the Government have routed and made "Prisoners of war" of a number of Dalwallahs and others who sold food in the black market. In the various sub-sectors of this front, viz., the Rice salient, the Mustard oil line of actual control and the Fish infiltration zones, Government forces have captured much munitions of war. The enemy have made air attacks with gold, diamonds, cultured pearls, transisters and swiss watches but some of these para-troopers have been caught. In fact the defence of India is being very actively pursued on this front due to the constitutional lull on the battle-fields which are in enemy hands.

Punishment and Reward

The time honoured system of punishment for not getting things done and rewards for good work still remains operative and all governments in the civilised world punish and reward their officers to keep up the efficiency of their departments. If anything goes wrong the American will immediately ask, "Have they sacked him?" meaning, of course, the person responsible for the failure. In India we have started numerous departments which do all kinds of work which during British days were left to the gods. Today the Govt., have undertaken food supply, medical aid, education, irrigation, economic development, electrification, supply of gas, oil drilling and a host of other things on a grand scale and the work is carried on with borrowed money. Famines on an imperial scale have now become unknown and generally speaking things somehow get done sometime before total collapse. Efficiency, reliability, precision, punctuality and proper standards have not been achieved. The reason is that no one

"gets the sack" in government departments, particularly the top men, for failure to get things done according to the standards, dates, costs, quantities, etc., laid down. If a survey is made departmentwise of all failures and of the punishments meted out to those responsible for the same; it will be probably found that the Leaders and the Ministers have protected the people deserving punishment. This protection racket stretches to extramural regions and all sorts of anti-social people are benefitted by it. Good men are usually ignored so that the useless and evil elements can live happily. Recently a large number of rice godowns were found waterlogged in a low-lying part of Calcutta and thousands of maunds of rice got damaged. Who built these godowns in such a place? Who sanctioned it with their eyes shut and without enquiry? Will anybody be punished?

For the Good of the People?

The present age is by no means the most peaceful period in Man's history. During the last one hundred years more major wars, minor wars, battles, revolutions, mutinies, rebellions, *coup d'etats*, rioting and civil commotions have taken place everywhere in the world than ever before. It all began for liberty, equality and the freedom of the peoples of the world. The world, no doubt, was full of injustice, persecution, exploitation, slavery and the immoralities of the social order that offended our Humanity and many of the upheavals and the consequent losses of life and property were actually useful for establishing Human Rights on a surer foundation. But as time passed vested interests began to grow in the field of democracy, socialism and freedom too. This man, that group or those groups of people were antagonistic to some other man or cliques of men on grounds of faith, belief or opinion, often of a make-believe type and there were fights, assassinations, revolutions and what not. The great wars of 1914 and 1939 were not people's wars in any sense of the term at least to begin with. The Russian Revolu-

tion was and so were many of the post-war revolutions. But these were followed up by "palace" intrigues and coups which were not for the good of the people but for the benefit of ambitious power hunters.

The recent capture of power in Algeria by Col. H. Boumedienne is a good example of this sort of power hunting mixed, with international power politics. Boumedienne's usurpation of power and removal of Ben Bella was carried out with the assistance of persons who were not Algerian patriots. We do not know who they were. There may have been even mercenaries paid by foreigners interested in the removal of Ben Bella. The character of the deposed leader and his undoubted patriotic zeal make it quite clear that he was no oppressor nor exploiter of his people. His people loved him. He also trusted Col. Boumedienne and made him the Defence Minister of Algeria. Boumedienne must have taken an oath of office too and had been working in the government of which Ben Bella was at the head. Then Boumedienne suddenly discovered Ben Bella was not a good man. World opinion is largely in favour of Ben Bella and against Boumedienne who has to prove to the world that he acted rightly and for the good of his people. He will also have to prove his case against Ben Bella.

In Vietnam and the Vietcong invisible hands direct the fighting and provide arms to the fighters. Americans, Russians and the Chinese are using this part of South East Asia for the propagation of their political theories and are causing the death of innocent men, women and children in the hope that Asia will eventually be entirely Communist or free from Communism. The ancients might have asked would democracy or communism grant the Asians Immortality? We may ask would any of these political systems give us true happiness? These fights for democracy or socialism are now destroying peace and happiness everywhere.

When China invaded Tibet and destroyed the peace and happiness that prevailed in

Tibetan homes in order to "liberate" the Tibetans, the lords of democracy kept silent. They perhaps fondly hoped that a strong China will counteract the growing strength of Russia.

Heavens on Earth

Human freedom and happiness go hand in hand. Where children do not laugh and play and the women pass their time in fear and tears, there cannot be any freedom, no matter what Marx said or Lenin. The same is true of democracy and of the gurus of that political creed. Whoever or whatever destroys human happiness cannot be considered to be establishing any ideals worth establishing unless it could be proved to the hilt that the eventual gain in happiness would be far greater than the loss of happiness involved. We have found over and over again in history that promises of happiness and glory are seldom fulfilled. Dynasties have changed with great promises of prosperity; but people have remained poor and in abject slavery. Revolutions have swept over many lands and there have been no great changes in the well being of the people. Forms of government have changed, constitutions have been recast, political theories have been rejected and new ones accepted; but the people have gone on eating inferior food, wearing rags and living in hovels. Their children have died without medicine, their menfolk have slaved for a pittance and their women suffered silently. So, all who make prophecies and boldly declare that the world will be a heaven on earth if all people killed one another in order to have a single faith, a single way of life and a single form of social and political order; should stop and think. For Russia is not a heaven on earth; China is hardly so; and America is not a land of bliss and happiness either. India is in no position to sell anything to the buyers of ideals, excepting **Ahimsa**. It is a good thing provided one is not obliged to practise it due to lack of strength. If **Ahimsa** destroys the people's happiness it should be rejected too.

Current Affairs

KARUNA K. NANDI

Preparations For The Fourth Plan

While preparations for the coming Fourth Plan are reported to be going briskly forward, there appears to be a great deal of uncertainty about the ultimate shape and size that the Plan would be likely to assume. For one thing, the uncertainties about covering the foreign exchange resources for the Plan which was originally estimated at around Rs. 3,200 crores in the tentative draft of the Fourth Plan issued some months ago and which, according to the principal executive of the Planning Commission, the Vice Chairman, Mr. Asoke Mehta, is now likely to be considerably larger, appears to have substantially deepened in the meanwhile. It is reported that while the members of the Aid India Consortium have generally fulfilled their commitments to India for the last year of the Third Plan, West Germany has already cut Plan Aid and has brought it down from the expected Rs. 95.5 crores to about Rs. 86 crores or by about 10 per cent. There has, of course been promises of increased aid from Moscow, but from an agency report in the national dailies it appears that the Soviets leaders have also at the same time sharply criticised India's training programmes anent Plan projects. The U.S.A., the largest single aid-giver to India for our Plans so far, appears to have grown considerably lukewarm of late, and in a recent issue of the **New York Times** the celebrated commentator Sulzberger has very sharply criticised the manner in which India and other under-developed countries in the Orient have been utilizing aid being given by Western countries for their development programmes. Indeed, Mr. Sulzberger has very sharply pointed out that with slow

progress of plan-development on the one hand—which, according to him, has been consistently and substantially below envisaged targets throughout—and with rapidly accelerating population increase on the other, the burden of Planning has been proving all too heavy both for the developing countries and the aid-givers at the same time. These sentiments would seem to indicate an increasing hardening of attitudes on the part of aid-givers to India in her development programmes and it might not be all too easy to find the large foreign exchange resources required for the implementation of the Fourth Plan in the manner it has been formulated.

Export earnings, it is claimed, has substantially improved over the last few years and, although it is always to be preferred that we earned our own foreign exchange rather than borrowed or begged it from our more affluent Western neighbours, the net gains from this source have, so far, remained rather disappointing. In the result the foreign exchange crisis that we have been passing through during the last decade appears to have considerably deepened of late rather than to have improved and our balance of payments position on current account remains as critical as it has been over the last several years. As an inevitable corollary the Government have been compelled to further harden their import restrictions which are now affecting also a considerable range of essentials including essential industrial raw materials, spare parts and other items which have been having the effect of slowing down the rate of production. Altogether, so far at least as our foreign exchange position is concerned, prospects do not seem to be at all happy and do not

seem to auger very well for the resources of the coming Fourth Plan.

It may not be considered altogether impertinent to refer in passing, in this connection, to the rather paradoxical attitude of the Government of India in regard to the spending of foreign exchange by ministers of Government, Central and of the States,—mostly Central—their retinues and other officials and missions of a nondescript variety. The frequent travels abroad of the peripatetic Mr. Manubhai Shah, our Union Minister of International Trade—who seems to spend a far larger proportion of the year travelling round the world than applying himself to developing new items of export trade at home—may be justified on the ground that his journeys abroad have been considered essential for developing trade and boosting foreign exchange earnings; but it would be interesting to learn the net yield in foreign exchange that his travels abroad have been producing for the country. Even more so the visits of several of our Ministers and their retinues abroad on various pretexts and excuses at the outlay of precious foreign exchange of which even some of our vital industries are being starved, appears to need careful evaluation and assessment. If, as we suspect, not all of such visits are either essential or even important from the administrative or national point of view, it would seem to be extremely unfair, not to say downright wrong, that they should be allowed to so freely spend from our all too slender till of foreign exchange, mostly at public expense, while others are denied the privilege and even essential industries are starved of their necessary quota of foreign exchange for purposes of importing needed raw materials or spare parts. This is a matter to which, we feel, not sufficient attention appears to have been bestowed by either the Union Ministry of Finance or by the Union Government as a whole. The whole thing may have, as we suspect, been stemming from the independent initiative that is said to have been left to individual ministries and their secretariats for taking decisions in this behalf. While under

normal circumstances it might be appropriate to leave to the individual initiative of the Minister concerned or of his officials to decide what travels abroad should be undertaken, in a time of acute stringency like the present one, such decisions must, we feel, conform to strictly laid down rules formulated in this behalf at the highest Cabinet level and any needed deviation should only be allowed after prior special sanction by the Cabinet. It would be unfair to leave the whole matter to the discretion of the Finance Ministry for that would obviously be likely to cause embarrassments to the former which it may reasonably wish to avoid. But this is only by the way, although we attach a considerable measure of importance to an appropriate consideration of this aspect of the matter at the highest Government level.

States' Plans

A considerable proportion of the gross Plan is naturally and inevitably filled in by the States' Plans. For the Third Plan the original allocations for outlays in the States sector was envisaged at Rs. 3,847 crores which, it now appears, would be exceeded by some Rs. 200 crores and be of the order of somewhere around Rs. 4,052 crores which would include Rs. 30 crores for additional outlays on intensive farming and a further Rs. 20 crores for advance actions for schemes in the Fourth Plan. Of the States, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and the States of Jammu & Kashmir would be likely to spend a little less each than their original allocations, Gujarat, Mysore and Kerala would be likely to fully appropriate their original allocations, while the rest of the States would be bound by various margins to exceed their estimates. Most of the excess outlay is said to be accounted for by agriculture, while there would be shortfalls in outlay on irrigation, community development, village and small industries, housing, etc. It is noteworthy, that according to Shri Ashoke Mehta, Vice Chairman of the Planning Commission, that in spite of such additional outlays, actual

food grains production, which was estimated in the Third Plan to go up by 23.6 million tonnes over the entire Plan period, would be likely to fall short by more than 4.5 million tonnes which would be even larger, if the irrigation and fertilizer targets were not fulfilled. It appears that there would be a shortfall of some 1.3 million tonnes in fertilizer availability and the irrigation potential which it was envisaged, should reach a target of 16.2 million acres and its utilization to a level of 12.8 million acres would not now be expected to exceed 7.9 million acres and 7 million acres respectively.

On the other hand the estimated outlays on power development which, in the Plan was envisaged at Rs. 882 crores would now prove to be of the order of Rs. 1,000 crores, although additional installation of generating capacity envisaged at 7 million kW would not be reached by more than 2 million kW. It is some consolation that the target of rural electrification would be exceeded by 40 per cent during the Third Plan which would account for a 15 per cent increase in the outlay in this behalf. While on the subject of rural electrification, it would be pertinent to take note of the recently published observations of the Chairman of the West Bengal State Electricity Board—rural electrification in this State, he confesses, has not proceeded according to schedule and now waits upon a Rs. 1 crore subvention from the centre for further progress—that the little extensions of electric power that has already been made to rural West Bengal, has not been found to be an economic enterprise, for consumption has been very low and there has been no indication that new industries have been eager to take advantage of the availability of electric power for development in the rural areas. This leads one to the inevitable conclusion that immediate extension of electric power in rural areas may have been postulated more on sentimental grounds and possibly as a vote-catching expedient rather than as a sound economic measure. On the other hand there is evidence to indicate that most urban and

semi-urbanized industrial areas have been woefully starved of the needed minimum and uninterrupted supply of electric power and it would be far more legitimate, immensely more profitable and less wasteful if necessary measures were taken by the State Electricity Boards to fill the needs of these urban and suburban areas on a priority basis, than to fulfill a certain target of rural electrification by a certain date which coincides with Mahatma Gandhi's birth centenary.

For the Fourth Plan, the States were asked to limit their aggregate Plan outlays within Rs. 7,760 crores or roughly within twice the amount of outlay envisaged for the Third Plan. The States' Plans which have been received by the Planning Commission and which are now under discussion at Yojna Bhabana, is found to aggregate Rs. 9,870 crores. The Planning Commission have been very clear that both the magnitude of outlays as well as the sectoral priorities in the States' Plans must fit in with the over-all national priorities and balances, but the States do not seem to have been especially concerned over these very vital requirements. It is doubtful if the Planning Commission would be able to maintain even a Rs. 7,760 crores aggregate States' Plan in view of the States' very poor response to the appeal that they should contribute, together, at least Rs. 1,250 crores towards the needed additional resources of the Plan. The Vice Chairman of the Planning Commission has suggested that the States might exploit such sources as the land revenue, surcharge on commercial crops, betterment levies, irrigation rates and higher electricity duties for raising the needed additional resources, but their reaction to this does not appear to have been very enthusiastic. The fact, frankly, appears to be that the burdens of taxation are already much too high in the States; various expedients of the Central Government adopted upto date do not appear to have made any dent whatsoever on the price factor, especially in the essential consumer sector, and the State Governments are naturally reluctant to impose additional

burdens of taxation upon the people with the general elections looming only about two years further ahead. In the ultimate analysis, the battle of the polls have to be fought primarily within the States' boundaries and with the Governments already as unpopular as they are, they are not very eager to add fresh burdens to their load of unpopularity by imposing fresh taxation measures which would be bound to be of the indirect variety and which are very likely to correspondingly stimulate the consumer price factor.

Prices and Planning

In fact although conceding *sotto voce* that the inflationary price spiral which has been continuously on the rampage over the last three years, especially since after December 1962 following the Chinese invasion of the Northern boundaries of India and the consequent increase of expenditure on defence, has been distorting both Plan achievements and Plan implementation, not adequate attention would yet seem to have been bestowed upon this very important factor in development planning. One of the basic *sine qua non*s of successful Plan development, it has to be conceded, is a stable economy, and a stable price regime is one of the basic postulates of stability in the economy.

It has been claimed as some sort of an extenuation of the price situation that inadequate production increase, especially of primary consumption goods such as food grains and other consumables on the one hand, an accelerating annual increase of the population on the other and, thirdly but not the least, the increased outlays on defence and development have been having the effect of inflating demand to an unprecedented extent with inevitably heaviest impacts on consumables in marginal supply. The obvious remedy is that either supplies should be commensurately increased or that demand should be contained to conform to the limitations of supply. It is obvious that supplies cannot be increased to match demand over any short period. The only

other remedy should be to decelerate demand. The latter requirement calls for either a commensurate attenuation of outlays—assuming that outlays on defence cannot be decelerated without danger to the country's national integrity, the only sector where outlays might have been attenuated would be on account of development. This last cannot be accepted by the powers that be without agreeing to halt, in corresponding measure, the process of economic development. Some interim measures have, no doubt, been adopted in the meanwhile with the declared objective of at least containing, if not quite attenuating demand with a view to holding the price spiral. These measures have mostly been in the nature of fiscal devices, but on the background of the increasing consumption expenditure of the Government both on Plan and non-Plan account, these have, so far proved to be quite ineffectual. The last rise in the Reserve Bank's lending rate for instance, appears to have only stimulated the banks' borrowings in consequence. According to a report, the gross borrowings by Banks from the Reserve Bank of India have been substantially higher since after the last rise in the Bank Rate than during any previous corresponding period.

The interest market thus ushered in appears to have had exactly the opposite effect from what it was expected it would be. Industry and commerce appear to be depending far more heavily, in the circumstances, on loan capital rather than on equities and the slow rate of equity investments does not appear to have received any fillip from these measures. After all, the uncertainties involved in equity investments, both as regards the security of the investment as well as the rate of yield, would be bound to give far higher precedence to loan capital in a market where banks would be prepared to borrow capital at as high a rate as 6 per cent or even higher. In the result, it appears that the Government's fiscal measures for the avowed objective of restricting credit have, instead of containing demand, been having exactly the opposite effect on the price situation.

The only possible device which might be expected to have some measurable results towards containing demand and holding the price line in consequence would be the imposition and administration of physical controls over distribution and supply, especially in the essential consumables sector, with food articles being given the topmost priority. In other words rationing would seem to be the only answer. This appeared to more or less coincide with the Union Government's thinking at the end of the last year before the new harvests came in. But with the bumper crop of rice and a fairly substantial increase also in the wheat crop eventually, together with the resumption of massive food grains import, the crisis on the food front has been considerably relieved, at least for the time being. With this the sense of urgency that prevailed earlier appears to have considerably dissipated and none of the States, except West Bengal was agreeable to assume the huge administrative and other burdens that rationing involved. The building of a substantial buffer stock of food grains at the Centre which would appear to be the very corner-stone of a rational and national food policy appears also to have somewhat receded in the background. True, it has been averred that rice procurements for the Central pool is said to have been very satisfactory,—it has been stated by the Union Food Minister that procurements so far have aggregated 1.9 million tonnes against the earlier target of 2 million tonnes, but in spite of massive wheat imports, stocks in the Central wheat pool do not appear to have so far been as substantial as one might have expected it to be.

Various suggestions have been made by various people as regards the shape, size and directions of the Fourth Plan. In the last plenary session of the Indian National Congress at Durgapur, the Congress President pleaded for a smaller Plan as, according to him, the poorer sections of the people were no longer able to sustain its burdens. The Prime Minister was once reported to have counselled that 'the Plan should have a poor man's orientation and

its objectives towards building the infrastructure for the self-generating take-off should be adequately matched by arrangements for the supply of consumables. Recently in an article in the *Statesman* Mr. K. Rangachari suggested that the Plan should have a political approach. Whatever may be the cogency or otherwise of these various and varied suggestions, the fact remains that for much of the acceleration of the present rate of infructuous demand with its inevitable impact on the price structure, the inherent imbalances of Planning, as so far essayed, along with the visible disparities between investment and implementation, have been responsible. The Planning Commission are now said to be addressing themselves to formulating the sectoral priorities of the Plan and integrating the States' Plans into the over-all structure with a view to ensuring a national balance in Planning. But these seemingly minor details of market conditions which seem to have been vitiating Plan progress in very large measure ever since the Second Plan was launched, have a vital bearing on the whole process which the Commission could only ignore, as they seem to be doing, at the peril of the nation.

The Steel Muddle

In a recently reported statement to the Lok Sabha, Shri Sanjeeva Reddy, Union Minister of Steel, was said to have confessed that although he has been presiding over the Ministry for over the last eleven months and longer, he was still far from having acquired a full grasp of the subject under his charge. That this is so would be bound to be indicated by his recent deal with the Soviet Union anent the projected Bokaro Steel Plant. It may be some consolation that he has, at long last, been able to put the Bokaro Steel Project on a firm footing and that the uncertainties about getting the Project going which had been earlier in evidence have now been dispelled. But the terms on which he was able to procure Soviet aid for the project has engendered a very large question mark about the ultimate

wisdom of the basis on which the deal is now said to have been concluded.

There is no denying the fact that India is in vital need of rapid and rather substantial development of her steel capacity within the immediate future. But in a long view of the matter it would be conceded that an even more vital requirement is that India should be able to develop her own capacity for development in this behalf without external aid as rapidly as possible. In the earlier stages of the studies on the proposed Bokaro plant, a very important step forward in this direction was taken when a hundred per cent Indian firm of consulting engineers, Messrs M N Dastur & Co were invested with the responsibility for drawing up the project report for the plant. That Messrs Dastur & Co, with their large staff of young and enthusiastic Indian engineers, each one of them an acknowledged specialist in different branches of construction and metallurgical engineering, have been giving a very good account of the vital responsibility they had assumed, has been acknowledged by every one who is competent to speak on the subject. It was hoped that the lead taken by the Dastur organization in this field would soon be emulated over a wider area and that in the not too distant future India would be able to develop her own unaided technical and technological potentials for the construction of large, modern and integrated steel plants in the country.

That India would nevertheless continue for many years yet to have to depend upon imported plant for steel manufacture and the necessary imports of know-how and other ancillaries that such imports make it inevitable and unavoidable, was largely due to the so far inadequate development of our heavy engineering potentials. The first step towards eliminating this vital lack had already been taken, and it was hoped that in course of time the country would be increasingly free of her dependence upon foreign imports in this behalf. But it was hoped that with the work that Messrs M. N. Dastur & Co had been carrying out so successfully in project design, lay-out and

construction, the country would, at least be independent of foreign assistance in this limited field of steel capacity expansion. The valuable experience and the bold pioneering efforts of this great little Indian specialist organization appears now to have been wholly thrown overboard with the submission by the Union Steel Minister to the demand by the Soviet Union that theirs must be what has been known as a package deal with India and any Indian organization or institution that might be associated with the laying out of the Bokaro Steel Plant, must be subject to their order and control. While conceding that the urgency of laying down the Bokaro Plant as early as possible—this plant, it may be recalled was originally scheduled to be completed, at least the first stage of it, within the Third Plan period—had induced the Steel Minister to accept these terms which were put forward as one of the essential conditions for Soviet aid for putting down the plant, he should have had the imagination and the sense of self-respect to realise that this was a condition that M N Dastur & Co would be wholly unable to accept without losing their standing in the engineering industry of the country.

That it has since been publicly averred that Messrs M N Dastur & Co would be entrusted with the responsibility for drawing up the project designs and lay-outs as well as for construction of other Indian steel plants in the public sector in the future, is small consolation for the shabby treatment that the Steel Minister has, in the present instance, meted out to them. The further unconfirmed report that according to the Steel Ministry India would be in a position to put down a **wholly Indian** steel plant by about 1971, presumably with the assistance of Messrs Dastur & Co. is equally small consolation for their now being divorced from the Bokaro project.

The matter of steel development as a whole, we have also commented in these columns in the past, appears to have been somehow muddling through over the years without any very purposive design and objective. Development of steel capacity calls

(Continued on Page 69)

Kedar Nath Chatterji



Born . December, 1891 .

Died . 16th May, 1965

KEDARNATH CHATTERJI The Great Liberal

DEEPANKAR GHOSE

The challenge of the times we live in is not nuclear arms or the conflict of the economic "isms" or the lip service to co-existence by either bloc. The challenge is to appreciate that the two blocs have moved closer to each other in the last 20 years or so, to be prepared even to shed some of the starting points in one's politics and to contribute to a new world order as yet unborn, or as Bertrand Russell said at Oxford in 1955, "A comparative paradise."

The challenge is to believe in one of the two politico-economic structures we know to exist and yet be high-minded enough to attack publicly the oversights and wrongs of commission in one's own structure. The challenge is to have the best of both the politico-economic worlds and not their worst.

This challenge can only be accepted by great liberals like Kedarnath Chatterji, the second editor of **Modern Review** and **Prabasi**. In his editorials, and other writings, in his lectures, and in his talks, one could always discern his passion for freedom and the free world as we know it. But what endured even more was the patient ear he always had for the other side's point of view. This, more than anything else, gave to his writings and convictions a rare grace and charm.

He had the historian's catholicity to condemn both Communist subversion and the long chain of booms and depressions of the laissez faire economic societies of the 19th century. He would point out to the end-of-the-road laissez-fairists that Lloyd George and his championship of limited planning after World War-I had saved the free world's economy. .

It is difficult to choose between Kedar Chatterji the man and Kedar Chatterji the liberal. It is difficult to say that one or the other was greater. Perhaps to say that one was the complement of the other would just about be right.

With him is gone for ever the empirical "guru," ever patient and ever-willing to share his opinions and experiences with the initiate. A treasure-house of experience Kedarnath's certainly was. What was striking was his magnanimity in entering the treasure house so sweetly and with such refreshing lack of ostentation. In an age of sermons on the mount, platitudes from the platform and the intellectual's casual reference to a recent work which was a must for the initiate, Kedarnath's zestful and kind communication of his ideas, beliefs and experiences was a most stimulating exception.

He would delve deep into his memory with such wonderful ease. So replete his reminiscences were with warmth—Mahatma Gandhi at Wardha, Motilal Nehru, the patrician of a politician in his living room at Allahabad, in his element and talking politics, Harrow and Cambridge-returned Jawaharlal, struggling, searching and gradually finding his feet in Indian soil—these were but a few of his rich reminiscences.

For the writer of this article it was a privilege, greatly cherished, to have come in contact with the great mind. As it so happened, international issues and among them the working of the U.N. cropped up in conversation during the last year of our teacher-taught relationship. As always Kedarnath expressed his views with the

force and clarity which were so much his. One or two of his views I will record for the benefit of the student of politics.

He believed that on the U.N. the future of the world depended and the U.N. must be given a chance to be effective, really effective. For this a revision of the Charter is necessary.

"There are too many red herrings", Kedarnath said to my question, "In which regard, Sir"?

For instance, the U.N. has chosen to remain silent on the competition among religions. It has done nothing to neutralize the manouvres of organized religion, which even today stirs the gamut of turmoil across the globe—in Cyprus, in the Indo-Pakistani sub-continent, in South Vietnam, in Malaysia. The Christian Church openly talks in terms of "new offensives" in Asia and Africa, which because of mass poverty and ignorance, offered big prospects for conversion. "This will make things more complicated even than they are", Kedarnath mused.

The U.N. has never volunteered to organise a world congress of religions. Psychologically for man, religion will remain so long as his aspirations clash with his reality, so long as man feels the need for the world of spirit to fall back upon. But religion should be shorn of its competitive character and made synthetic. In this the empirical Vedic conception of the Brahma and "Ekamebadyitiam", will always be an unfailing guide.

One of the many other red herrings is that of a country's "internal matter" in which the world body cannot intervene under the Charter. For the greater cause of world peace and stability "it is becoming imperative to subordinate the concept of the nation-state to the larger vision of world sovereignty". The 1956 Suez Crisis, which occasioned the first U.N. intervention through an army nucleus of neutral powers was always an important milestone for Kedarnath.

A fervent democrat and a true liberal, KNC had just the right balance of approach to the concepts of nationalism and internationalism. To those who said "Nationalism is out-moded" KNC would point out that in the present order of things it was not possible to be a good internationalist without being a good nationalist. To the chauvinist he would mention the dangers of nationalism becoming militant and the misery given to the world by militant nationalism.

What he believed in was that slowly but surely the world's nations should work to give shape to the vision of world sovereignty. It will be a difficult and delicate task and will not be achieved overnight. A world confederation of nations was a concept worth working for.

On the national front he was optimistic despite the state of things. His chief point of criticism was industrialization in India should be slower and agricultural development faster. A Gandhian, this was but expected of KNC. What was striking was that this view had been arrived at after a very realistic appraisal of the Indian economy of recent years. In KNC's view India's disappointing balance of payments position was chiefly due to the big import of capital goods for our industries. "And yet even today Indian exports to a big extent are agricultural." In his view a bigger emphasis on agriculture with commensurate development of industry would stabilize the rural population and the economy.

The working of democracy in India interested KNC greatly and he did not endorse the view that the people got the government they deserved. He believed that the moral duty lay with the group in power to promote consciousness among the people so that they are made good enough to deserve an efficient Government.

The task of making the people conscious was difficult he said. It needed "quite a bit of high-mindedness" for the party in

power to speak out home-truths or to liberalize the sources of the dissemination of news. For the consciousness of the people to be a reality, the present trend of a chain ownership of newspapers in India and the rest of the free world was a hindrance. The Communist system did concede that a free Press was not something it boasted of. So "the matter can be left at that".

KNC believed that the free Press in India was threatened. He agreed that the existence of the broadcasting machinery as a Central Department was not at all healthy for democracy.

A grave danger of holding the reins of power was the proneness to equate subtly and cleverly the interests of the group in power with the so-called interests of the people. That form of government was yet to emerge which was fool-proof against this proneness, KNC thought. This proneness had reared its ugly head in India in recent years.

British democracy had the surest foundations, KNC believed, with no stifling of opinion and with some 400 years of thinking and research on political economics forming the bed-rock of the British structure.

The hall-mark of British democracy was its sub-strata which thought independently of pressure groups, party or class interests, which said what it felt like saying without fear of being harried and hounded for not having toed the line of the establishment, which assisted and helped in good measure the group wielding the machinery of power.

It is a great pity that this wonderfully clear-spirited human being has been plucked away from life at the zenith of his powers. It is unfortunate that he did not live to write his contemplated book on the issues of the day. But his message remains.

There is nothing else to say in tribute, ineffectual and meagre as it is. Only this. It was good learning at his feet.



KEDARNATH CHATTERJI

By ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

Kedarnath Chatterji was born in December 1891. He was the eldest son of Ramananda Chatterjee who was, at the time of Kedarnath's birth, a professor of English in the City College, Calcutta. About this time, the intellectual and moral renaissance of India was well advanced and persons of talent and quality abounded in the cities of our great Sub-Continent. This renaissance began with the advent of Raja Ram Mohun Roy in the second half of the Eighteenth Century and took about one hundred years to unfold to perfection. Nineteenth Century India had such a profusion of talent that one could assert without any risk of being guilty of an overstatement that no country in the world had ever produced so many great men and women within so few years at any period of history. India's religious, moral, cultural, political and intellectual rebirth was spectacular. Art, literature, music, drama, social reform, the revival of the glory that was India; all found a new expression and an ardent awareness of a greater destiny illuminated every Indian heart. Ramananda Chatterjee in the nineties of the last century lived and worked in a setting which was pulsating with life and was progressive in a morally sure-footed manner. It was a privilege to be born in such a setting and at such a period of our national history. Kedarnath had the rare advantage of seeing great men and women all round him since his very infancy. As soon as he could identify people he saw men like Jagadish Chandra Bose, Shivanath Sastri, Prafulla Chandra Roy, Rabindranath Tagore, Nilratan Sircar, Madan Mohun Malviya, Lajpat Rai, Motilal Nehru, Tej Bahadur Sapru and scores of others whose equals it would be difficult to find in any country at any time. The eighteen fifties and sixties gave India some of her greatest men but the flow of that superior

life force did not stop there. The great martyrs of our "War of Independence" were born mostly after the eighties and many of our intellectuals were also the products of the end of the century. Kedarnath as a boy in Allahabad and as a young college student in Calcutta shared the play fields with many who later helped to shake the foundations of the exploitative Empire that the British built on the ruins of a great civilisation.

Among his friends in Allahabad were quite a number of young men who excelled in games and sports. The Swadeshi Club of Allahabad was renowned for its prowess in football and cricket. Some of its members were very good gymnasts and were well-known for their physical strength. The older people who inspired the younger men were also vigorously healthy and strong. Ramananda Chatterjee was a man of peace: but he could lift and throw up a heavy box weighing more than a maund. Once he caught hold of a couple of rowdy policemen who became quite docile when they found that the learned professor had a vice like grip. The writer has seen Ramananda hit out with a stick when a mad bull charged him and the bull regained its sanity and ran away bellowing. Indu Bhushan Roy was a social worker who would think nothing of going into a plague-stricken house to help people suffering from the deadly disease. Once when dacoits attacked his son Prativa Ranjan, Indu Bhushan leapt clear over two bedsteads and swung a **charpois** to rout the dacoits. The dacoits recognised superiority when they found a man who could wield a **charpois** as a quarter staff and ran. There were other men who could swing a twenty foot bamboo to disperse an unruly crowd. At Calcutta one remembers a friend of

Kedarnath—Hiranmoy Chatterjee—who was among those who beat back the lathi charge of the Calcutta **Bhaiyas** (up-country policemen) at Beadon Square. The police ran and ran! They dropped their "fourteen pao" lathis. Kedarnath obtained a souvenir police lathi through Hiranmoy and it was kept in a small room and was shown occasionally to young men who thought cowardliness was godliness.

Kedarnath was fond of games; but he found more pleasure in walking long distances. On a number of occasions he walked from Darjeeling to Kurseong. Walking from Giridih to Madhupur through the jungle was also achieved another time. Giridih to the Paresnath Hill Temple required strenuous walking too. Going round the Fort William a number of times of an evening was a mere constitutional. If he did not find a long road or a wide expanse of rugged fields, he would continue his walk on a verandah or a roof top, back and forth like a caged lion, until he felt he had gone round the Fort William four or five times.

At Allahabad among those who befriended Kedarnath at all times were Major Bamandas Basu, a retired I.M.S. officer whose contributions to the cultural revival of India and to historical research in the field of Imperialism masquerading as a civilising force, were invaluable, and important. Major Basu and Col. Kirtiker wrote the "Indian Medicinal Plants" in four volumes containing detailed description of thousands of medicinal plants. Major Basu's brother Srish Chandra Basu was a great Sanskrit Scholar and the founder of the Panini Office of Allahabad which published many forgotten Sanskrit texts. Kedarnath had his first acquaintance with Sanskrit in the archives of the Panini Office. He also had a very good knowledge of books at an early age. He used to pull down the heaviest tomes from Ramananda Chatterjee's bookshelves and he soon realised that knowledge was limitless. Srish Chandra Basu's son Ranendranath was a great friend of Kedar-

nath. He was chairman of the Allahabad Municipality for long years in later life. Kamakhya Prasad Bhargava, famed for Glass Manufacture, Anil Mitra, who was an expert on rubber tyres, Sushil Chowdhury, later on a K. C, Jivanmoy Roy and many others formed a circle of friends for Kedarnath at Allahabad. Kedarnath's mother Manorama Devi was very particular as to his choice of playmates. She was very popular in Allahabad Society for her beauty and indomitable courage. Her singing voice was beautiful, rich and true. She could handle any situation with unflinching purpose. No thieves ever visited Ramananda Chatterjee's house, for the word went round that Manorama Devi was imbued with supernatural and divine powers. During the Benares Congress in the early years of this century Mrs. Kelker a Maharastrian lady and Manorama Devi chastised a hooligan with a cane while they were on their way to the Congress Camp. In 1911, she dealt with an unmannerly Pathan in the Allahabad Exhibition grounds with similar forcefulness. A steel pointed parasol was used on this occasion. She did not mind if boys indulged in rough housing; but every one had to observe the rules of the game when she was about.

When Ramananda Chatterjee came over to Calcutta from Allahabad Kedarnath had already passed his Entrance Examinations and entered St. Xavier's College as a Science student. During his college days in Calcutta he formed many new friendships. Prabhat Chandra Ganguly, later editor of the daily **Bharat**; Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis, now India's leading statistician; the late Sukumar Roy, a great writer—father of Satyajit Roy of cine-drama fame; Sukumar Mitra, son of the late Krishna Kumar Mitra and the last editor of the **Sanjeevani**; Hitendra Mohun Bose, a Persian Scholar and a cricketer; and many others who looked at life somewhat differently from the common run of men. **Mejda** of Nilkuthi, so designated on account of his second place among brothers and the name of their residential house at Bhowani-

pur, Calcutta, was a great friend of Kedarnath. He was a keen **Shikari** and Kedarnath sometimes went with him to the **Sunderbans**. Mejda, Jitendranath Ghosh, vied with Hem Chandra Naskar in the distribution of **Pan** to his friends and usually beat the latter by a few **khilis**. Gnanankur De and Sudhin Haldar, both of the I.C.S. were contemporaries of Kedarnath. They, as well as P. C. Mahalanobis and S. Roy went to England for higher studies about the same time as Kedarnath. Before going over they had all come under the influence of Rabindranath Tagore. Santiniketan became a place of Pilgrimage to Young India and many were the youthful dissidents in the field of culture who were pushed into an atmosphere of song, drama, art and meditation by their enthusiastic parents and elder brothers. Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis exerted his influence over his brother Prafulla Chandra to go to Santiniketan. Prafulla was artistic and musical by nature. Kedarnath tried to induce his brothers to go too. Prasad the youngest did and Hemanta also, who was a cousin.

Kedarnath went to England on the *Arabia*, a P & O. liner and sister ship to the *Persia*, **Egypt** and **China**. These ships had the unique distinction of going down one after another over a period of several years. The writer travelled back from Europe on the **China** in 1922 and she was then the last of the hapless quartet and many passengers cancelled their bookings on the **China**. But she completed that journey without mishap. Within a couple of years of his arrival in England Kedarnath saw Europe go up in flames in the first World War. There was no **blitzkrieg** as in the second World War but **Zeppelins** came over and bombed London. There were still a few craters in Hampstead Heath in 1920. France and Belgium were battle-fields and many towns had no walls standing, forests consisted of stumps and millions died. War became more hideous than ever before. Flame throwers, mustard gas, automatic guns, high explosives and air attacks changed chivalry to genocide. Kedarnath

had a taste of man's debased humanity at first hand. He saw thousands in the hospitals whose lungs had been burnt out by phosgene and limbs torn by shell fire. He himself was bombed out of his place of work and suffered secondary injury to his lungs. He worked in hospitals and in a munitions factory and carried on his studies in the best manner that he could. A B.Sc. in Chemistry and an Associateship of the Royal College of Science were conferred on him by the London University and he came back to India after the War was over. He was a very handsome man and a highly interesting conversationalist. He was also fond of games. Hitendra Mohun Bose had a practising net in their garden and Kedarnath indulged in medium fast bowling there. Kartik Bose was a little boy then. Their grand uncles, the Ray brothers, Saroda Ranjan, Kulada Ranjan and Muktida Ranjan were well-known cricketers and the Boses only basked in their reflected glory. The Boses achieved fame in cricket much later.

There was some talk of Kedarnath joining the Hindu University of Benares and Pandit Madan Mohun Malviya was keen that he should do so. But the idea of industrial development overshadowed everything else at that time and Kedarnath joined an organisation that was set up for the production of glass and ceramic. He also experimented with matches and other things and a couple of rooms in the house always had fixtures with gas burners, little furnaces and various appliances with which Kedarnath and his friend Manindranath Roy produced sample boxes of matches and other goods. M. N. Roy later looked after the motor vehicles department of the Calcutta Corporation and ended up by becoming the Secretary of the same public body. At this stage Kedarnath used to go to the house of Rajshekhar Bose who was the most trusted assistant of Sir P. C. Roy, the founder of the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works Ltd. Rajshekhar Bose was a keen industrialist but he was better known as "**Parasuram**" his pseudonym as

the writer of some of the finest humorous stories. The artist who illustrated these wonderful stories was Jotin Sen who was one of the greatest commercial art experts of those days. But he proved himself to be a powerful creative artist too by his illustrations of "Parasuram's" stories. Kedarnath was a member of the inner circle of the "Parasuram" group as also of the "Sandesh" group headed by Sukumar Roy whose untimely death removed from Bengal's literary firmament a star of rare brilliance. Rabindranath said after reading Sukumar Roy's nonsense rhymes that Sukumar had no equal in the field of his particular type of literature.

In the thirties Kedarnath was drawn into political journalism by his friendship with Makhan Lal Sen, who started the Bengali daily **Bharat**. A group of writers worked for this daily whose nationalistic outlook was not clouded by the political philosophy of other nations, nor by ethical considerations of a rare classical vintage. Other journals could be influenced, induced or won over; but **Bharat** remained steadfast in its attachment to the fundamentals of freedom, equality and progress. It was a difficult course to follow in so far as the Fourth Estate required the same fuel and lubricants as did the other three. **Bharat** eventually closed down much to the relief of the ungodly.

In the early thirties Rabindranath Tagore was invited to Persia by the Shah of Iran. Among those who went with the poet was Kedarnath. The poet visited many places in Iran and was accorded grand ovations everywhere. Kedarnath took many interesting photographs of archaeological interest and his notes were later published in book-form in Bengali. It was an experience which he cherished and he also collected some valuable miniatures, enamel pieces and carpets while he was in Persia.

Ramananda Chatterjee died in September 1943. It was a year of disasters. Floods and Famine swept the land and spread

death and destruction. More than two million people died of starvation in Bengal and the British rulers failed utterly to be of any help to the people. They remained shamelessly impassive and criminally inactive. The War Effort had to be carried on, no matter who died in what numbers and how! This was a heartrending experience for Kedarnath and all other patriotic men. It was a ghastly finale to the British Imperial drama and all who could wield a pen poured curses on the rulers of India.

The War over, India ran into a series of organised riots, which the British appeared to welcome as a suitable argument for the partition of India on a communal basis. All kinds of lies were broadcast by the British controlled Press. The two nation theory was propounded with gusto and history became a plaything of politicians. The Muslim nation had its own separate language, dress and diet. Pustu, Sindhi, Panjabi and Bangla prepared to die for a hybrid Urdu in the name of Islam while fish curry and rice faced their imminent annihilation to make room for **Kabab** and **Paratha**. The Indian Press did its best to fight back but the roaring rotaries of Fleet Street drowned the hissing of the Indian **chhapakhana**. Indian editors wrote well and convincingly but India's political leaders thought half a loaf was better than no bread and compromised with the imperial overlords. India was cut up into two antagonistic groups which remained for ever the pawns of Western Politicians. Expediency ruled the world. Truth was locked out from the Parliaments of the nations. The Peoples of the World united to give up their major rights of freedom and to earn the right to pull the chariots of Communistic Capitalism or Capitalistic Communism. Kedarnath along with all those who loved freedom wielded a pen which fought an unequal battle. The state controlled radio and the Party managed or influenced Press engaged in what may be called modified brain washing and indoctrination. Even so-called oppositions had to be synthetic and

made to measure. In such a setting the old standards were hard to maintain and those who tried to keep the flag flying had to do so at a great sacrifice.

During the post independence days Kedarnath took a keen interest in juvenile literature. He became intimately associated with the **Mouchak**, a children's magazine. He wrote many short stories for children some of which were published in book-form and were very well received by readers. He also joined the University of Calcutta as a lecturer in journalism. He was occasionally invited by the Government to serve on

special committees and he sometimes accepted such invitations.

Kedarnath Chatterji had numerous friends. They came from all classes of society. Scientists, artists, writers, administrators, congressmen, leftists, students and the unclassifiable; all thought of him as a friend and adviser. He also thought of friendship first and opinion afterwards. His views never interfered with fellowship. That is why today his loss is being felt by a large circle of friends who by no means belong to the same camp or school of thought.



SATIS MUKHERJEE OF THE DAWN SOCIETY

By UMA MUKHERJEE and HARIDAS MUKHERJEE

A Maker Of Modern Bengal

WE are celebrating this year the first birth centenary of Satis Chandra Mukherjee (1865-1948), one of the greatest characters of modern Bengal. A prophet of Indian Nationalism and a pioneer of the Boycott-Swadeshi Movement of 1905, he played a very significant role in India's struggle for Freedom. His educational experiments embodied in the Dawn Society (1902-1907) and the National Council of Education (founded in 1906) have stood the test of time. His exposition and unfoldment of Indian Nationalism through the pages of the *Dawn* (1897-1913) which he himself founded and edited, constitutes his another title to immortality. A self-sacrificing soul in the best tradition of Indian spirituality, shunning publicity like poison, he made a complete dedication of his self to the national cause.¹ "Hardly anybody has by character and strenuous exertions," observed Benoy Sarkar several decades later, "been a greater inspirer of Young Bengal than Satis Mukherjee, nobody a greater idealist and epoch-maker in politics than Aurobindo, and none a greater philanthropist and educational benefactor than Rashbehari Ghosh."

Early Life (1865-1892)

Born at Bandipur in the district of Hooghly on the 5th June, 1865, Satis Chandra in his early youth grew up under 'positivist' influences which had been powerfully operating in Bengal since the 'seventies' of the last century. That was also the period of the activities of the Hindu Mela (1867-1880) and the literary outpourings of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee through *Bangadarshan* (since 1872). Satis Chandra imbibed in his youth this romantic and nationalistic bias. Receiving his early education in the South Suburban School and his collegiate education at the Presidency

College, Calcutta, he passed the M.A. Examination in English in 1886 and obtained the B.L. degree in 1890. His connection with the Calcutta High Court as a Vakil was, however, very short, not exceeding two years.

Second Phase (1893-1913)

The second phase of Satis Chandra's life commenced with his contact with Sri Sri Vijaya Krishna Goswami at whose hands he received spiritual initiation in 1893. This was a turning point in the life of Satis Chandra. He took to education as his mission and decided to live the life of a *brahmachari* to be entirely at the service of the country. In 1897 he received from his *guru* the vow of *Akasha Vritti* (sole dependence on God for all material necessities), the spiritual obligations of which were discharged by him till his last breath in 1948.

This second phase of Satis Chandra's life was associated with four striking achievements, viz., the foundation of the Bhagavat Chatuspathi (1895), the establishment of the *Dawn* (1897), the inauguration of the Dawn Society (1902) and the organization of the National Council of Education (1906), all calculated to promote in the young men love for the country and its culture.² Although the Bhagavat Chatuspathi was modelled on the ideals of the ancient Tols, yet its vision was broad enough to undertake other lines of activity such as the industrial to answer to the modern requirements of the country. It was the first venture of his creative idealism and served as the precursor of the historic Dawn Society.

The second memorable work of Satis Chandra in this period was the establishment of the *Dawn* (1897), first as an organ of the Chatuspathi

1. Vide the author's Bengali work on *Jatiya Andolane Satis Chandra Mukhopadhyaya* (Calcutta, 1960) for his varied role in the complex evolution of the National Movement in India.

2. Vide the authors' book entitled *The Origins of the National Education Movement* (Jadavpur University, Calcutta, 1957) for a detailed account of the activities of Satis Chandra Mukherjee during the years of the Swadeshi Movement (1905-1911).

and then transformed into an organ of the Dawn Society (since 1904) and, still later, into an organ of Indian Nationalism conceived in its broadest sense. His services to the country through this organ were such as any nation could be proud of.³

The third mentionable work of Satis Chandra was the foundation of the Dawn Society in 1902. At his hands it soon became a training ground for young patriots and nationalists. Located in the premises of the Metropolitan Institution, now called the Vidyasagar College, its activity was divided into three sections—General, Moral and Religious, and Industrial. Character-building was a fundamental item in the ideological complex of the Dawn Society. The activity of the Industrial section is specially significant in view of the fact that it was well calculated to infuse the swadeshi spirit into the young students and the public even before the beginning of the Boycott-Swadeshi movement in August 1905. By promoting the sale of indigenous goods, by popularising sales by lectures and exhibitions, by regularly publishing notes and news on native industries of India and their potentialities, and finally, by training up a band of devoted workers aflame with burning patriotism, Satis Chandra served as a harbinger of the Boycott-Swadeshi Movement of 1905 which developed before long into a national struggle for Freedom.

The fourth and, in a sense, the most important service of Satis Chandra was the organization of the National Council of Education (1906) which set up under it the Bengal National College and School in Calcutta with Sri Aurobindo as the Principal and himself as the Superintendent. National Education was an important phase of the larger movement for Freedom, and in this particular aspect none dominated the stage so completely as Satis Chandra. Towards the end of the year 1908 he, however, resigned his post, largely on grounds of ill health. For the next five years, his main preoccupation was with the editorial work in connection with the *Dawn* which ran on till November 1913, after which date its publication was suspended. Here ends the second phase of his life.

3. *Ibid*, Pp. 214-250.

Third Phase (1914-1948)

Satis Mukherjee, the hero of the Bengal Revolution of 1905, went into relative seclusion at Benares in 1914, spending his time in studies and spiritual *sadhana*, and drawing to himself a galaxy of distinguished scholars including Madan Mohan Malaviya, Jadunath Sarkar, Bhagwan Das, Shivaprasad Gupta, Gopinath Kaviraj, Jaygopal Banerjee and J. B. Kripalani. Acharya Kripalani was at that time a Professor of History at the newly founded Benares Hindu University, and he was specially attracted to Satis Chandra with whom he "picked up an intimacy" before long. It was Kripalani who really prepared the ground for the meeting of the two great leaders. It may be noted in passing that Kripalani was in very intimate touch with Satis Chandra's inner circle including Krishnadas, the latter's disciple.

Satis Chandra's Meeting with the Mahatma

It was in the year 1921 or sometime later that Satis Chandra saw Gandhiji for the first time. Gandhiji was then out on a lecture-tour all over India in his historic campaign for Non-cooperation. In course of his tour he came to Benares where he delivered a lecture at the Kasi Vidyapitha at Vadaini, and Satis Chandra, at the bidding of his Gurudeva that very morning, had been to that meeting along with Krishnadas to have a *darshan* of the Mahatma. As he himself relates, he went on seeing and hearing the Mahatma as if he were in a "trance" and returned home "in a spirit of extreme reverence."

Shortly after that Satis Chandra saw the Mahatma for the second time. That day he received his Gurudeva's *adesha* to offer to the Mahatma a sum of Rupees one hundred only for his personal use and not for any other purpose. Under spiritual command from high on Satis Chandra called at the residence of the Mahatma, saw him, handed over to him through Mahadev Desai, Mahatma's private secretary, the specific amount brought for the purpose, and left the place. The Mahatma accepted the money with his own hand and thereafter directed Desai to meet Satis Chandra at his residence and enquire of him if there was any "history" behind that gift. Acharya Kripalani took Desai to the house of Satis Chandra.

The principal tie connecting Satis Chandra with Gandhi was spiritual, not political. Satis-

chandra in his youth had once learnt from his spiritual master Sri Sri Vijaykrishna Goswami before the latter left his mortal frame in 1899, that India's Independence would be achieved by non-violent methods. Although a political extremist and passionate advocate of the method of Passive Resistance during the strenuous Swadeshi Epoch (1905-1911) as well as a close collaborator of Aurobindo Ghosh on that count, yet in his heart of hearts he had an instinctive abhorrence for active violence or armed terror resorted to by a band of political workers at that time. In the Swadeshi days, in the heyday of his politics, he conscientiously eschewed the path of violence and now saw in the Mahatma the messiah of the new age.

Satis Chandra's Offer of Krishnadas to Gandhiji

Himself keeping aloof from active politics, Satischandra contributed to Gandhiji's cause of Non-violent Non-co-operation in a number of ways. Besides helping Kripalani in the organisation of the Gandhi Asram at Benares, Satischandra made a gift of his whole library containing many precious volumes to Kripalani who was then the Director of the Asram. Satischandra also made a gift of his devoted disciple, Krishnadas, to the personal service of Mahatma Gandhi through the instrumentality of Kripalani. Kripalani was full of admiration for Krishnadas for his sterling qualities of head and heart. Krishnadas' articles published in the editorial columns of the *Independent* by way of replies to Chintamani's attack on non-violence had also drawn the admiring notice of Kripalani to the columnist.

In 1921, when Gandhiji in course of his lecture tour through the country was proceeding from Allahabad to Patna via Sasaram, he was accompanied in his mission by Kripalani who again took Krishnadas with him. They reached Sasaram at about sun-set and a meeting was due to be held there at ten O'clock that very night. We learn from Krishnadas that immediately after his arrival Gandhiji set himself to work and was often found holding discussions with Kripalani on important matters. The discussions revealed that Gandhiji felt much concern over his *Young India* as Mahadev Desai had been drawn by Motilal Nehru to serve the *Independent*. Krishnadas writes in his *Seven Months with Mahatma*

Gandhi: "Seeing him intent on work, I left the room for the verandah outside. Returning shortly after, I found him gently discussing something with Kripalaniji. The moment Kripalaniji saw me, he broke out,—'Is there any dearth of men? Here's Krishnadas, for instance, who, if you could but persuade him, might very well manage your work.....After a brief exchange of words with the Professor, and without questioning me at all, Mahatmaji came to the decision to send me out to Ahmedabad as assistant editor to *Young India*.' Embarrassed by the delicacy of the situation and considering himself to be unfit to shoulder the great responsibility likely to be thrust on him, Krishnadas humbly pleaded his inability to Mahatmaji and also told the latter that his old teacher at Benares would be put into difficulty if he was away for long. This was followed by the Mahatmaji's suggestion that he should write to Satischandra and 'get his views.' While starting for the public meeting Gandhiji left instruction with Kripalani that Krishnadas also should attend the meeting.

The next morning Krishnadas begged leave of the Mahatma to go to Benares in order to obtain his teacher's permission. Instantly Gandhiji sent through Krishnadas three questions to Satischandra and wanted to know his views on them: first, whether in his view Krishnadas was fit for selection for the service demanded of him; secondly, whether his teacher would give him the permission; and thirdly, whether he would also bless him to bear the burden thrust on him. Gandhiji even expressed his eagerness to send a letter to Satischandra which, Krishnadas told him, was not necessary. Besides this, Gandhiji also asked Krishnadas to write out a report of his Sasaram speech delivered last night. Needless to say, Satischandra unhesitatingly gave Krishnadas the necessary permission and handed him over to Gandhiji with his blessings. Krishnadas served as the Private Secretary to Mahatma Gandhi during the years 1921-28 which synchronised with the most creative period of Gandhiji's leadership in India.

Immediately after obtaining Satischandra's gracious permission Krishnadas left for Patna to meet the Mahatma at the Sadaquat Asram there. His report on Gandhiji's Sasaram speech, which Gandhiji had asked him to prepare just to test his literary worth and intellectual acumen, was much

appreciated by the Mahatma who later got it published in *Young India* under the caption "*An Ideal Report*".

From August 1921 to March 1922 Krishnadas accompanied Gandhiji in his historic tours all over the country. Gandhiji's impact on India at that time was the most tremendous conceivable. His impassioned lectures and his magnetic personality made the dry bones of Hindustan instinct with life. Krishnadas used to write regular letters to his teacher at Benares describing the important events connected with Gandhiji's lecture-tour from place to place. Satischandra preserved these letters from his disciple with the greatest care and later on inspired and helped Krishnadas to bring out in two volumes his memorable book entitled *Seven Months with Mahatma Gandhi* (Vol. I, 1924 and Vol. II, 1927). The work may be appraised as a contribution to the source material of a very important phase of India's Freedom Movement. In the issue of *Young India* dated December 26, 1929 we find Gandhiji commenting on the value of this work in the following words: "I have gone through them. And the facts appear to me to be correctly set forth and exhaustively dealt with. The volumes are the only narrative we have of these seven months with which Krishnadas deals". It may be noted in this connection that in 1951 an abridged edition of this work was also published under the editorship of Richard B. Gregg of Boston, U.S.A.

Satis Chandra in Charge of "Young India"

On March 10, 1922 Gandhiji, just at the moment he had called off his mass civil disobedience after the violent outbreaks of Chauri Chaura, was arrested and imprisoned at the Sabarmati station. Two days afterwards he sent a message to Krishnadas, asking him to remain in complete charge of the office of *Young India*, and expressed his desire that "unless it is too much for you all articles must finally pass through your hands". Gandhiji also proposed the names of Satis Babu, Rajagopalachari, Swaib Kaka, Debdas and Krishnadas from amongst whom the editor should be chosen. He also said: "It would be better now if Satis Babu gave you the permission to sign articles." This comment requires some elucidation.

Satis Mukherjee was all along against the signing of articles meant for publication, while Gandhiji was always in favour of putting his signature to whatever he wrote. Satischandra's contention was that the publication of the writer's name (by way of advertisement) was not consistent with the spirit of service to the Mother, while Gandhiji defended his thesis on the ground of owning responsibility. Krishnadas informs us that over this issue the two leaders often held long discussions with none yielding ground. On the 16th March when Krishnadas carried to the gaol his midday meal, Gandhiji informed the latter of his decision to leave the charge of editorship of *Young India* to Shuaib Qureshi whom he described as a jewel among men. He also asked Krishnadas not to leave the Asram till he returned, and said further that if exigencies so happened that *Young India* be prosecuted, then they should try to bring out "a hand-written issue of *Young India*" within the compass of one sheet of foolscap paper.

During this trying period Krishnadas, overwhelmed by odds, made a personal request to his teacher Satis Mukherjee to come down to Ahmedabad to help him in the publication of the paper. At this request Satischandra came over to Ahmedabad and stayed for some time at the Sabarmati Asram. During this period Satischandra virtually became the *de facto* editor of *Young India*, frequently contributing articles to it. But as the strain told badly on his health, he left the Asram only after two months and came down to Calcutta along with his pupil Krishnadas, where he stayed on from 1922 to 1927.

During his Calcutta stay, Satischandra used to write occasionally articles for the *Servant* edited by Shyamsundar Chakravarty. "Satis Babu," records a Sub-editor of that paper, "often wrote leading articles for the *Servant*. I often supplied him paper for writing. He would sit near the Sub-editor's table and go on writing with tremendous speed—his thoughts and expression came up with lightning speed as it were. There we stood looking upon his face that was aglow with the fire of inspiration. His white and long beard and dishevelled white hair appeared before me as those of a saint or Rishi of the Vedic age of my imagination." In some of these articles meant for the *Servant* Satish Chandra

offered his criticism on Gandhiji's compromise with C. R. Das' Swarajya Party. He also often used to be present and take part in the discussions that took place at the residence of C. R. Das mainly between Mr. Das and Gandhi. It was through Satischandra's instrumentality that the services of a financial expert like Motilal Ganguli (his nephew then working as an officer in the Currency Department) were placed at the disposal of Gandhiji to keep proper account of the vast sums that were then subscribed by the people to the cause of the Mahatma. It was during this period of his Calcutta stay that Satischandra helped Krishnadas in editing and bringing out his book, *Seven Months with Mahatma Gandhi*.

Satis Chandra and Rajendra Prasad

It deserves to be noted in this connection that some of the best followers of Satis Chandra of the Dawn Society, turned out later to be some of the best and most loyal lieutenants of Mahatma Gandhi. Rajendra Prasad, one of the most devoted followers of Gandhiji was an old student of Satis Chandra at the Dawn Society (1902-07) where he had received his first lessons in patriotism and politics. At his request Satis Chandra wrote an article in 1929 on "Mahatma Gandhi and Religion" for the Gandhi Number of the Danish Magazine *Nye Verge* (October-November, 1929). The original article written in English was also published at Rajendra Prasad's initiative in the *Hindusthan Review* (Feb. 1930) as well as in the *Searchlight* of Patna and the *Sunday Bombay Chronicle* in course of the same year. In course of that article he described Gandhiji as a "colossus" and "as a dynamic personality in the realm of action." Speaking of his religion, the writer observed: "The thing which distinguishes Gandhi from everybody else including professors and teachers of religion, is that he makes no distinction of religion as a thing apart from life. Whence it follows that from his point of view, the secular and the religious in life must not remain separated and contradistinguished one from another; but that, on the contrary, religion must permeate, pervade and transform life and its varied activities. Thus Gandhi would spiritualise the politics, education, commerce, social life and the economic and

industrial activities of a country; and thus inform each with a high common purpose and make of them a unity expressing itself in a manifold diversity. If, then, the unifying factor of religion be given the go-by and a wall of separation be put up between the secular and the religious in life, then, according to Gandhi, religion is made to abdicate its high position, is relegated to a back seat and ceases to perform its true function, the function for which it exists."

About this time (1930) Satis Chandra stayed for a brief period at the Bihar Vidyapitha, then run by two distinguished Bihari leaders Brajakishore Prasad and Rajendra Prasad. During his stay at this place, Satis Chandra undertook the work of revision of Rajendra Prasad's long article, written on Non-Violence Vs. Violence. But as ill-luck would have it, Rajendra Prasad was soon arrested in connection with the Civil Disobedience Movement and the article in the following period of turmoil was not anyhow returned to the writer. Long after this turmoil had subsided, Rajendra Prasad in a letter dated New Delhi, the 5th June, 1947 wrote the following words to Satis Chandra:

"The other day I was in Calcutta just for a few hours and I happened to meet Dev Kumar who showed me the correspondence relating to a manuscript of an essay on Non-Violence which I had written in 1930 when I had the privilege of being with you at my village Zeradai—I had mentioned the matter in my *Atma Katha* but I never imagined that it would be the cause of so much trouble to you, particularly at your age and with your naturally feeble health. I am, therefore, very sorry that you had been put to so much trouble.....I have not yet received the manuscript or its typed copy which Dev Kumar told me had not reached. I would ask you not to worry any more about it and let it come in due course, without taking any particular trouble about it."

In reply to this Satis Chandra affectionately wrote thus to Rajendra Prasad:

"I shall not worry over your manuscript about which I had completely forgotten, until I learnt something about it from Dev Chandra's father, who sent me some extracts from what you had written about it in your *Atma Katha*. Even then, after a lapse of some sixteen or

seventeen years, it was hardly possible for me to lay my hands on your manuscript, stowed away among a heap of forgotten things. Most fortunately for me, a friend of mine came to my rescue; and it was he, and not I myself, who discovered it for me. Only one page of the manuscript, however, is missing. Looking through it I found that I had done my work very carefully indeed, although I don't know whether you will be in a position to accept my views such as they are, which I had jotted down towards the close of your manuscript."

These letters, more than anything else, reveal the intimacy of the relation that existed throughout between Satis Chandra and his distinguished disciple.

Gandhiji's Correspondence with Satis Chandra

With Mahatma Gandhi Satischandra's relation was the most cordial conceivable till their deaths in 1918. Even during his stay at Noakhali in the disturbed years of 1916-1947, Gandhiji kept up his contact with Satis Chandra. On the 9th December, 1916, Gandhiji wrote from Noakhali to Satis Chandra the following letter:

"Dear Satis Babu,

"Did Krishnadas tell you about the very silly mistake I made viz., that you had gone to your rest? How I came to have that impression I cannot make out except for the fact that I had not heard from you for a long time. You can therefore imagine my joy when he told me that you were very much alive, were able to have regular walks and were able to give instruction to true seekers as usual. I would love to think that you will finish your full span of 125 years which I may not do for want of the equanimity prescribed in the concluding verses of the Gita our Kamdhenu. I am trying hard to reach that state. Do please write to me when you have the time."

To this Satischandra sent the following reply from Benares on the 21st January, 1917:

"Revered Bapuji,

It ill becomes me to trouble you now, when you are immersed in the work of tackling and solving, if possible, an all-India problem, with an expression of my detailed views on the subject-matter of your letter, dated Srirampur,

Noakhali 9. 12. 46. Nevertheless I propose to write to you in outline about my view that longevity can be prolonged indefinitely, if only the utterance of Ram Nam (the Lord's Name) becomes with the Sadhak, not an act of conscious will or choice, but gets to be an automatic, inward process, springing from within and expressing itself outwardly, consciously or sub-consciously. This in my view is only possible when the utterance of the Lord's name gets tacked on to, or better becomes a part of, the Sadhak's breathing movement.

Therefore, my second point is that the Lord's Name or Ram Nam is no mere outer sound emitted by the Sadhak but is verily a form of spiritual or Divine Energy.

My third point is that when the utterance of Ram Nam gets to be intimately associated with the breathing movement of the Sadhak, it is bound to react on the whole of the Sadhak's external system, including the mental apparatus, scripturally known as the Linga-Sairam or Sukshma-Sairam.

My fourth point is that when the Spiritual or Chit energy of the Divine thus reacts, when the whole apparatus Sthul (gross) & Sukshma (fine) gets to be impregnated with the Spiritual or Chit energy derived from or inhering in Ram Nam. Therefore when that happens, what is to us at present material (whether of the grosser or the finer variety) becomes so energised by the Chit or Spiritual energy (which is of the essence of Ram Nam), that the laws of matter manifesting themselves in material disintegration and decay, become, for the time being, suspended so to say. As the result of such suspension, the Sadhak could go on subsisting on the objective plane as an objective entity immune from the operation of forces which tend towards disintegration and decay.

Lastly and fifthly, at this stage, equanimity, a term which you have used, cannot be termed mental, i.e., born of the control of the mind-stuff. Then it comes to be a function of the Sadhak's soul life and may therefore be called soul born. At this stage, the equanimity in question comes to be natural, deep and spontaneous.

The above point may be clearer by saying that the type of equanimity which comes to be born of the process of the utterance of Ram Nam,

along with every exhalation and inhalation of the Sadhak's breath, far transcends in its very nature the kind of equanimity of which we can at present conceive. The reason for it, as already pointed out, is that the 'type of equanimity in question is no longer mind-born, but is essentially an offspring of soul life or spirituality. This higher type of equanimity is scripturally known as 'Shanti'. Of this type of 'Shanti' there are higher and higher grades, of which the Gita speaks, i.e. Gita IV. 39—(Para Shanti) & V. 12—(Naisthiki Shanti).

* * * *

I had already written out for you another letter immediately on receipt of your autograph letter. But the presence here of a certain gentleman from Chittagong, who is leaving Benares soon for his home and who has promised to place this letter of mine in your hands, makes me eager to jot down my present thoughts, however crudely or indifferently, so that I may not lose the advantage of the gentleman's offered services.

31.12.46.

Affy. Satis Mukherji

P.S.—The foregoing letter could not be delivered to the gentleman in question, as for some reason or other of which I am ignorant, he had thought fit to leave Benares all on a sudden, and so this letter is still with me, of which a copy now is being sent to yourself.

24.1.47.

S.C.M."

Mahatma Gandhi by way of acknowledging receipt of the above letter, wrote on the 1st February 1947 the following letter to Satis-chandra Mukherjee :

"Dear Satis Babu,

Your lovely letter. I endorse all your propositions though probably I would put them

differently and comprise them into one. But that does not diminish the value of the propositions. Alas I am far as yet from that state. At the same time I am hastening towards it. If I attain that state or even come near enough to it (and probably that is all that a human being can reach) this problem of Noakhali will be easily solved. Let us see what happens.

Please do not hesitate to write to me or dictate a letter for me, whenever you feel like telling me something. Know that your messages will never be a strain on me.....

Yours sincerely.
M. K. Gandhi Bapu"

Although spiritually affiliated to Gandhiji's philosophy of non-violence, Satis Chandra could not, however, see eye to eye with the Mahatma on all issues of contemporary politics. Notwithstanding his great reverence for the Mahatma, he made no secret of his questioning attitude towards the efficacy of the Mahatma's non-violent technique for the solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem. He considered Gandhiji's whole approach to this burning question to be devoid of "practicability" if not of "logicality". This view of Satis Chandra was set forth in detail in one of his letters to Sri Sitikantha Jha of the Bihar Khadi Samiti, written in Bengali in 1947. But in spite of such differences of views, Satis Chandra cherished throughout life deepest love and regard for the Mahatma in whose outward activities he saw the workings of the Divine.⁴

4. For much of the material incorporated in this paper we are indebted to Sri Prabhat Chandra Dawn and Rama Prasad Dawn as well as to Sri Sitikantha Jha and Krishnadas Singha Roy better known as Krishnadas.

THE GADAR MOVEMENT AND THE HAND OF GERMANY*

KALYAN KUMAR BANERJEE

WE may now pass on to a discussion of the methods and strategy by which the revolutionaries hoped to achieve their objective. The story, in all its aspects, is not easy of construction. It is possible, to some extent, to relate the activities of the Indian revolutionaries in the United States to those of their compatriots in Germany, with the Germans and some Americans, very naturally, playing important roles. At certain points the links with the revolutionists in India are unmistakable and close. Then there are the attempts made to further the anti-British cause in and from Afghanistan, Egypt and Turkey and efforts to foment insurrection in India from Siam and Burma and Singapore. It is no easy task to bring the stories of all these splinter actions within the framework of a central theme. There was perhaps, some sort of a loose central direction, at least for some time. If one reads the testimony of the witnesses in the conspiracy trials in India, the United States and elsewhere, or, reads the depositions made by the arrested persons to responsible officials, one is really struck by the wide ramifications of the conspiracy and its international character. John W. Preston in his opening address analyses the objective of the conspiracy and emphasizes its worldwide nature. He goes to the length of saying that the conspiracy "permeated and encircled the entire globe." Discussing some of its specific aims, the prosecution lawyer suggests that in the East the proposition was to seize the Suez Canal and reach the west border of India through Persia and Afghanistan, and "..... so far as we are concerned," he said, "they (the conspirators) were to go in from San Francisco and use Manila and China and Japan—and Siam, in here,—as the intermediate base for the purpose of attacking India through Burma, and also on the coast of Bengal, particularly around Calcutta."¹ In the context of the deepening international crisis the relationship between the fighters for Indian independence and the German Government was naturally getting closer. The Indian revolutionists in the United States and their counterparts in Germany, would, by the very nature of things try to act in consultation. Two circumstances came to their aid. First, the growing animosity between England and Germany; secondly, the anticipated isolation and neutrality of the United States in the event of a war between the other two Powers. Much of the planning and strategy of the Indian revolutionists working in different parts of the world and of their German helpers was based on these assumptions. Both before and during the war this was discussed in various quarters. In August 1915 the French Police reported a general belief in Indian revolutionary circles in Europe of the likelihood of a rebellion breaking out in India within a short time. It was expected that Germany would give adequate support to the movement.² F. Von Bernhardi, one time Generals of the German army, referred to the possibility of revolutions breaking out in India and Egypt if England's forces were long occupied with a European war.³ In another context Bernhardi more specifically said, "England, so far, in accordance with the principle of divide *et impera*, has attempted to play off the Mohammedan against the Hindu population. But now that a pronounced revolutionary and nationalist tendency shows itself amongst these latter, the danger is imminent that Pan-Islamism, thoroughly roused, should unite with the revolutionary elements of Bengal. The co-operation of these elements might create a very grave danger, capable of shaking the foundations of England's high

*The last instalment on the Gadar Movement entitled Hardayal and Ramchandra, was published in the May issue of the *Modern Review*.

1. *Trial Records*, p. 17.
2. *Sedition Committee Report* (1918), p. 120.
3. F. Von Bernhardi, *Germany and the Next War*, p. 150.

position in the world.”⁴ Ominous references were also made in an article published early in March 1914, in the *Berliner Tageblatt* under the title “England’s Indian Trouble” in which there was a reference to the fact that secret societies in India received help from outside.⁵

As has been stated earlier, nearly six months before the outbreak of the war the Indian leaders on the Pacific coast of America were talking of the impending war between England and Germany and exhorting their countrymen to get ready to fight the battles of freedom. This idea and programme were popularized, along with the anti-British propaganda, through the columns of the *Hindustan Gadar*. This was corroborated by Preston when rather early during the San Francisco trial, in reply to a question from McGowan, a defense lawyer, he said, “we have six or eight of these papers that make similar references to the forthcoming trouble between England and Germany.”⁶

That the Indian revolutionists, at home and abroad, and also some foreign nationals were getting more and more involved in a common enterprise against the background of a worsening international situation is clear from the findings of the Sedition Committee Report. Early in 1915 some Bengali revolutionaries decided to organize and put the entire business of raising a rebellion in India with the help of the Germans upon a proper footing. Among other things, they decided to work in cooperation with the revolutionaries in Siam and other places, to get in touch with the Germans, and to raise funds by dacoities. Bholanath Chatterji had already been sent to Bangkok to get in touch with the conspirators there. It may be presumed that Jitendra Nath Lahiri had undertaken his visit to Europe to establish firsthand contacts with fellow revolutionists and the German helpers.⁷ This is borne out by M.N. Roy whom we quote below: “By the end of 1911, the news reached us in India that the Indian Revolutionary Committee in Berlin had obtained from the German Government the promise of arms and money . . . A messenger went to Berlin, with the proposal that

the Germans should deliver the arms to us in a neutral country nearest to India. We chose the Dutch East Indies, and before the end of 1914 I left for Java—my first trip out of the country.” Roy returned within two months with some money but no arms. He left India on a similar mission early next year but did not return home until some sixteen years later.⁸

In Germany there was already in existence a hard core of Indian revolutionists before the war had actually started. Hari Dayal had left California for Switzerland in March 1911 and Roy lived on the campus of the Stanford University near San Francisco, and then in New York for some time. He was one of the many Indian revolutionists rounded up by the police immediately after the U.S.A.’s entry into the war but fled to Mexico. In the San Francisco trial frequent references were made to him. He subsequently joined his compatriots in Berlin. A few more were to join them from the United States. Others would be sent out on special missions to Berlin. As the story develops we shall see Indian conspirators in the United States being sent for by the Berlin group for consultations and instructions. M. N. Roy who was led by the circumstances away from the main current of the Indo-German Conspiracy was, at one stage advised by the German Ambassador in China to contact the ‘High Command,’ i.e., the Teutonic war lords in Berlin.⁹

We are told that a young Tamilian, Champakraman Pillai established in Berlin in October 1911 the Indian National Party. The organization was attached to the German General Staff and included among its members were Hari Dayal, Taraknath Das, Bukatulla, Chandra K. Chakravarti and Heramba Lal Gupta.¹⁰ From the judgment given in the Third Lahore Conspiracy case by the Punjab Tribunal we learn that the German Consul-general in New York was forwarding Indian revolutionaries to Germany to help in such ways as they could. According to the evidence of a witness in this case who reached Berlin in March 1915, there was an Indian Revolutionary Society in Berlin. The aim of the Society was to establish a Republic in

4. *Ibid.* p. 91.

5. *Sedition Committee Report*, p. 119.

6. *Trial Records*, p. 15.

7. *Sedition Committee Report*, p. 121.

8. M. N. Roy’s *Memours*, Pp. 34.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

10. *Sedition Committee Report*, p. 119.

India. It held frequent meetings, "attended by Turks, Egyptians, German officials, German ex-Professors and missionaries . . . Har Dayal and Chattopadhyay were in daily communication with the German Foreign Office. To carry out the revolution in India, there was an Oriental Bureau for translating and disseminating inflammatory literature to the Indian prisoners of war in Germany." The witness was sent back to America where the German Consul put him in communication with Gupta and one, Wehde, "whose particular mission was to convey 20,000 dollars of German money to the revolutionaries in India." He also met other Germans.¹¹

M. N. Roy describes Virendranath Chattopadhyay, a brother of Sarojini Naidu, as the live-wire of the Indian group in Berlin. Like Har Dayal, Chattopadhyay and Bhupendranath Dutta had political antecedents and were known to the revolutionaries in India. The Indian revolutionists in Berlin seem to have acquired "in Berlin the status of the representatives of a belligerent power, so as to enlist the support of the German Government for India's struggle against British Imperialism. It seemed that the Committee proposed to function as a provisional government in exile, and believed that it was recognised as such by the German Government."¹² This was the situation, at least, in the early phase of the movement. It may not be out of place here to mention that there has been no mention of any document or evidence which goes to suggest that the Indian revolutionists were trying to substitute British rule over India by the German. It is very likely that the Germans were viewing the entire scheme of Indo-German conspiracy in the perspective of an all-out war with England. Their primary concern was to foment unrest in India and thereby keep the British Government and the army busy and harried. Their objective was in the nature of things, limited. At the same time, it should be remembered, that no one at any stage of the conspiracy movement suggested that there was any secret deal between the leaders of the Indian group and the German Foreign Office. The aim of the Indian Revolutionary Society in Berlin was, as indicated before, to set up a Republic of India. The San Francisco

Gadar literature did not even imply at any time that German rule was preferable to British rule. According to Bhupendranath Dutta who played an important role in the conspiracy movement, some of the Indian revolutionaries in Germany decided to approach the German Government for a national financial loan which was to be repaid on India's securing freedom.¹³ This finds an echo in the reply of Dr. C. K. Chakravarty, Berlin's nominee in America during the concluding phase of the Indo-German conspiracy, to questions put to him in the course of the San Francisco trial.¹⁴

The independent position of the Indian revolutionaries in the initial stage with respect to their relationship with the German aiders is also borne out by John W. Preston's observations on the occasion of his opening address at the San Francisco trial. Preston says that Von Brincken of Germany "immediately called together the Hindus, or at least, the more prominent ones, and asked them for their assistance, or tender their co-operation with them in their work; he met this man Taraknath Das among the very first men in the proposition, and also Ramchandra. The proposition then was not only to send men back to India, but to dispatch men to Germany."¹⁵ In another place the prosecuting attorney makes it clear that "the moment that war was declared between England and Germany

13. Majumdar, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, vol. 2, p. 405. Majumdar quotes extensively from Bhupendranath Dutta's—*Aprakasha Rajnaitik Itihas* (in Bengali)—2 vols.

14. Earl E. Sperry, *German Plots and Intrigues in the United States during the period of Our Neutrality*, Red, White and Blue Series, No. 10, Edition of July, 1918. Issued by the Committee on Public Information, p. 42-43.

Q. Have you received any money from Wolf V. Igel? A. Yes, through Dr. Sekunna. Q. How much have you received? A. About \$60,000. . . .

In a supplemental statement on the next day, Dr. Chakravarty was asked: Do you know whether this \$60,000 which you received from Von Igel was furnished by the German Government? A. It was loaned to the Indian Nationalist Party, and the Indian Nationalist Party transmitted the money. Q. And the loan was made by the German Government? A. Yes.

15. *Trial records*, p. 16.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 160.

12. M. N. Roy, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

the consuls of at least 12 or 15 different places were ready, able, willing, and anxious, and actually at the work of assisting the Indian revolution."¹⁶

A reference to the Berlin India Society has already been made. It may be reasonably concluded that the need was felt for a co-ordinating organization that would co-ordinate the activities of the revolutionaries in different areas, formulate plans and exercise some supervisory control over the movement as a whole. With the increasingly important role of Germany as the most effective paymaster, the organization had to be in close touch with the German Foreign Office. Thus came into being the Berlin India Committee. The first Committee consisted of Har Dayal, Chattopadhyay, Barkatulla, Dr. Hafiz, Bhupendranath Dutta, Champakraman Pillai and Prabhakar.¹⁷ Virendranath Chattopadhyay regarded as "the most active of the Hindu revolutionaries in Europe,"¹⁸ was the President of the Committee. It is significant that there was no German on the Committee. This goes to support our view that the Indian revolutionary group enjoyed a considerable amount of freedom and was treated, at least at this stage, by the Germans with respect and deference.

The precise nature of the work of the Indian revolutionaries in Berlin is difficult to ascertain. It is reasonable to conclude, however, that after the conspiracy movement had got started, the Indian group in Berlin, since it was

16. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

18. *San Francisco Examiner*, November 23, 1917, 1:1.

M. N. Roy's *Memoirs* have a brief section on Indian Revolutionary Committee in Berlin (sec. 39). He gives us the following information. Chattopadhyay, as a student in England, was a member of the terrorist group to which Savarkar belonged. After the assassination of Curzon Wylie he found asylum in France, and then on the outbreak of the war, moved to Berlin. He and a few Indians studying in Germany formed the Indian Revolutionary Committee. The original Committee had as its President Mohammad Mansoor who was a Government of India scholar. Because of the alliance with Turkey, the Germans were inclined to give prominence to Muslims in their relation with India. Eventually he was pushed to the background.

right on the spot, had a share in formulating policies. But much depended on the response and the ability of the California Indians. The execution of a plan was largely in their hands. Their own funds were being supplemented by German finance. They were many times stronger in man power. More important than these, perhaps, was the fact that they could exploit the neutrality of the United States for the furtherance of their cause. Much depended on the ability of the group working in America, the effectiveness of their propaganda and organization, and the strength of the links they might be able to forge with the Indian revolutionists elsewhere and at home. Secrecy, timing, the capacity to deliver the goods, the readiness of the revolutionists in India to strike at the right moment—all these were necessary for the success of the ambitious movement.

The Sedition Committee Report and the records of the conspiracy trials in India have much more to say about the revolutionary preparations in America than in Germany. The reasons are obvious. England was at war with Germany. Even before the outbreak of the war the relations between the two were far from cordial. The United States was not only neutral till the beginning of April 1917, but was pliable to British suggestions as has been maintained by some and indicated by us before. The following account¹⁹ may be found interesting. As soon as the war broke out Bhupendranath Dutta and a few other Indian revolutionaries in the United States made a proposal to the German Ambassador to that country suggesting that a Volunteer Force of Indian soldiers with an ambulance corps be organized. The proposers felt that this would show their enmity towards the British and friendship for the Germans, thus countering the English claim to and publicity of India's loyalty. The Ambassador reacted favourably and communicated the proposal to Berlin. He agreed to bear the expenses and make transportation arrangements. The sponsors of the move then wrote to Ramchandra at San Francisco requesting him to recruit volunteer soldiers. Ramchandra

19. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, Pp. 404-409. Majumdar gives a summary of a "fairly comprehensive account given by Bhupendranath Dutta in his *Aprakasita Rajnaitik Itihas* (in Bengali).

turned down the proposal, for he thought that the soldiers should rather be sent to India.²⁰

Sometime after this, a few Indian revolutionaries in Germany decided to approach the German Government with some proposals. First, they asked for a national loan from the German Government which would be repaid on India's achieving independence. Secondly, they sought arms and German assistance to Indian revolutionaries working in different countries. They also urged the declaration of a *jihad* by the Sultan of Turkey against the allies as an encouragement for the Indian Muslims fighting against the British. A meeting between Virendra Chattopadhyay and Baron Von Wertheim of the German Foreign Office was arranged. Chattopadhyay then had a meeting with Baron Oppenheim. The whole thing took shape early in September 1914, and a committee—the German Union of Friendly India—was formed. Herr Albercht, President of the Hamburg American Steamer Co., was elected President with Baron Oppenheim and Sukhankar as Vice Presidents, and Dhiren Sarkar as Secretary. There were seventeen other Indian members on the committee. When Sukhankar left for India Chattopadhyay succeeded him as Vice President. Sarkar was sent to America and Dr. Muller took his place. The Committee arranged to train people in the manufacture of explosives in a camp at Spandau near Berlin and to familiarize them with modern weapons. Besides, some members were taken to the prisoners' camp to carry on anti-British propaganda. The problem of conveying weapons

to the Indian coast was discussed with the naval officers.

Other specific items of work undertaken by the German Union of Friendly India included the dispatch of some Indian revolutionaries back to India and the bringing in of some from the United States and elsewhere to Berlin. Arrangements were also made with the California Gadar Party to carry on the revolutionary work jointly. The old Committee was thoroughly modified by the middle of 1915. It was given an exclusively Indian complexion and came to be called the Indian Independence Committee. At first, Mr. Mansur was elected President.²¹ Later, the office was abolished and the Committee functioned collectively. The 'indianization' of the Committee was not without significance. The Committee tried to organize the revolutionaries in India and abroad and formulate a common plan of action. Agents were sent to several of the eastern countries with this end in view. There was talk of sending ships with arms and German military personnel to India. But the plans were not implemented. Some Indian revolutionaries when arrested turned approvers. Subsequently, the Committee despaired of a rebellion in India and from after 1917 became more interested in propaganda work "so that India's case might be considered at the time of the Peace Treaty."

21. This is corroborated by M. N. Roy although he calls the Committee by a slightly different name.

22. The Gadar Party was already committed to the programme of sending fighters back to India, and arrangements to this end had already started.

According to Preston, Chattopadhyay "was the President of it, I think." Preston calls it the Berlin India Committee. This must be the same as the Indian Independence Committee, *Trial Records*, Pp. 16-17.



AFGHAN NATION AND ITS BOUNDARIES WITH SOVIET UNION

By S. C. BAJPAI

The Russo-Afghan boundary is the direct product of Anglo-Russian rivalry for the sphere of influence in that country in the nineteenth century. Afghanistan has been subject to cruel treatment by the powers of Persia, Britain and Russia in modern times. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Afghanistan was a bone of contention between the Saffivids of Persia and the Mughals of India. The death of Abbas III, Emperor of Persia, in 1628, gave opportunity to local chiefs to wage wars against each other. The death of Aurangzeb, Emperor of India, in 1707 not only made loose the provinces of India, but the out-living principalities became perfectly independent. Peter the Great, Tsar of Russia (1682-1725), took advantage of those chaotic conditions and captured all Persian possessions on the Caspian Sea. Turkey was the other contender in the spoils of the Persian Empire. To avoid war between Russia and Turkey, the Tsar Peter partitioned the Persian Empire between Russia and Turkey.

The Birth and Consolidation of Afghanistan

With the death of Abbas III, the last of the Saffavid rulers of Persia in 1736, the dynasty ceased to exist, and an adventurer Nadir Kuli Khan ascended the throne with the title of Nadir Shah. He not only recovered the provinces conquered by the Russians and the Turks, but reduced Sindh, Kandahar, Kabul, Balkh and the whole country between the Oxus river and the Caspian Sea, carried his arms to Delhi, gave the capital of the Mughals over to plunder and massacre. Nadir Shah was murdered in 1747. On the ruins of the Persian Empire, the foundation of the modern Kingdom of Afghanistan was laid by Ahmad Shah Abdali in 1747.

So long Ahmad Shah Abdali and his successors Tumir Shah and Zaman Shah (1793-1801) kept the authority at Kabul intact with good intentions; England was less concerned with the affairs in that region. Apprehensions of Afghans and the rise of Napoleon the Great, with his designs on Egypt and India, made the British conscious of the realities. On the advice of Marquis of Wellesly, Governor-General of India (1793-1805), Jonathan Duncan, Governor of Bombay, sent a merchant from Bushire to the Court of Mir Fateh Ali Khan, the Amir of Sindh in 1799 in order "...to set the stage for the restoration of amicable relations between Sindh and British India."¹ On the results of this mission Nathan Crow was sent to the Court of Sindh as Company's agent in 1800. Though the French army had been defeated outside Acre, and the fleet had been destroyed by Nelson, diplomatic and defensive efforts of the Company continued. In 1808, Mountstuart Elphinstone went to the Court of Kabul for the purpose of concerting with Shah Shuja the means of mutual defence against the threatened invasion of Afghanistan and India by the French in confederacy with the Persians. A treaty concluded by Elphinstone with the ruler of Kabul on 17 June 1809 provided, among other things, British aid to Shah Shuja in the event of an attack "by the French and the Persians. Meanwhile Captain John Malcolm went to Persia to negotiate a political and commercial alliance in 1799. A treaty concluded by Malcolm with Fateh Ali Shah of Persia on January 1801

1. Robert A. Huttenback, **British Relations with Sind 1799-1843** (California, 1962) 2.

2. C.U. Aitchison, **Treaties, Engagements and Sanads**, Vol. XIII (Fifth Edition, Calcutta, 1933) 45-9.

provided that the Shah of Persia will lay waste the country of the Afghans in case they invade India and will prevent the French from settling or residing in Persia. British Government agreed to assist the Shah with military stores in the event of war between the Afghans or the French and Persia.² Thus a barrier into the invasion of India by France or Russia was laid and the influence of the British increased in the Courts of Persia and Afghanistan.

Russian policy in the Near and Middle East up to the end of eighteenth century was of winning over the ruling families by offering them the equivalent of their titles in Russia, and by giving them important military and administrative posts within the Russian Empire. With the dawn of the nineteenth century, this policy became more acute and aggressive. The first three decades of the nineteenth century had witnessed a war between Russia and Persia. On June 30, 1807, near the Kans at the battle of Arpatch, the Russians and the Persians fought a war resulting in the defeat of the latter. English came to the aid of Persia, not with arms but with sterling, resulting in another war in 1812, when Persian army commanded by two British officers, Christie and Lindsay, attacked the Russians at a most inopportune moment, as it coincided with the advance of Napoleon's Grand Army on Moscow. Abbas Mirza, after being defeated by the Russians asked for peace. A peace treaty was signed in Gulistan in 1813 by which Persia gave up all rights to the territories occupied by Russia in Transcaucasia.³ The execution of the treaty again created difficulties and another war between them was fought in 1828 which ended in the treaty of Turkmanchai by which Persia lost further territories in the north and north-west.⁴ By this treaty Russia gained ascendancy in Persia, which she later employed to encourage the claims of the Shah to sovereignty over Herat and western

Afghanistan. Thus a stage of firm Anglo-Russian rivalry was set in the Near and Middle East.

Anglo-Russian rivalry for the sphere of influence, territorial greed of Persia and recovery of Peshawar from Ranjit Singh to Afghans, were some of the main positive factors in the precipitation of the first Anglo-Afghan war.⁵ Consequently when British learnt the appearance of Captain Vitkovich with instructions from Count Simonich, the Russian Minister in Persia, in Kabul, the preparations for the counter mission to that country were made. Lord Auckland who took over the Indian Government from benevolent Bentick in the month of March 1836, sent Captain Alexander Burnes to Kabul in September 1837 on a commercial mission. Amir Dost Muhammad could obtain no assurances from the envoy in his designs of the restoration of Peshawar, and he therefore turned to the Russians, from whom he hoped to obtain greater advantages. Burnes left Kabul on 26 April, 1838, leaving the field to his Russian adversary.⁶ In view of this drift of Dost Muhammad towards Russia, Auckland issued a manifesto on 1 October 1838 accusing the Amir of a "sudden and unprovoked attack upon the troops of our ancient ally Ranjit Singh," and setting forth the reasons of the assemblage of troops beyond the Indus. The decision to get rid of Dost Muhammad in favour of Shah Shuja was taken and the British army reached Kabul. Dost Muhammad surrendered his throne in favour of his son, but the British force was driven out of Kabul in mid winter. In a dreadful retreat across the mountains it was cut to pieces, and Dost Muhammad got back his throne. Simultaneously a Russian expedition to Khiva failed due to unusually severe winter and was obliged to retrace its steps to Orenburg, the place of its origin, with heavy loss of life.⁷ Incidentally, the mountain wars between latitudes 32°, 42° and longitude

3. Arnold T. Wilson, *The Persian Gulf* (London, 1954) 256.

4. A. Lobanov-Rostovsky (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1951) 110.

5. Gleig, G. R., *Sal's Brigade in Afghanistan* (London, 1861) 22-33.

6. J. W. Kaye, *History of the War in Afghanistan*, Vol. 1 (London, 1851) 199.

7. Rostovsky, n. 4, 101.

40°, 80° failed miserably. Russia failed at Khiva, Britain at Kabul, Zorawar Singh near Mount Kailash. In Central Asia both Russian and English reconciled for the time being, only to begin a fresh flare up in the sixties of the nineteenth century.

The Amu Darya Boundary

The Crimean War had sealed Europe for Russian expansion with the result that Russia began to expand in Asia. The situation of Afghanistan, because of her uncertain boundaries, became extremely delicate when Russia took Samarkand in 1867. The British started negotiations with Russia concerning the frontier question in September 1867 and recommended the recognition of some territory as neutral between the possessions of Britain and Russia "which should be the limit of those possessions and be scrupulously respected by both powers." The idea was favourably considered by the Tsar of Russia but the Government of India rejected the idea in favour of a definite line. Douglas Forstyth held several conferences at St. Petersburg in which proposals and counter proposals were placed on the table but to no avail. Ultimately, in 1872 the British Government submitted to the Russian Government a statement of the territories fully belonging to Afghanistan.

(1) Badakshan with its dependent district of Wakhan from the Sarikul on the east to the junction of the Kokcha river with the Oxus (or Punjab a branch of the Oxus) forming the northern boundary of this Afghan province throughout its entire extent.

(2) The districts of Kunduz, Khulm and Balkh, the northern boundary of which would be the line of the Oxus from the junction of the Kokcha river to the part of Khoja Saleh inclusive, on the high road from Bokhara to Balkh. Nothing to be claimed by Afghanistan on the left bank of the Oxus below Khoja Saleh.

(3) The internal districts of Akcha, Sar-i-pul, Maimana, Shibarghan and Andkhui, the latter of which would be the extreme Afghan frontier possession to the north-west, the desert beyond belonging to independent tribes of the Terkomans.

(4) The western Afghan frontier between Herat and the Persian province of Khorasan was well-known and needed no definition.⁸

Russia after some reluctance accepted the British proposals and an agreement was signed in January 1873, known as Clarendon-Gortchakoff agreement of 1872-73. Thus the Oxus boundary between Afghanistan and Russia was defined.

Khoja Saleh—Hari Rud River Boundary

After the Congress of Berlin in 1878 the bitter phase of the Anglo-Russian rivalry in Central Asia begins, which resulted in the second Anglo-Afghan war of 1878-79, the causes of which were similar to that of first Anglo-Afghan war (1839-42).

Russian advance towards northern outpost of Afghanistan from the Caspian Sea became rapid. In 1876, Kokand had been incorporated into the Russian Empire. In 1884, the town of Merv fell to Russia. Britain invited Russia to propose a way of averting the complications that might be caused by her nearer approach towards the border of Afghanistan. In reply Russia suggested the appointment of a joint commission to lay down a boundary between the Oxus and the Hari Rud. In July 1884 Peters Lumden and General Zenoloi were appointed as boundary demarcation Commissioners on the part of England and Russia respectively. Unfortunately Russians did not wait for the arbitration and pressed on towards the Afghan border and advanced to Yulstan on the Murghab and Pul-i-khatum, on the Hari Rud. Before the commissioners could begin their work, Russians advanced towards Panjdeh in February 1885 and ordered Afghans to vacate the place. Refusal resulted in the Panjdeh incident and the place was taken by Russians, while Amir was busy with Lord Dufferin at Rawalpindi. Feelings went wild both

8. William Hubberton, *Anglo-Russian Relations Concerning Afghanistan 1837-1907* (Urbana, 1937) 30.

in England and India and the Imperialists were again at the brink of war. The situation was saved by Amir Abdur Rehman who said in a statement that the loss of Panjdeh was not a thing of consequence to him, provided Russians gave a definite promise that no further advance was intended, and that a fixed line would be drawn to demarcate the boundary. "After a prolonged negotiation an agreement was signed on September 10, 1885 giving Russia a desired frontier line."⁹

After the September agreement a fresh commission was appointed with Sir West Ridgeway from Britain, Colonel Kuhlberg from Russia and Qazi Said-ud-din Khan from Afghanistan. The work of demarcation was resumed in March 1886 and completed up to Dukchi from Zulfikar. The forty miles strip up to Oxus could not be demarcated due to differences on the point at Oxus, where the boundary should meet. Next year in 1887 it was settled by mutual negotiations and the pillars were erected between Zulfikar on Hari Rud river to Khawaja Salar on Oxus river.¹⁰ It passes Zulfikar on Hari Rud, Muruchak on Murghab river below the crossing of Kushak River near Panjdeh and goes to Khamiab on Oxus via Andkhui.

The Pamir Boundary, 1895

The only event of note between the Hari Rud Oxus boundary demarcation and the Pamir boundary demarcation was the formation of Durand line in the South-East of Afghanistan. British encouragement to Chinese for occupation of Pamir failed, and Russians once more wanted to take advantage of this unsettled question of boundary. In the summer of 1892 Colonel Yauoff advanced to the border of Shighnan, and on 24 July came into collision with a detachment of Afghan troops under Shams-ud-Din Khan at Somatash, on the eastern end of Yashikul (The Yellow Lake). Once

again the cordial relations of the two neighbouring countries became strained. The controversy was not terminated until March 1895, when it was agreed that the Cis-Oxus portion of Darwaz should be ceded to Afghanistan by the Khan of Bokhara, on the condition that the Afghans evacuated those portions of Shighnan and Roshan which lie on the right bank of the Panja, a branch of the Oxus. The work of this boundary commission, though difficult was most satisfactory. A boundary was actually demarcated from Lake Victoria to the Taghdumbash Pamir.¹¹

Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907

While the process of marking of boundaries in the North West, South and North East and South East was on, the boundary with Persia was demarcated in 1891.¹² Thus Afghanistan emerged as a completely land locked country and the buffer between Russian and British Empires. The Anglo-Russian convention of August 1907 made a final effort to solve Anglo-Russian rivalry in Central Asia. As far as Afghanistan was concerned, the British Government disclaimed any intention of altering the political status or of interfering in the administration, or annexing any territory of Afghanistan, and engaged to use her influence in Afghanistan in no manner threatening to Russia. Russia, on her part, recognised Afghanistan as outside her sphere of influence.¹³

It is exactly here one has to observe that neither Afghanistan was a party when her fate was decided at Anglo-Russian Convention 1907, nor Tibet was a party when her fate was decided in the Anglo-Chinese Convention in 1906.¹⁴ Neither of the nations consented to the agreement between Imperialist powers, England and the Rus-

9. Rostovsky, n. 4, 180; Aitchison, n. 2, 243.

10. Descriptions of Pillars are given in Aitchison's, op. cit., CLXXI.

11. Aitchison, n. 2, 220 and CXCII; Habberton, n. 8, 67.

12. Aitchison, n. 2, 217, CLXXVI.

13. Habberton, n. 8, 75.

14. Mohammed Ali, Afghanistan, 112. H.E. Richardsor, Tibet and its History (London, 1962) 256.

sians and Manchus. Significantly, both Afghanistan and Tibet declared independence in the second decade of the present century.

The second decade of the present century had witnessed the Revolution in Russia and World War I. King Amanullah who came to power in Afghanistan declared War of Independence in 1919 and ultimately won it in the same year and a treaty between Afghanistan and Great Britain was signed on 8 August, 1919 at Rawalpindi which freed Afghanistan from all external and internal interference by England.¹⁵

Afghanistan and Soviet Union

No sooner Afghanistan attained her freedom, she concluded several treaties with different countries of the world besides England and Soviet Union. Lenin received Sirdar Mohammad Wali Khan in October 1919. Diplomatic relations were established and Suritz succeeded Bravin as envoy to Kabul from U.S.S.R. Both envoys initiated conversations for Russo-Afghan Treaty which was signed on 28 February, 1921 at Moscow. Soviet Union and Afghanistan engaged themselves not to enter into any political arrangement with a third power which would be detrimental to the other party. Goods imported into Afghanistan from Russian territory would not be taxed. Both acknowledged the independence of Bokhara and Khiva. The Russians offered to hold a plebiscite in Panjdeh to determine whether this area should belong to Russia or to Afghanistan.¹⁶

Between Soviet Union and Afghanistan there was a long standing dispute in regard to the Island of Urta Tugay in the Oxus. In December 1925 Soviet forces occupied the island, which caused some excitement in Kabul. But the Soviet Union made a speedy amend and on 31 August 1926 a "Pact of neutrality and non-aggression"

between the Soviet Union and Afghan Governments was signed at Paghman, after the award of Soviet-Afghan Commission which awarded the island to Afghanistan.¹⁷

Soon after the return of Amanulla from Europe a rebellion of Bachcha-i-Saqao (son of a water carrier) broke out in protest to the reforms instituted by the King. Kabul was captured and Amanulla fled to India, but the reign of Bachcha-i-Saqao was short, for in October 1929 he was driven out by Nadir Khan. During this period Soviet troops under Gulam Nabi, Afghanistan's Ambassador in Moscow, had bombed the frontier post of Patta-Hissar and the infantry crossed Amu-Darya (Oxus) and captured Manar-i-Sherif and then Tashkurgan. But when the strong Government of Nadir Khan was established, the relations with Soviet Union became normal.¹⁸

After the war Soviet interest in Afghanistan became active once again, and several agreements were signed between the two governments. An agreement in regard to boundary was signed between M. Molotov and Sultan Ahmad Khan, the Afghan Ambassador, in Moscow, on 13 June, 1946. By this agreement boundary along the Amu Darya (Oxus) and Panja river was redefined. It provided the incorporation in the U.S.S.R. of the Kushka district which was ceded to Afghanistan earlier in 1921. The new agreement established the boundary which existed between Afghanistan and Russia before 1917.¹⁹

The formation of Pakistan brought Pakhtoonistan question to the forefront. Soviet-Afghan relations after the emergence of Khrushchev to power are more of economic co-operation and cordiality.

17. Aitchison, n. 2, CCVI-VII: The borderland of Soviet Central Asia, Afghanistan, *Central Asian Review* (London) 4(1) 176-7.

18. *Ibid.*, 180-81.

19. *Ibid.*, 182.

Keesing's Contemporary Archives, Vol. VI, 1946-48, 7982.

15. Aitchison, n. 2, 286.

16. Aitchison, n. 2, 225; L. Teplinsky, *Afghanistan Friendly Neighbour*, *International Affairs* (Moscow), June 1959, 103.

WORKERS' PARTICIPATION IN MANAGEMENT

K. M. CHANANA

Joint Management Councils are at present functioning in 81 industrial undertakings: 25 in the public sector and 56 in the private sector. There has been progress; but it has not been satisfactory. While it was hoped to set up joint management councils in all the industrial establishments found suitable for the purpose, only a few have taken the initiative. At the 20th session of the Indian Labour Conference, the Union Minister for Labour and Employment also dwelt on the slow progress of implementation of the scheme. He said that he was deeply concerned over the fact that the progress achieved so far with regard to the scheme had been rather limited. Though the experience in this connection has been far from discouraging yet he felt there was not enough enthusiasm or seriousness about it. Lately some resistance had been developing. Ideological considerations were being imported into the discussions which were relevant only to a capitalist society. He further said that there was nothing very radical in the scheme. Its three main ingredients: supply of information about the working of a concern; consultation regarding major developments in the enterprise; and management of certain welfare activities—could cause no pangs of conscience even in countries which were not committed to socialist ideas.

What is this scheme of worker's participation in management? What are its objectives and main forms? What are the conditions for the success of the scheme and how far these are present in the Indian economy of to-day? What are the advantages expected to flow from the scheme? And what weaknesses, if any, the actual working of the scheme have revealed? These and related questions are sought to be answered below. Before doing that, however, a short history of the evolution of the scheme would be in order.

History of the Evolution of the Scheme

Worker's participation in management has been truly called one facet—and an important facet at that—of industrial democracy. Hence it is little wonder that the Second Five Year Plan aiming to establish a socialist pattern of society and democratic socialism, has given pride of place to the scheme 'for the successful implementation of the Plan'. It has also been commended in the Third Five Year Plan. In the Industrial Policy Resolution, 1956, it has been observed: 'In a Social Democracy labour is a partner in the common task of development and should participate in it with enthusiasm. There should be joint consultations and workers and technicians should, wherever possible, be associated progressively with Management.'

As sufficient experience and information was not available in India vis-a-vis such scheme, the Government of India appointed a Study Group—under chairmanship of Mr. Vishnu Sahay, then Secretary Ministry of Labour—to: (i) study the experience in Labour—Management Co-operation within the country and (ii) depute an Expert Team to European countries for drawing on foreign experience on the subject. A Study Group was, therefore, sent in 1956 to some foreign countries like UK, Sweden, France, Belgium, Yugoslavia and Germany. (It may be noted, incidentally, that it was in the last-named country that some of the boldest steps in this field were taken during the post-war period with the passage of the now historic Co-Determination Laws).

The 15th session of the Indian Labour Conference held in July, 1957, accepted all the recommendations of the Study Group and set up a small Tripartite Sub-Committee to work out the details of the scheme. The Indian Labour Confer-

WORKERS' PARTICIPATION IN MANAGEMENT

ence, however, did not accept the recommendations for enacting any legislation on the subject and desired that the scheme should be voluntarily introduced. On the basis of the recommendations of the Tripartite Sub-Committee, the 16th session of the Standing Labour Committee (Oct. 1957) drew up a Draft Model Agreement regarding the establishment of Councils of Management, their constitution, functions and responsibilities.

This was followed by a Seminar on Labour—Management Co-operation in early 1958, which was attended by representatives of employers and workers from 24 units (out of 50) which were chosen for setting up such Joint Management Councils—and in which such Councils were already functioning. With a view to review the progress and share the experience of these units, a Second Seminar on Labour-Management Co-operation was convened in March, 1960. The consensus at this Seminar was that the scheme had crossed the pilot stage and may be extended to as many units as possible.

With this background, the Third Five Year Plan enthusiastically recommended setting up of such Joint Management Councils in all industrial undertakings found suitable for the purpose, so that progressively "in the course of a few years, it may become a normal feature of the industrial system." The voluntary character of the scheme was to be maintained. (Here it may be noted in passing that apart from the above two official Seminars, two more Seminars, on non-official level, were held at Bombay on the subject: first on June 8-9, 1962, and the second on May 15-16, 1964).

Objectives

The Five Year Plan lays down the following objectives of increased association of labour with management:

- (i) Providing increased productivity for the general benefit of the enterprise, the employees and the community;

- (ii) Giving employees a better understanding of their role in the working of the industry and of the process of production; and
- (iii) Satisfying the worker's urge for self expression, thus leading to industrial peace, better relations and increased co-operation.

Forms of 'Participation'

Workers' participation in management can assume various forms; but of these two are most prominent: (i) Workers representation on the Board of Directors; and (ii) Joint Management Councils.

Representation of workers on the Board of Directors is rarely practised in India: DCM being one of the very few exceptions in the private sector. It is because this form of worker's participation is open to serious objections. Firstly, the Board of Directors is usually concerned with matters of policy, which are not of immediate concern to workers. Secondly, the average union leader in India is at present not equipped, either by education or training, to comprehend matters of technical and managerial nature, which the Board of Directors is called upon to deal with. As a result, the worker's nominee is reduced to the position of a mere passive spectator; so that high expectations of labour raised on account of this experiment are dashed to the ground, resulting in mutual recriminations and accusation of the worker's nominee on the Board being 'bought over' by the management.

On account of these difficulties, the Five Year Plan has recommended Joint Management Councils as the most suitable form of worker-management collaboration for the country: these Councils to consist of representatives of 'management, technicians and workers.' This is also corroborated by the report of the Study Group referred to above. It favoured a single Council for the undertaking as a whole, provided it is not made up of units at different places. Outsiders may be necessary in the beginning, but their number should be restricted.

Functions of Joint Management Councils

Firstly, there is consensus of opinion that matters which are subject to collective bargaining, like service conditions, wages, bonus, etc., should be excluded from the purview of these Councils. Secondly, their functions should be of an advisory character. For example, the Five Year Plan, speaking of the role of these Councils, lays down that these 'should be entitled to discuss various matters pertaining to the establishment and to recommend steps for its better working.' The Study Group report allocates general functions like alterations in standing orders; retrenchment; rationalisation; disciplinary matters etc., to these Councils; at the same time emphasising the importance of furnishing these Councils with information on the financial position of the undertaking. As against the purely advisory role envisaged for these Councils in the Five Year Plan, the said report favours delegation of more administrative responsibility to them, particularly with regard to administration of welfare measures, supervision of safety practices, operation of vocational training and apprenticeship schemes etc.

Conditions for the Success of the Scheme

There are various conditions which must be satisfied if the experiment of Joint Management Councils is to be successful: in their absence the whole scheme may topple like a house built on sand; mere pious wishes, howsoever well-intentioned, are no substitute for these conditions:

- (i) The need for an intensive educational campaign to rouse both workers and management to the importance of the scheme.
- (ii) Joint consultation should be 'in-built' rather than super-imposed from outside. Moreover, this joint consultation should be practised at all levels.
- (iii) Reorientation of attitude on the part of both parties: this is fundamental as with the present antagonistic attitude of the

parties, the scheme has no chance. Both parties must have faith in each other.

- (iv) There should be strong self-confident trade unions closely connected with the machinery of participation.
- (v) Employers must, on no account, use this scheme to undermine Trade Unionism; nor is it to be looked upon as a substitute for improvement in working conditions.
- (vi) Last but not the least, there should be equitable distribution of the gains following increased production, between the two parties—as such increased production is one of the primary objectives of the whole scheme.

Some Observations

An impartial review of the working of these joint-management councils in the 81 industrial undertakings, referred to above, will reveal that the scheme has certainly run into difficulties and the great expectations with which the whole experiment was launched are far from being realised. Of course, there is a whole spectrum of undertakings, both in the private as well as public sector, from units where the scheme has been working very successfully to units where it is more or less on paper only; hence generalisations are not easy. The fanfare with which the scheme was launched in HMT in 1958, and its notorious failure subsequently, is now a part of history. In the public sector (Central) there are only three units in which these Joint-Management Councils have been set up, viz., the Nahan Foundry, Nahan; Bermo Colliery of DVC; and Hindustan Cables, Calcutta. But these are all unimportant units. Of the major public sector units, under the Central sphere, there is not even one in which these Councils have been functioning even today. Nor is the record of State public sector, in this respect, any more encouraging. For example, in the Andhra

Pradesh Road Transport Corporation and Nizam Sugar Factory in the State of A.P., and Government Cement Factory, Mirzapur, in the State of UP, the respective State Governments agreed to set up these Joint-Management Councils, but nothing substantial came out of it.

There are, of course, peculiar difficulties—apart from the general ones which we shall deal with below—in setting up such Joint-Management Councils in public-sector undertakings. To begin with, there is an insufficient understanding of the scheme at the local management level, where the scheme is held to involve (erroneously) some delegation of managerial responsibilities. Secondly, most of these public sector undertakings are manned by administrators who are averse to the very idea of consulting their subordinates across the table. Thus this bureaucratic attitude stands in the way of successful functioning of the Councils in the public sector.

But is the record of private sector in this respect any better? Employers in general have a lot of misunderstanding and suspicion regarding this scheme. To the management the very phrase 'worker's participation in management' conjures up a vision of attempted interference by worker's representatives in the management decisions. To these be added the following further difficulties: the multiplicity of trade unions; inter-union and group rivalry among unions; absence of good record of industrial relations; lack of education among the workers; the very nomenclature of the scheme; existence of too many committees simultaneously (Works Committee etc.) and preference for informal consultation.

Another serious handicap relates to Union leadership which has had little, if any, training to handle various complicated issues which the scheme would thrust upon them. Instances of trade unions being indifferent towards or even opposed to the setting up of these Councils are not wanting—as in the case of Advance Mills, Ahmedabad. There is an uncalled for apprehension in the minds of some union

leaders that the setting up of these Joint-Management Councils will reduce their influence as trade union leaders and thus bring down their political status and lower their bargaining power.

These difficulties were indeed taken into account at the 15th Session of the Indian Labour Conference and the two Seminars on Labour Management Co-operation, referred to above. To counter these difficulties, the existence of a strong trade union, a fair record of industrial relations; and intensification of the Workers' Education Scheme were considered as pre-requisite for the success of the scheme. Furthermore, these Joint Management Councils should be entrusted with effective responsibility to discharge their functions—whatever these are; and the participants, especially the worker's representatives, must be aroused to 'take active interest in the day-to-day deliberations of the Councils.

In view of the above-mentioned difficulties, is the Government justified in using compulsion, through legislative enactment, for the success of the scheme? The Study Group while in favour of permissive legislation on the subject held it 'to be a mistake to apply compulsion in the field'. This aspect was also discussed at the 15th Session of Indian Labour Conference which decided—on the insistence of the employers group—that before any legislation is enacted in the field, the scheme be voluntarily tried for a few years in selected units, both in the private as well as public sector. The present sentiment is certainly against any legislative enactment in the field.

Conclusion

But how far the experiment has succeeded? There are, no doubt, severe critics of the scheme who hold that the experiment has already proved a failure as illustrated by the working of existing Councils. It is an open secret that the high expectations aroused by this experiment, in the initial stages, are being belied. In some of the industrial units selected for this experiment, the Council's record of meetings

has been quite irregular ; while complaints, from workers representatives, regarding indifference to their views, are not lacking. In fact, some of the industrial units selected, both in the public as well as private sector, are reported to be having second thoughts vis-a-vis the whole scheme. To the critics, all this is not at all surprising as the basic conditions for the success of the scheme are lacking at present. They point out the utter failure of the Works Committees ; in the light of that failure, these critics hold, any fond expectation that these Councils—with much complicated functioning—will meet a different fate is nothing short of wishful thinking. The odds, if anything, are greater against the successful functioning of these Joint Management Councils, as compared to those against the Works Committees—with their much simpler functions. The critics would rather have the problem tackled in stages : first, educating the management and the workers regarding their respective role in the new set-up of a Welfare State, thereby reorientating their mutual attitudes. This is essentially a slow process which is likely to take

time. According to them any attempt, by legislation or otherwise, to precipitate matters in this respect by instituting officially sponsored schemes of worker—management co-operation would be putting the cart before the horse.

This, of course, is only one side of the picture. Evaluation studies made of the actual working of these Joint-Management Councils have revealed that these Councils are rendering very useful service—especially in improvement in productivity and quality of production. These studies have been completed in respect of 30 units—out of 81 units where the scheme is working at present. These studies have proved that these Joint-Management Councils are an important instrument of labour policy for healthier economic growth and industrial progress. These studies have further revealed that wherever Joint-Management Councils have worked well, they have resulted, in varying degrees, in better industrial relations, a more stable force, increased productivity, reduction in waste, better profits and a closer understanding between the management and the workers.



THE MOGHAL STATE PRISONS

Prof. ATULANANDA SEN

The Moghal Emperors had three State Prisons for the confinement of the members of the Royal Family, and other notable and influential persons. These were the Fort of Gwalior, the Fort of Ranthambhor, and the Fort of Rotas (Rotasgarh), all of which were impregnable in those days.

The Fort of Gwalior

The Fort of Gwalior had several gates. About the fourth and highest gate stands the figure of an elephant dexterously cut out of stone. This is known as the "Hathipul" or Elephant "Gateway". There is a vast staircase leading to it. This gate was most sumptuously built of green and blue stone. On the top of the fort are several gilded turrets, which shine brilliantly. Here the Governor of the Fort dwelt and here also State Prisoners were confined. The Princes whose heads were not cut off by the Monarch for prudential reasons were confined here, and daily given the potion of **Poust** for drink. This poust was nothing but poppy-heads crushed and soaked for a night in water. A large cup of this beverage was brought to them early in the morning, and they were not given anything to eat unless it was swallowed. This drink emaciated the wretched victims, who lost their strength and intellect by slow degrees, became torpid and senseless, and ultimately died.

We have had no instances of Akbar, Jahangir or Shah Jahan using it for the lodgment of political prisoners. But Aurangzeb used it extensively for keeping his rivals of the Royal blood, and others of great influence, whom he had not the courage to execute immediately in a public manner, confined here. It was by this

means (by giving the potion of Poust daily for drink) that the slow deaths of Sulaiman Shikoh and Sipirh Shikoh, sons of Dara were contrived.

The Poust administered to the imprisoned Princes was meant for the members of the Royal Family, as being a more secret death, free from the outward signs of laying violent hands upon one of the Blood Royal. Murad Baksh, and Sultan Muhammad, eldest son of Aurangzeb, were confined in the Fort of Gwalior, where the latter died in 1676. Murad Baksh was later executed on a charge of murder.

Fort of Ranthambhor

The Fort of Ranthambhor was the second State Prison. It was a picturesque rock fortress in the Jaipur State, formerly a stronghold of the Raja of Bundi, who transferred it to Akbar. Here all persons condemned to death were sent by the Emperor. The prisoners were kept confined in this Fort for about two months, after which the Governor of the Fort brought them out, and placed them on the top of the wall after having caused them to drink some milk, a decoction of the milky juice of the poppy to render them insensible, threw them down headlong on the rocks beneath.

Fort of Rotas

The third Prison Fortress was in the Fort of Rotas (Rotasgarh, about 30 miles south of Sassaram, in the district of Shahabad, Bihar), 1490 ft. above the level of the adjacent country. Those condemned to imprisonment for life were sent to this State Prison. They very seldom could

manage to escape Emperor Shah Jahan on many an occasion made use of this State Prison by sending his guilty and unpopular officers there. The State Prison of Rotas was like the Bastille of France, and the Tower of London of England, the State Prisons of those countries, and in some respects like the prison at Port Blair during the British regime in India.

I had visited the Forts of Gwalior and Rotas more than once with my students, and we were shown the rooms where Murad Baksh, Sultan Muhammad, and Dara's sons were lodged, and we felt very unhappy and sad thinking of their miserable fate. We were also shown the place where the State prisoners were kept confined in the Fort of Rotas.



THE PROBLEM OF VIETNAM

Prof. S. L. AUDICHARYA

Vietnam is confronting not only President Lyndon Johnson with the gravest decision of his career as the President of United States of America, but the problem has assumed today great significance for the people of South East Asia, and India in particular, who are menaced by Chinese policy of expansionism. China has to be contained. Her policy of political domination probably with ultimate intentions of territorial aggression has to be taken serious note of, if the existing imbalance in the political equation of different countries has to be set right. There cannot be two opinions regarding the right of self determination being conceded to every nation and people, with a view to evolve a polity of peaceful co-existence founded on justice. What is essential is that the concession to the right of self-determination might not turn itself, into a mockery, in the face of political manoeuvring and the attached strings being pulled from different nerve-centres. The perfect atmosphere of freedom and liberty must precede any such concession being applied. The results arrived through the impartial application of the principle of self-determination will be enduring and provide the safest foundations of better living conditions in the world and solutions for the existing political stalemates.

Historical Background

The above is very much true of Vietnam today. The entire problem has assumed fair dimensions of anxiety in international politics and bears germs of serious explosions. To appreciate the present situation a short historical sketch of the whole problem will not be out of place here. Before the 10th Century the whole country of Annam was under Chinese domination. It was governed by an autocratic monarchical

system of administration which possessed the least of efficiency and application of present-day techniques of public administration to make it a welfare State.

Being disgusted, the Annamites had practically thrown out the Chinese domination by the 10th Century, though their minds had been very much enslaved by the Chinese rule. Sixteenth Century, onwards, the search of markets and colonies by the European nations brought the French to this land. The whole of Indo-China (now North and South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia) ultimately became a French colony. French jesuit priest Alexander de Rhodes at the beginning of 17th Century was the first to establish a Christian community in Indo-China. French missionaries after him were very successful in converting the Annamites to Christianity. The height was reached when an Annamite priest Mgr. Pellerin went to Paris from Hanoi to request Napoleon III, to give him military help to fight against the anti-French tendencies of his own country men. Gradually two groups developed amongst the Annamites, one section generally of the Christians that supported the French and the other of thousands of non-Christians who remained fervently loyal to Buddhism and their ancient culture. The converted Annamites both Buddhists and Christians remained Anti-Chinese and anti-Thai at the same time.

The Indo-Chinese in fact feared both their neighbours alike. In course of time the French were established firmly in Indo-China, where they founded their most important market for manufactured goods, and a prosperous colony.

At any rate, as luck would have it partly, because of the Sino-Japanese war in 1894 which weakened the position of China further, the French established themselves firmly in Indo-China. After the expulsion of

the Manchus and the defeat of Russia by the Japanese, the French possessions in Annam began to be considered as irrevocably lost to China.

Sino-French Relations

France chiefly confronted China through her conquests in South East Asia. During the first World War China was not a belligerent country. France organised Indo-China economically and succeeded in creating an Indo-Chinese middle class who felt that they had a stake in the constitution of French rule. Soon after World War I and during the World War II the relationship of France with Indo-China and consequently with China underwent radical changes. France had promised some administrative changes during the War which she never fulfilled afterwards. In the meantime the revolutionary upheavals in China in 1912 and the Russian revolution of 1917 began to affect Indo-Chinese thinking. France made some concessions, but they were insufficient to win over the public opinion. The growing Kuomintang Party began to attract the Indo-Chinese nationalists again to China.

In 1930 there were revolts against the French authorities in the country and even a mutiny in the army. The Japanese aggression against China however turned the tide. The Kuomintang's failure to resist Japanese invasion made the Indo-Chinese nationalists gradually more drawn to France during World War II.

The Country was Divided

The puppet Government that was established in Saigon during the War, collapsed after the defeat of the Japanese. Indo-China was freed by the British Indian troops before the French arrived. The Country was divided at the 16th parallel between the British Indian and Chinese occupation forces. The Chinese thereby established claims of Chinese suzerainty over the northern regions. Some Chinese troops had already penetrated into Indo-Chinese terri-

tories and the French found it difficult to negotiate with the Chinese and to force them to quit Indo-Chinese territories.

Communist leader Ho-Chi-Minh, was equally desirous of seeing the Chinese go. He readily co-operated with the French. As France and China emerged after World War II as two of the five Allied powers, it was soon possible for the French to persuade Chiang-Kai-Shek to withdraw the Chinese troops from Indo-China. But France found herself very soon involved in a revolutionary war in Indo-China because of the failure of negotiations with Ho-Chi-Minh. Both the Communist and anti-French nationalists joined hands against the French. In spite of the American help and after a long drawn battle for about eight years, France was finally defeated at Dien-Bien-Phu in 1954. As a result of the Geneva Agreement of great powers including Communist China in July, 1954, the States of Laos, Cambodia, North and South Vietnam were created. Vietnam that was cut into two was to be united by free elections later on. Ho-Chi-Minh became the President of North Vietnam while Ngo-Dinh-Diem of South Vietnam.

South Vietnam

Late President Ngo-Dinh-Diem when he took over from the French in 1954, ably established an effective government despite harassment by the Communist Viet-Cong. But as his regime grew more oppressive and Viet Cong strength increased, Diem's popularity faded. In November 1963 with the tacit approval of the U.S. Government General Duong Van Minh staged a coup during which Diem was murdered. Two months later came a second coup led by Gen. Nauen Khanh who like Diem finds his tired nation hard to rally against the Reds.

Laos

From the time of its independence two of its provinces were under the control of the Communist Pathet Lao. Though the

Pathet Lao were brought into the Government by Premier Souvanna Phouma in 1957, yet a series of coups and counter coups eventually ended in a three way civil war between pro-Western Rightists, Neutralists and the Pathet Lao. At Geneva in 1962 the great powers agreed to a **troika** Government incorporating Laos's main factions. But last May, after neutralist Souvanna joined with the Rightists the Pathet Lao reopened the civil war.

Cambodia

Unlike South Vietnam and Laos, the kingdom of Cambodia escaped civil war. Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Cambodia's hereditary ruler probably on account of his personal popularity and political shrewdness out-flanked his country's leftist parties and succeeded in maintaining a tight grip over the people. Originally a scrupulous neutral in the East-West struggle he has become pessimistically convinced that Peking will finally dominate all Indo-China

North Vietnam

It has gone all Red. With Ho-Chi-Minh the country is trying to spread the tentacles of Communism throughout Indo-China. It has full support of Peking in organising and actively helping the Viet Cong menace in South Vietnam.

The Real Problem

When France was fighting at Dien-Bien-Phu, she understood very well that the real problem of South East Asia was to check China from expanding further to the South. As one of the traditional military powers in Asia, Britain did not concern itself any more with this problem. The French sought and got the armed help of the United States. During the last phase of fighting at Dien-Bien-Phu at certain stages of the war it was very difficult to know whether it was an American War or a war fought by the French against the military forces of Ho-Chi-Minh.

After the withdrawal from Indo-China of the French, they have been trying to convince the Americans that the fight in Vietnam is not against China in reality. But the Americans from the beginning have appeared to be in favour of localising the war and not to engage themselves in an open conflict with China. The position has now practically gone out of hand. It has however become clear now that the position can be retrieved either by a massive attack against China or by forcing China to abandon her policy of expansion by political and diplomatic pressures.

India's Role

Many specialists on South East Asian problems feel that withdrawal of the French has led to the eventual disintegration of the countries of South East Asia. Under the French and the Dutch they had enjoyed nearly a hundred years of peace. It is felt that if India after her independence had built up her military strength to replace the function of the former British armed forces in Asia then the situation would not have been critical as it was allowed to be since 1947. The independence of countries like Indonesia and Indo-China by itself was no problem. Sooner or later these countries would have attained their national sovereignty. At the same time this was also equally clear that none of these independent countries could stabilise their systems of government without the protection of an Asian power strong enough to guarantee their sovereignty.

The only two countries which possessed the military potentialities for discharging this responsibility were India and Japan. Japan was looked upon with distrust, because of the Japanese conquests during World War II. It seemed natural that India should have stepped into the position left vacant by the British. When Mao Tse-tung was consolidating his position, within the country, India should have built her military strength so that a threat from China to the South East Asian countries

could be rendered impossible. Somehow in this sphere of activity India was doing just the reverse. India was engaged in her development programmes. The Indian Government had no time to prepare itself for the possibility of a Chinese threat to South East Asia. The result of all these facts is the present conflict between China and the Western powers and the open or hidden conflict between the four newly created States, themselves.

U.S. Involvement

Right after the World-War II, the United States had started taking keen interest in the affairs of Vietnam. America helped the French with dollars and weapons to fight there for eight years though the French army was finally defeated in 1954. Following the defeat of France a conference was held in Geneva. The United States also sent a delegation to that conference but it did not participate or sign that agreement. All the same it does indicate the keen U.S. interest in the future of South East Asia. The first U.S. military men, however, were sent to South Vietnam in 1957. The Diem Government of South Vietnam convinced the U.S.A. that it required a big army to counter an invasion from North Vietnam. The U.S.A. agreed to finance an eight division force and to help build it with U.S. military advisers. President Eisenhower explained the U.S. Policy by advocating the theory of "Falling domino". It meant that, if South Vietnam was to fall to the Communist then the other countries of South East Asia would also fall in turn. From then thousands of America's best fighting men have been sent to South Vietnam as advisers and fighters. Arms and equipment and other aid that is being supplied to it, has reached the figure of about half a billion Dollars a year.

But, why all this is being done? On June 2, 1964, President Johnson announced at a news conference held in Washington: "Like a number of other nations we are bound by solemn commitment to help defend this area against com-

munist encroachment. We will keep this commitment". Apparently there are three basic considerations underlying the U.S. determination to stay in South Vietnam.

1. Withdrawal of U.S. from this area would be a political triumph for Communist China, which has been supporting North Vietnam's drive into South Vietnam.
2. Under the "Falling domino" theory, a collapse of anti-Communist South Vietnam would open all of South East Asia to Red-China. This would give Red-China the oil, food and other resources they need to become a great power.
3. A United States pull out from South Vietnam would call into question the ability and will of the U.S. to hold its bases in Phillipines, Okinawa, Japan and South Korea. These are considered essential for the defence of U.S. and her friends.

The entire issue is thus political as well as military, economic and strategic. The plain fact is that the American side has been losing the War in Vietnam and the Communist side has been winning it. It is too early to assess the consequences of the most recent coup in Vietnam. Theoretically there are three courses, which the U.S. can adopt, if the Communist Victory in Vietnam appears imminent.

One is to adopt the French formula of neutralization. Secretary of State Mr. Dean Rusk had described this as a formula for surrender. This in no case will be adopted by the U.S.

The second course is to intervene directly with American combat troops. The tide might be turned by a few American battalions if the North Vietnamese and or the Chinese Communists do not intervene in their turn. If they do so, it will be a major war with China, which the U.S. is not likely to risk at the moment.

The third course for the U.S. is to change the rules of the present game. The whole strategy needs a revision. Under the present rules Communist Government

THE PROBLEM OF VIETNAM

of North Vietnam is at liberty to use all means short of invasion to help the Communist Viet Cong. Trained men and arms, both are a continuous flow to the Viet Cong rebels. The overall military and political control of the Viet Cong is maintained via radio from Hanoi in North Vietnam.

All this is in contravention of the provisions of 1954 Geneva Treaty which split Indo-China. The U.S. on this score can go to the United Nations, and produce proof of North Vietnamese intervention in aid of Viet Cong in contravention of the 1954 Treaty. It can even ask for reprisals. These reprisals may take various forms. It may be to arm, equip and support an anti-communist guerrilla force to raid the communist territory across the border. There may be economic sanctions taken against North Vietnam for supporting the Viet Cong in South Vietnam. The point is not to defeat the North Vietnam regime in an open War but to hurt it badly so that she might well prefer to withdraw support from the Viet Cong and permit the establishment of stable Government in South Vietnam, rather than risk a direct confrontation with the American power.

The future of Democracy in Asia to a great extent hangs on the problem of South Vietnam. North Vietnam is already red. Cambodia, has pro-Communist leanings, while Laos is engaged in its problem of civil war. It is meeting the challenge of Pathet Lao and can hardly be a match to stem the tide of Red engulfing all

this area of South East Asia, within its folds. Malayasia is tackling the Indonesian menace and has hardly energy and resources left to devote itself to the problem of South Vietnam.

These circumstances put across one's mind a complex situation. If China has to be contained and the Red menace is not to be forced upon others by conspiracy of circumstances, then the responsibility to a great extent devolves on India to accept the challenge. It is a vital matter to us. It is true that we are not directly into it but the whole game of China is of humiliating India and exhibiting by its superior might to the people of this area that there can be one leadership in this part of the world and that is of China. We must accordingly devote ourselves to finding a solution of this problem. The best solution of this problem will be one which is arrived at by the people of this area themselves without interference from any outside agency. America and China both may be asked to pull out from this area, and leave the people alone to sit at a round table conference to decide for themselves. The representatives of all the four states thus will get an opportunity to settle their differences. This may be possible with U.N. assistance into the matter. The Annamites may, envisage a loose federation of all the four states with full autonomy, while making provision of some sort of strong system of defence so that their neighbours Japan, Malayasia, China, Indonesia or any other country might not in future undo all.

MALAYALAM AND DRAVIDO-EUROPEAN

P. DAMODARAN PILLAI

Confronted with the problem of the genetic or semigenetic relation between Dravidian and some of the European languages, one is reminded of the exclamation of Napoleon that it was an awful temerity to attempt an invasion of England.

However, I had inklings of their mutual relation early in the 50's of the present century. Since then supporting evidences were gathering into view from different sources, so that, in 1957, I could publish an article on the close affinity between Dravidian and English, in the annual number of the *Malayala Manorama*, a leading daily on the West Coast. I had occasion at the time to record my impression that European scholars who discovered an Indo-European family had been led astray by their earlier unilineal preoccupation with Sanskrit to the utter exclusion of Dravidian. Still, as it is, even now it would look a little premature to venture such a suggestion though on being challenged from a few quarters I had to reiterate my position on more occasions than one in different vernacular journals before the close of the last decade.

The matter seemed to rest there for a time, but in 1963, I again took it up in a correspondence with Dr. S. k. Chatterjee, the foremost Indian linguist. He appears to belong to the Orthodox School and was found rather inclined to discourage the idea of a Dravidio-European family of languages which might conflict with the long cherished notion of the Indo-European family. In fact, what

I submitted then and even now submit is that the claim of the Dravidio-European deserves patient and open-minded consideration and due appraisal.

I must add in this connection that certain Western scholars have worked in the line and one of the most notable among them, viz., Dr. Lahovary of Rumania published a book in French in 1957 whose English version was brought out in 1963 under the revealing title, "**Dravidian Origins And The West**". A copy of it fell into my hands in May 1964 and going through it for the first time I was agreeably surprised to see that it bears ample testimony to the Dravidio-European proposition, which, as already mentioned, I had the good fortune to put forward in 1957. Further, I was indeed struck by the similarity of my view about Indo-European to that of the author who states in a foot-note in page 164 that "Indo-European" is but a conventional term coined by European scholars to their own satisfaction "while Dravidian would have a much better claim to the name". Now, in my present paper on "**Dravidio-European**", I shall try to present a case for it on lines apart from those of the learned author.

What I propose to do for the purpose is to confine my inquiry to the kinship between Malayalam and English as representing Dravidian and European languages respectively, and to advert to kindred problems wherever necessary so as to make elucidation as much clear and effective as possible.

But even at the outset it may be pointed out that there is a considerable body of opinion which would have us believe that Malayalam is but an epiphenomenon, an emanate of Tamil. As against this, there are a number of scholars who hold that Malayalam is the mother of Tamil which has lost some of the proto-Dravidian forms preferred by the former to the present day. However the indubitable fact remains that Tamil and Sanskrit long dominated Malayalam very much like Greek and Latin which dominated many of the local dialects of Europe for centuries at a stretch. This circumstance led to the inference among some scholars that Tamil and Sanskrit were either jointly or severally the real parents of Malayalam, though latterly the claim of Sanskrit to the honour has been definitely set aside.

It will be seen that from a socio-diachronic point of view this bilingual or monolingual parenthood hardly holds. Of the thirteen social systems adopted by humanity at large, matriarchal terraneans like the Basques, Touaregs and others were as matriarchal as Keralites themselves. The prevalence of a primitive social institution among the proto-Mediterraneans and Keralites alike points to the conclusion that the latter must have sedulously preserved it through the ages, till of course, they recently switched off to patriarchy. And, it automatically follows that if the Tamils and other Dravidians across the Ghats have had nothing of matriarchy over long periods of history, they must have lost their Mediterranean moorings possibly in pre-historic times.

Admittedly, social make up and language need not always be exactly congruent, but when a people in their blessed geographical isolation retain intact their primitive social

and linguistic traits, the inference is but legitimate that socially and linguistically they are older than the rest of the stock that happened to separate from them in the remote past to evolve on independent lines.

I shall now proceed to show that certain characteristic features of Tamil are not so old as they are supposed to be, but only later accretions or perhaps deliberate innovations. For instance, the final 'ai' as in 'arai' (a room) and 'turai' (an opening) is conspicuous by its absence in Malayalam, ancient Sumerian and in some Indo-European languages like Greek, Italian and English. I need only refer to the word 'cam-era' in the last named three languages which is nothing other than a compound of 'cam' and 'era', the latter having suffered a phonetic change into 'era' in Italian and English, though not in Greek. Perhaps it may be that the change is more orthographical than strictly phonetical.

But it has to be noted in this context that the Tamils replace in their their actual speech the final 'ai' by an 'e' which modifies 'turai' to 'ture' a form which is not unknown to Latin. On the other hand, in Malayalam a common variant of 'tura' is 'tira' exactly like 'thyra' in Greek, but phonetically changed into 'dura' in Anglo-Saxon, 'tur' in German, 'door' in English, 'dwar' in Hindi, and 'dwah' or 'dwaram' in Sanskrit.

Another feature peculiar to Tamil is the personal ending which also seems to be a later addition, considering the fact that other Dravidian languages like Telegu or Malayalam do not have it in their vulgar forms. Even vulgar Tamil does not strictly observe the practice of using pronominal suffixes, and so far as I can say, proto-Dravidian was also free from it. If vulgar speech be any criterion of the antiquity of a language, Malayalam could well be regarded as older than Tamil.

The case of the p/b isoglosses appears to be more complicated than that premised in the foregoing paragraph though it deserves mention. The tendency to change 'p' into 'b' is about 3500 years old in Basque, Dravidian and Sumerian, and is evident in Malayalam but not in Tamil. Further, Tamil cannot tolerate the very ancient shift from 'v' to 'b' either, unlike Malayalam which can accept all the three sounds each in place of the other with equal complacency. If the weakness of Tamil in this respect can be blamed on its phonetic deficiency, as might readily be done in order to explain it away, the conclusion becomes inevitable that the phonetism of Malayalam in this respect is as old as those of Basque, Sumerian and Dravidian, while that of Tamil is not.

A BILINGUAL PATTERN

It is true that Tamil was responsible for the adoption of a bilingual pattern of literature by a number of Malayalam writers between the 10th and 16th centuries, but the genuine Malayalam works produced during the same period, notably the 'Krishnagatha', and the 'Bharatham' of Cherusseri, show that Tamil was alien in its ring to Malayalam. No wonder that in the 16th century Eluthachan and others attempted to liberate Malayalam from the conventionalized form of literature based on Tamil and restore to it its native purity and individuality, but without ever once entertaining the delusion of creating or inventing a new medium of expression for Kerala out of the shavings of Tamil.

Malayalam, undisputedly belonging to the Dravidian family as Tamil itself could, strangely enough, feel hardly at home in its Tamil trappings, in spite of the political domination of Kerala by Tamil kings even from the 1st century B. C., if not earlier. Keralites

could much more abundantly accommodate Sanskrit than Tamil, whose genius they have seldom assimilated in preference to that of the former. Malayalam has sanskritized itself to a large extent; Tamil has tamilized Sanskrit. Keralites breathe and have their social intercourse in an atmosphere of Sanskrit, a fact which is borne out even by some of the oldest hill-tribes in Kerala, who have Vedic gods for their deities and a naive but genuine Malayalam, as distinguished from Tamil, for their native idiom.

Altogether, Malayalam appears to be a direct descendant of proto-Dravidian and had its evolution independent of Tamil, its affinity and literary connections with the latter notwithstanding. Now, archaeologists and linguists are agreed that the proto-Dravidians were a short, dark-skinned, gracile race whose original home was Mesopotamia and the adjoining regions extending beyond the Euphrates and the Tigris towards the East. Their migrations covered a vast zone stretching from Iberia to India, and seafaring as they were, they extended it up to Britain and Denmark on the one hand and to the West Coast of India on the other. This circumstance lends support to the view of some scholars that the proto-Dravidians had direct contacts with Kerala by sea, which in its turn corroborates the contention that Kerala could maintain its socio-linguistic characteristics in their original purity, especially in a state of isolation which was denied to overland immigrants from the West.

ALPHABETICAL AFFINITIES

I now turn to the question of alphabetical derivations in English from Semetic or Egyptian through the medium of Greek or Latin. The Semetic syllabary itself owes part

of it to Dravidian, a fact generally lost sight of, but, all the same apparent as some instances will show. I will first take 'b' the second letter of the English alphabet and try to trace its origin to Malayalam for the purpose of illustration.

It is admitted that 'b' derives from 'bete' of the Semitic syllabary, and has 'beth' for its equivalent in Phoenician and 'beta' in Greek. Now, it is well-known that each character of the Semitic syllabary is a Semitic unit too, with a definite meaning of its own, so that 'beta', 'beth' and 'bete' in the languages concerned mean 'the house'. At the same time, it is clear on the very face of it, that the Semetic 'bete' is nothing other than 'vect', 'veed' or 'beet' of Malayalam which also means 'the house'.

Next in the series is 'yod' another character in the the same syllabary from which the English letters 'i' and 'j' are said to derive. The Semetic vocable 'yod' means 'the arm', just as its ancient Egyptian counterpart 'dot' and the Sanskrit 'dos' while in Malayalam its cognate 'tol' means 'the shoulder', a minor semantic variation which need not detain us. But, though, the English letters 'i' and 'j' are supposed to derive from the Semitic 'yod', there are eminent scholars who derive the English letter 'd' from the the same Latin letter which itself derives from the Egyptian 'dot' cognate with the Malayalam 'tol', and also the Basque 'so'.

The same appears to be the case with the English character 'p' which according to certain scholars, had its origin in the initial 'p' of the Egyptian 'pero' and its variants like 'pi', 'pu' and 'pe'. This 'pero', was changed into 'pharaoh' in Greek and came to mean 'the palace' of the king. in the first instance and the king himself

in the next, while originally it meant only 'a building', and nothing else. However that may be, the Egyptian 'pero' is nothing new to Keralites whose 'pura', 'pera', 'pira' 'pora' means a building' the same as in Egyptian and bears close resemblance to the Sanskrit 'puri' and 'puram' and the Iranian 'polis'.

Other characters of the English alphabet also can be traced to Malayalam or Dravidian origin but one need not strain the point any more than stating that the lexical contents of some Western languages have developed in part from a proto- Dravidian substratum.

LEXICAL PARALLELS

It is sometimes argued that the genetic affinity between languages is more fundamental in its nature than their lexical parallelisms. But there is the other view that the genetic relation between two languages is assured, provided twenty percent of their vocabularies, borrowings excluded, are parallel to each other in form and meaning. On the basis of this postulate, linguists have taken for close comparative study, the words embodying the most intimate sensations, thoughts and experiences of man in different languages scattered over vast inter-continental areas and have arrived at the conclusion that they were autochthonous in those areas, peopled as they were by different branches of the same original race.

Now, the most intimate thought that one can never deny in spite of oneself is that one was ushered into this world by an act of bringing forth by one's mother. The English name for the act is 'ean', 'though' the more current form is differentiated by an initial 'y', and in either case it is traced to the Anglo-Saxon 'eanian'. In Malayalam too we have an 'ean'.

(in) but without an antecedent 'y' just as the Anglo-Saxon one, though the suffix 'ian' of the latter seems to be alien to both Dravidian and English alike.

The final 'n' of the Dravidian 'in' (ean) is a formative which undergoes a series of changes in different combinations, in one of which it is rhotacized to form the variant 'ir', without any corresponding variation in its seminal meaning, viz., 'to divide', 'separate' or 'break asunder'. The act of parturition involves a separation of the foetus from the womb, and hence the radical 'ir' to denote birth for whose perfection even the umbilical cord has to be cut asunder. In the light of this analysis, the Anglo-Saxon suffix 'ian' seems to be rather superfluous.

In Malayalam the infant thus born is called 'kita' or 'kitavu' cognate with the English 'kid', Danish 'kid', Icelandic 'kidh' and German 'kitze'. all perceptibly related to the English 'kitten' and the Middle English 'kitoun' from which the word 'cat' itself derives. Of these analogues the German 'kitze' resembles the Malayalam 'koccu', a child, while the English 'kin' has its Germanic parallel in 'kunja', which is the same as the Malayalam 'kunj' (an infant).

The most prominent part of the body is the face which is named 'mukham' in Sanskrit but 'mukam' or 'mukar' in Malayalam. It is generally supposed that the Dravidian 'mukam' is a corruption of the Sanskrit 'mukham' but the probability is that it may just be the other way round. For the Malayalam 'mukk' means a projection and represents the nose which projects from the surface of the face, and by extension came to mean 'the face' itself. In English the word 'mug' means 'the face' as well as 'mouth', which latter is recognisably analogous to the Malayalam 'montha', Dutch

'mond', Germanic 'mund' and Anglo-Saxon 'muth'. But this Anglo-Saxon 'muth' is exactly identical with the Malayalam 'muth' whose variants are 'mun', 'mut', and 'mul' everyone of which means 'the first', 'the foremost', or 'the prominent', and also 'the basic', or 'the original'. One may add that the Sanskrit 'mulam' directly derives from the Dravidian 'mul' to mean 'the original', 'the origin' or 'the place of origination'.

RADICAL ANALOGUES

The Malayalam primary roots in general convey the idea of proximity, mental or special and often attach formatives, though not enunciatives as well. On the other hand, there are other Dravidian languages like Tamil which are very particular about the enunciative part of the radical form at least in writing for some reason or other. The point to be noted in this connection is that both Malayalam and English eschew the enunciatives and have never suffered any disability on that account.

Be that as it may, the Malayalam radical 'at' indicates proximity but its voiceless stop 't' turns into the sonant occlusive 'd' in 'Canarese, Latin and English. As stated earlier in the case of 'ean', the formative 't' changes into 'l', 'm', 'n', 'p' etc., to give rise to forms like 'l', 'am', 'an', or 'ap', as occasion demands. For all appearance, this explanation applies with equal force to the origin of the analogous English radicals too, as is evident from the practice of English lexicographers of tracing them to the Latin 'ad'.

I may illustrate the equipollence of 'ad' to the other English radicals by citing at random four of them, viz, 'al' 'ad', 'at' and 'an', all of which converge on 'ad' itself for purposes of etymology. Every one of them means 'to'

as in 'alleviate' (to lighten) 'appertain' (to belong), 'attend' (to stretch), and 'annotate' (to mark). It is clear that the preposition 'to' all the while signifies the physical or mental relation of the subject concerned to the predicate and, of course, this relation or proximity is precisely what is denoted by the Dravidian analogues of the English radicals referred to above. But this creates some confusion, for the question arises as to how the subject-predicate relation subsists in Malayalam. For example, in the Malayalam sentence, 'Raman Pokunnu' (Rama goes), there is no obvious relation of the subject with the predicate that can be explained in terms of radical etymology. This anomaly is due to the fact that the 'unna' (a variant of 'innu') in the verb is grammatically explained as a simple present-participial suffix. But the participle itself is the theme which signifies the relation of the subject to the predicate, the primary root 'u' (as much as 'i' itself) being a relational deictic. Therefore 'pokunnu' in the illustrative sentence means that Rama, the subject, attaches himself to to the predicate 'po', i. e., 'to go.'

It is true that some scholars have etymologized 'u' as a separative deictic, but it may be an error, for otherwise the vocable 'utama' would not have sprung from it to denote 'ownership,' which is unmistakable attachment or relation generally hard of separation. In Latin also, the same radical 'ut' is relational in its denotation as in 'ut infra' (as below) and 'ut supra' (as above) wherein the attachment to 'below' and 'above' is unambiguously predicated. It is interesting to note that in English the radicals of the class mentioned above, having 'a' for the deictic, are often derived from Latin through French, though in the latter the radical 'en' (as in 'en route,

'en masse,' articulated as 'un') stands for the Dravidian 'an', a variant of 'an'.

FAMILIAR DRAVIDIAN IN THE WEST

It is common knowledge that Greek or Latin has to account for the etymology of several English terms. Though some of them have been already shown to be Dravidian in origin, there are others of very familiar everyday use in Dravidian, but raised to the dignity of scientific terminology in English through the agency of Greek or Latin.

One such is 'palaeontology', a compound of three Greek terms 'palaaios' 'onta' and 'logia' respectively signifying 'ancient' 'existences' and 'discourse', their overall signification being 'the science of the ancient life of the earth. Now the term could have been pronounced to be ordinary familiar Dravidian, or Malayalam for the matter, but for 'logia,' the last member of the compound. In other words, the first and the second member of the compound are Malayalam in their origin and features.

In Malayalam the form of the Greek 'palaaios' is 'palayat' which means 'old' or 'ancient'. The alveolar 't' is often phonetically changed into the fricative 's', as in 'sul', which is but 'tul', (to end or be on the last legs) and in the Sanskritized form, 'surangam' of the Dravidian, 'turankam' a tunnel. On this analogy, it will be seen that the suffix 'os' in the Greek term 'palaaios' is only a phonetic modification of 'at' (atu) in the Malayalam term 'palayat (u), ('that which is old'), a telescoped form of 'at (u)'.

The next member of the compound, 'onta' though a plural seems to derive from the Dravidian 'ontakuka' (untakuka) 'to be' or 'to exist'. The singular form in Greek is 'on' which in Malayalam has 'onma' ('unma') for

its noun form indicative of the state of being or 'existence', if often perhaps in the abstract sense.

A different quite familiar Dravidian term is 'matt' whose Greek analogue 'meta' signifies, 'another' 'the other' or 'a variant' just as the Malayalam 'matt'. On the strength of this meaning, the English term 'metaphrase' has come to denote 'a word for word translation' of any original. The English term 'metathesis' is another example which proves this similarity between the Greek and Dravidian themes structurally, semantically.

Another term which agrees well with the Malayalam theme 'tul' or 'tula' is the Latin 'thule' which means 'the farthest limit.' There is a place in Greenland called 'Thule' which marks the Geomagnetic pole as also the antipodal limit to which the term seems to have travelled. The expression 'ultima thule' in Latin means the northernmost limit of Europe while in Tamil the theme 'tulai' contextually refers to the easternmost limit of the Bay of Bengal or Singapore. It may be added that the flexional possibilities of the Dravidian 'tul' are varied enough to give it a polysemantic character which the Latin form lacks.

In Greek the thematic form of 'thule' is 'tele' which, again, means 'far' or at a 'distance'. In English the Greek form is prefixed in such terms as 'telephone', 'telegraph' or 'telepathy' to indicate some transaction which has its limits at a distance from the base of operation. To be brief, the Dravidian term 'tul' or 'tula' (thulai) has been serving some European Languages even from very early times, though perhaps its application in scientific terminology may be comparatively recent.

AND WHAT ABOUT 'MAN' ?

The most familiar term in English is 'man', a human being. English etymologists derive it from the Sanskrit 'manu' a man, 'mananam', the act of cerebration, being his distinguishing mark. But Tamil scholars, on the other hand, regard it as a syncopal formation, which has dropped the modian 'k' in the word 'makan' in favour of compensatory lengthening of the vowel 'a'. Obviously both these etymologies sound rather strange and crotchety.

It is generally ignored that 'an', the personal ending common in certain Dravidian languages, does itself signify 'man'. This interpretation is certainly open to the objection that 'an' is only a shortened form of the third person masculine, 'avan'. Yet, if it were really so, 'en' another personal ending which exactly denotes both the first person masculine and feminine alike, ought to have been explained as short for 'evan'. But no one will make bold to come forward with such explanation, for 'evan' is not at all feminine, nor first person, nor even second person. It is but an interrogative third person masculine. So it is incumbent on one to reject the objection as groundless and stick to the former explanation that 'an' stands for 'an', or for 'al', third person, masculine.

It is the practice in Dravidian to annex an intensitive consonant to the initial vowel without bringing about any change in the sense of the word involved, as 'alal' (fire) and 'talal' (fire), the initial 'tal' in the latter being a synartesis of the consonant 't' with the vowel 'a'. The same had happened in the case of the word 'man', the initial 'ma' of which is just another syncretism of 'm' with 'a', so that its primary 'an' (a man) had been modified to 'man' in Dravidian, before

it found its way into English in the distant past. One may illustrate its incidence in Malayalam by quoting the very common saying, "manum mancatiyum illa"—"there is neither a man nor one of his kind", at the given place.

Now, in retrospect, Dravidian seems to deserve the name 'Indo-European' much better than any other family of languages in the West and in the Near East as the alphabets, roots and the homely vocabularies of some of European and Asiatic languages of the present day more or less convincingly prove.

Of course I am aware of the fact that there are fundamental differences between Dravidian and European languages as some scholars are only too ready to point out. But differences may not be exactly so vital, being traceable to later developments under changing conditions to which human communities are subjected from time to time. Some of the modern advanced scholars emphatically declare their faith in this possibility after due scientific research and meticulous sifting and weighing of evidence which can yet be substantially supplemented.



HISTORIAN'S STORY

By G. S. SARDESAI

BORN in an obscure village on the west coast, where no educational facilities existed, I took the only chance of learning the alphabet by going to a school three miles away. I had to waste two full years for want of facilities for further study. At the age of 15 a family friend helped me in joining the English School at the district town of Ratnagiri. Five years' schooling here prepared me for the Matriculation at Bombay. Another lucky chance came my way when I was 19 years of age. My school-teacher had a marriageable daughter whom he proposed for my wife. I refused to undertake this novel experiment on the ground that I was too poor to afford the luxury of a marriage. But the gentleman undertook to defray my expenses at college and I had to accept the proposal, which ensured my future course in life. Four years at a Bombay college prepared me for graduation and I passed the B.A. examination in 1888. At this moment another fortunate call came to my help. A kindly friend who was then serving the late Maharaja Sayaji Rao Gaikwad of Baroda, offered me, at the Maharaja's desire, a post as reader to the Ruler on Rs. 70 per month. I gladly accepted the offer and joined the State service on 1st January, 1889.

My work thus brought me into close personal contact with that renowned ruler. At that juncture the Maharaja's children were growing in age and required schooling, and the Maharaja appointed me to that work. Thus my life's profession was fixed at one

stroke. I became an all-round teacher for the palace needs of Baroda. I remained a teacher in all the future years of my State service to which I devoted full 37 years, retiring at the age of sixty. I thus obtained rare opportunities of travel and equipment in the various walks of life. The Maharaja was fond of travel, and in four of his European tours I had the chance of visiting London, Oxford, Paris, Rome and the German cities. I could enjoy the beautiful climate of St. Moritz year after year.

Teaching work gave me opportunities for study and I took up Indian history as a special addition to my duties. The Maharaja was an exacting task-master and I unconsciously imbibed valuable discipline and preparation in practical matters. Many distinguished persons came to meet the Maharaja, and this afforded me vast advantages. I came into close contact with the prominent rulers of Indian States and leaders of public thought. I attended the sessions of the Indian National Congress, Social Conference and other bodies. It was also part of my work to arrange dinners and games and tournaments for over three decades in Baroda.

One curious acquisition I made for life's preparation was the accidental acquaintance of a distinguished Bengali student of history, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, five years my junior in age, a brilliant scholar, whose co-operation I happened to secure without any particular effort. Sarkar took up the subject of Aurangzeb's life to compete for the Premchand Roy-

chand Scholarship, when at the same time in Baroda I took up the life of Shivaji for a special study, which appeared in 1901. Shivaji and Aurangzeb are complementary topics, and the one cannot be studied without reference to the other. The materials for Shivaji's life existed in Marathi only, which Sarkar did not then know, while Aurangzeb's sources were locked up in Persian which I did not know.

The necessities of the situation made us both seek each other's help through a common friend, and a friendship came to be formed in 1903 which ripened in due course into sincere, mutual co-operation during nearly half a century of literary contact. Throughout this long period we have together toured most of the historical sites of India, taking up one subject after another for investigation, and materially contributing to the development of national history in all its branches. For over twenty years we together attended the annual sessions of the Indian Historical Records Commission at different places and made our contributions to solving many knotty problems that came up for consideration. In fact we two students formed a welcome combination joining the two distant units of Bengal and Maharashtra in close comradeship and educational affinity of a rare character. We both happened to have preserved our periodical correspondence, mainly dealing with historical research and development ranging over three centuries, the 16th to the 19th. Full extracts from these two collections have recently been published by Punjab University. I consider my contact with Sir Jadunath a kind of national acquisition. It was due to our joint effort that the vast Peshwas' Daftar of Poona was fully explored and selections from that

stock printed in 46 volumes of fresh, useful material. The Poona Residency Correspondence series printed by the Bombay Government is similarly a result of our joint effort.



G. S. Sardesai

My 'ashram' at Kamshet has for the last 32 years become almost a research institution. Midway between Bombay and Poona, with charming rural surroundings and a healthy, temperate climate, Kamshet with its holy river Indrayani has attained an importance of its own. During the Dasera week of 1938 a unique meet was organised there, when some 75 reputed history scholars of different views, conducted useful deliberations continuously for one week under the able guidance of Sir Jadunath. The occasion proved highly valuable to history.

Mine has thus been a singularly fortunate life. Constitutionally I am not robust but a disciplined method has made life full of advance and achievement in many aspects of work and study. I have always hated being called old and I have prided myself on being able to compete with youngsters in all avenues of activity, but the abnormal rains of this year with no chance for stirring out of the house for months on end, and severe strong winds blowing constantly, have severely weakened my frame so that I am now fully experiencing the pangs of the helplessness and infirmities of old age. I cannot now dream of a sudden plunge into the river for a bath or a steep hill-climb in the neighbourhood.

I can turn out no useful work and hate idling away my time and finding no comfort or relief. The body shakes, arms and legs have lost all strength and I am required to have another person to help at every moment. Yet I possess a happy, contented temperament ready to welcome the final dissolution whenever it comes. I have no regrets, and I feel thankful for the many small mercies I have so long enjoyed, which have enabled me to make some mark on life's chart. My highest solace is that I have been able to complete a history of the Marathas, both in Marathi and English, and I have presented complete, up-to-date editions to the readers.

The above is a brief summary of a Poona AIR talk.



COUP D'ETAT IN ALGERIA

GLOREA MELTZER

Algiers, June 23. 1965.

JUNE 19, 1965 : At 8.15 a. m. we proceeded from our apartments at Hydra to the centre of Algiers City to the Festival Offices, where many of us have been working these past three months on the International Preparatory Committee for the 9th World Festival of Youth and Students for Solidarity, Peace and Friendship.

The first signs of any possible disorder was in the form of two huge army tanks on the side of the main road. These were armed and ready to fire with soldiers behind the machine guns and guns raised and poised at the passing traffic. A little further along the road was heavily patrolled by the army who were out in force with machine guns, trucks, etc. Armed soldiers could be seen here and there on the rest of the route to Algiers.

On arrival at our place of work at 8.30 we were informed that there was some sort of tension in the town, but just what nobody seemed to know. Then more people began to arrive with more and more bits and pieces of news. Apparently there were to be no papers printed this day, there were no news broadcasts on the radio, only military music was playing. Then the radio began sending out announcements every ten minutes or so, that the Algerian people should stand by, that there was something important to tell them shortly.

Then a friend arrived and said that apparently at some stage during the preceding evening Algiers had been completely cut off from the outside world. We next heard that Ben

Bella and some of his Ministry were under house arrest. As the day drew on we were told to stop work and return as quickly as possible to Hydra. Almost unbelievably the news spread that there had been a Coup D'Etat and Boumedienne, the former Vice President to President Ben Bella, with the army behind him, had arrested the latter in his apartments in the early hours of the morning and assumed dictatorial power.

By mid-day Boumedienne had control of the country, but this control was only strong in Algiers. The people in the countryside and in the other major cities of Algiers like Oran, Constantine, Bone, were against the new Government of the Revolutionary Council. And even within Algiers itself many elements were already beginning to oppose him,—such as the JFLN (Youth of the National Liberation Front, strongest and largest Youth Organization), UNEA (National Union of Algerian Students) and UGTA (Trade Unions). Already many of the leaders of these groups had been arrested or had gone into hiding, as had many other people throughout the country.

By 1 p.m., the new Dictator was giving broadcasts on the radio in Arabic and French every few minutes, mainly anti-Ben Bella dialogue, accusing the former President of being a dictator, a despot, a demagogue and having developed the cult of the personality,—such slander laying a basis for the charge of High Treason of which Ben Bella has now been

accused, of course, to provide a curtain to hide the *real* dictator behind.

Yet, at first, the political intentions of Boumedienne were uncertain. He claimed to be democratic, to wish to continue the socialist foundation that had been laid in Algeria during its three years of independence, and to be on the side of the people. Within a few hours, however, it was made obvious how democratic Boumedienne intended to be ! The very nature of his undemocratic take-over of power was evidence enough !

On the afternoon of Saturday, June 19, the first day of the new regime, military planes began flying overhead, police cars began slowly patrolling the streets and frequently past our apartments. We discovered that not only were all telecommunications with the outside world cut off, but also within the country. Algerians told us that it was impossible to make contact with Constantine or Oran and difficult even with Algiers itself. The *Grande Poste* (General Post Office) was closed down and we were warned earlier not to post any mail at the moment as it probably would be tampered with or left unattended for many days. This present article had to be secretly smuggled out of Algeria ; the airport was completely sealed off and surrounded by tanks and the army.

Some of our Algerian friends who had been working with us over the past months, came to see us about 4 p.m. on this day and were, naturally, terribly upset. To many of Algeria's youth, this Coup D'Etat has been a shattering blow. Many of them had spent years in their struggle against the French colonialists, many were victims of torture and prison sentences. For the last three years they had been glorying in their newly earned independence. They told us that neither Ben

Bella nor anyone else had been prepared for this ; they had all been taken completely by surprise. Ben Bella's fate was yet unknown but it was believed he was still alive. One friend assured us that this new Government simply could not maintain control and would be overthrown within a week.

At 6 p.m., however, an Egyptian friend who claimed to have spoken with his Ambassador, said that he had been told that the new Government was strongly in control, much more strongly, in fact, than the Algerian people themselves realised or believed.

We were warned of a possible curfew being imposed this night and advised not to venture out into Algiers City at the risk of being shot. All demonstrations or any acts of opposition have been forbidden and all strikes banned.

This was five days before the initial meeting of the heads of States for the big and very important Second Afro-Asian Conference, then due to open in Algiers in ten days' time on June 29. The Coup D'Etat was a deliberate sabotage of this Conference ; yet since then Boumedienne has been doing all he can to encourage this Conference and has been insisting that it would go on. This is debatable at this moment, and its success is unlikely, particularly in view of the fact that there have so far been only two Governments that have recognised this new regime—Syria and Indonesia. China's former recognition has been withdrawn as has Great Britain's. If Boumedienne has succeeded in causing chaos to the Afro-Asian Conference, he has caused no less havoc to the Youth Festival. All activities for the Festival have come to a standstill and this delay, this lack of contact with our Algerian friends who have

gone into hiding, is everyday making the fate of the Festival more uncertain.

We have been trying to get the reaction and attitude of the Algerian people to this situation. We asked a taxi driver, who replied that if he had his way he would kill all the members of the new Government. "They are all the same", he added and his was the voice of a man grown apathetic and weary and sick of the war here. In general, during the ensuing two or three days, the people on the whole seemed to be passive and went about their normal business as though nothing had happened. There seemed to be little reaction or desire for active opposition, but mere passive acceptance. This seemed both strange and unnatural. This, however, proved to be just the numbness following the initial shock.

The night of June 19 passed quietly. There was an unnatural calm in the city which was more or less deserted. June 20 proceeded in the normal manner, the only sign of any governmental change being the sight of army trucks full of militia men frequently passing through the city, a police patrol-boat along the coast and some helicopters flying overhead. This so-called "new democracy" was taking shape. A Government paper appeared with radio proclamation of the new Revolutionary Council of Boumedienne. But the former popular daily, the *Alger Republicain* had been banned as had all foreign papers.

The evening of June 20 showed the first signs of active opposition in the form of a demonstration outside the *Grande Poste*, organised by the Students' UNEA. This was very much in support of Ben Bella, and the popular chant was "Long Live Ben Bella." Many students were arrested and taken off in police wagons; reports begun to pour in that

there was much unrest commencing in the countryside. At 11 p.m. that night the radio reported that trouble had broken out in the Kasbah (the former stronghold of the people against the French), and that one person had been killed there. The Kasbah was completely surrounded by the army and it was impossible for anyone to either enter or leave the place.

Reaction was now awakening and solidifying. It was obvious that on the first day of the new regime the people were still in a state of shock and had not yet fully realised what had happened. Next day they began to retaliate.

On June 21 at 5 p.m. we proceeded homewards, walking at first through the long *Rue Delouche*, the main street of the city. As we passed the Kasbah, we found army trucks sealing off all entrances, many jeeps with radio control in operation and at the Square of the Martyrs, there were police guards with machine guns poised at nearly every post and shop. At a street intersection the street was barricaded across by the army. As we stopped for a cool drink at an outdoor cafe, the place was surrounded by uniformed men with bazooka sten-guns, a crowd beginning to gather along the street, and there was an air of expectancy, like a lull before a storm. Fearing that the police might open fire at the slightest provocation, we hurriedly proceeded towards the *Grande Poste*. This street was completely controlled on both sides by an enormous chain of armed police, trucks carrying spray-guns to hose the people in the event of any outbreak of demonstrations. The police were also carrying tear gas. We later heard that they had actually used tear gas in the afternoon when students had demonstrated. At the *Grande Poste* we went inside to cable to our families, to try and inform

them of our safety. While inside we heard the distant sounds of people chanting, which grew louder as they approached the *Grande Poste*. We ran out on to the steps and witnessed a small parade of children with their mothers chanting "Ahmed Ben Bella." As they drew closer, one truck deliberately and viciously opened fire, attacking the women and children with a torrent of water, and scattering them in every direction. Some ran towards the *Grande Poste* and the hoses swept the entire street and the post office in pursuit, drenching hundreds of passers-by, cars, in fact everyone in their path. Crowds surged into the *Grande Poste*, where they were rapidly closing all doors and trying to hurriedly lock up. When the deluge stopped, we quickly ran out and hailed a passing car to take us away, as the police had arrived in the meanwhile in truckloads and was grabbing anyone who was wet and piling them into their vans. The police were armed and carried truncheons and batons. Trouble and tension now began to mount.

We had noticed earlier that even the high schools in the city were under guards. As one person observed, "this in itself was enough to indict the new regime."

22nd June. This day was also calm. It was still quite impossible for us to resume work. Many of us were trying to seek out our Algerian friends for discussions ; others had

been told to leave Algeria ; some others were passing the time at the beach. That afternoon the Festival offices were watched by the police for the first time. This was alarming, as it was the first time any indication of the attitude of the new Government to the Festival was available. We are in a state of semi-preparation to quit the country at a moment's notice if need be. This evening (June 22) witnessed the largest demonstration yet in Algiers city where 4000 people came out on to the streets, to be heavily hosed.

This is the situation in Algeria today, a country which had been diligently preparing for the Afro-Asian Conference, and 5000 youths anxiously working for their Youth Festival, having happily forgotten their scars of war. But that was yesterday, what Algiers was like a few days ago. Today the Festival offices, formerly a thriving centre of activity, have overnight been turned into a barren and deserted building. Today it is a country of chaos and confusion and, perhaps, sadder than at any previous period in its long history. There is, however, this consolation, that the only support that Boumedienne can count upon, comes from the army. The masses of the Algerian people are against his rule. If Boumedienne has the guns, he has not the people and the popular will must eventually succeed rule by force. History has proved this.

CURRENT AFFAIRS

(Continued from Page 16)

for a large area of development in associated fields of supply industries, towards which not a great deal of progress would appear to have been achieved so far. The lacks in metallurgical coal with reasonably small proportions of ash contents, supply of dolomite and other fluxing materials of the right quality and other similar lacks appear to have been dogging the process of steel manufacture over the years and which appears to have become the invariable annual burden of complaints of steel producers in the private sector. Operational lags in the public sector plants which have been demonstrating a continuing disparity between laid down capacity and output long after the initial gestatory troubles of these new plants should have been over, is one of the principal factors which would appear to have been retarding the rate of steel output in the country and correspondingly inflating the costs of production. These and several other matters have been urgently calling for immediate consideration and action without, however, a great deal of progress towards their solution having so far been achieved.

No one will controvert the fact that steel constitutes one of the vital elements in the economic bases that would be required to carry the development of the economy forward and development of steel capacity is vital towards such an end. But it has to be realised also at the same time that merely laying down additional capacity would do no good to the country unless such capacity were to be fully utilized in production out-turns, and that economically and competitively with the rest of the world. Unfortunately, in the manner steel capacity is being expanded in the country at present, and the rather complete indifference to the economics of steel production in the plants we have been able to put down in the public sector over the last one decade or thereabouts which seems to be evident, would appear to have been vitiating the entire process of steel development in the

country as a whole. The Steel Minister says that he has not yet been able to acquire a complete grasp of the subject of steel manufacture in its entirety, but this is a matter which has been nagging at the national economy for over long as it is, and one could only wish for wholesome action without any avoidable delay.

Coal in the Fourth Plan

The gross demand for coal in the Third Plan was estimated to rise to somewhere around 97 million tonnes, but revised estimates put down this demand at somewhere round 66 million tonnes as being the more realistic figure in this behalf. As a result, the private sector of the industry has recently been suffering from lack of demand for its output in the measure in which it had been achieved in obedience to its targets for production set down in the Third Plan. The public sector naturally did not suffer to a corresponding extent because its performance remained far below the target allocated to it.

The question as to what should be the target for the Fourth Plan has, accordingly, been looming very large. The lack of demand for coal in the Third Plan has been assessed to have been due to a combination of factors. The first and most important of these was, naturally, the slow rate of implementation of the Third Plan projects especially those relating to the coal-consuming industries. Secondly some large industries have been reducing their consumption of coal, not because of any reduction in their production schedules, but primarily because they have been switching off to other thermal techniques, principally oil. Some of the steel plants, it has been reported, has been so seriously concerned about the increasing ash contents of the metallurgical coal that were being made available to them, that they started carrying out experiments in

alternative methods of fuelling their industries, at least in part, all of which has been having a dampening effect on the demand for coal. It was so substantial, that last year the private sector coal industry in the country, as averred in one of his annual addresses to the Indian Mining Association, the Chairman deplored that the coal industry was almost faced with a crisis on account of the attenuated demand in the face of its increased production.

In a recent joint meeting between representatives of the Union Steel & Mines Ministry, those of the private sector coal industry and the public sector, it was assessed that the aggregate demand for coal in the Third Plan which worked out at approximately 66 million tonnes per annum, would be expected to rise by almost a hundred per cent per annum by about the end of the Fourth Plan to something like 120 million tonnes a year. This assessment was said to have been arrived at on the basis of the requirements of the coal-consuming industries and the representatives of the industry are said to have accepted this assessment as realistic.

The assessment puts down the requirements of coking and non-coking coal at approximately 79 million tonnes and 36 million tonnes respectively with a further 5 million tonnes of blended coal. Of the demand for non-coking coal, the public sector under the NCDC (National Coal Development Corporation) would be expected to supply 25.18 million tonnes, the private sector 43 million tonnes and the Singherani Collieries of the Government in Hyderabad 8.74 million tonnes. The NCDC's and the private sector's present rate of production of non-coking coal has been estimated at 12 million tonnes and 40 million tonnes respectively, that is to say, while the private sector would be expected to increase its production of non-coking coal over the Fourth Plan by some 7.5 per cent, the NCDC's rate of production expansion should be of the order of over 109.8 per cent.

It should be noted in this connection that the demand for non-coking coal has

been consistently lagging considerably behind the quantum of production over the last few years which has been one of the principal woes of the private sector during recent times. The demand, it is now assessed has been gradually going up and the present demand has been estimated at approximately 46.27 million tonnes and which is now expected to reach the level of 50 million tonnes next year. At this rate, it is assumed, that by about the end of the Fourth Plan period, the demand for non-coking coal would be bound to exceed the target of 79 million tonnes now set for the Fourth Plan.

It is presumed that since the representatives of the private sector coal industry are stated to have agreed to these assessments by the Union Steel & Mines Ministry, they find that these assumptions have been based upon realistic estimates of the possible development of demand during the period. Nevertheless, they seem to have been very cautious about accepting targets of production which may again place them in difficulties as during the current Plan and has agreed to only a 7.5 per cent increase over the current production rates throughout the entire Fourth Plan period. The NCDC, on the other hand, has been unable to fulfil its Third Plan targets of production by a considerable margin and although it is said to have accepted the target for the Fourth Plan which postulates an increased production rate by about 110 per cent to be reached by the end of the Fourth Plan period, one wonders to what extent actual production may be expected to approximate to the targets now placed upon itself. This, the NCDC will be expected to fulfil within the limits of its already developed potentials as no new projects for non-coking coal would be sanctioned for the Fourth Plan, it is said.

So far as coking coal for the metallurgical industries is concerned, current production appears to have been assessed at some 14/15 million tonnes per annum. Increase of production of metallurgical coal to 36 million tonnes per annum would call for considerable effort and it may not be possible to achieve this within the capacity

now working in the private and public sectors together. A detailed survey of the requirements of the steel industry as it is likely to develop by the end of the Fourth Plan period—most steel plants in both the private and public sector are under expansion at present and at least one new large steel plant in the public sector would be likely to be commissioned for production operation within the period—and it is possible that the NCDC will then be required to open up new coking coal projects to cope with this developing demand.

Who Pays for this Criminal Waste ?

According to a recently published press report, on account of water-logging of the surrounding areas, there was considerable seepage of water into the West Bengal Government's food godowns in the Lake and Tollygunge areas and, in consequence, it is estimated, that some 5,000 tons of rice has gone bad. This can only be construed as criminal neglect of their primary duties on the part of the concerned officers of the West Bengal Food Directorate. From reports that have subsequently appeared in the daily press, it is learnt that the Government are now busy over devising means for removing the unaffected stocks in these godowns and holding them in alternative premises. But so far as the waste already incurred is concerned, there does not appear to be any serious attempt to locate responsibility for the matter.

Water-logging in Calcutta has been endemic during the rainy season for over a decade now. Although the pattern of water-logging in the different areas of the Metropolis may change from time to time, the Lake and Tollygunge areas have always been submerged with any very heavy downpour. In the circumstances, it should have been possible for the authorities concerned to visualise the extent to which these godowns may be affected with the onset of the monsoons. It should also have been possible to visualise, with the monsoons considerably delayed in their arrival in Calcutta as they have been this year, that the initial downpour would be very heavy and con-

siderable areas of the Metropolis would be bound to go down under water for a period. These are obvious facts about which there cannot be any dispute.

And yet no one in authority appears to have been the least concerned about the fate of the food stocks in the Government godowns in these areas. It may not be easy, one can easily concede, to make alternative arrangement for huge stocks of food grains and other rationed articles to be stored elsewhere in areas free from water-logging. But it should not have been at all difficult to make advance arrangements for raising adequate baffles against seepage of water into the concerned godowns even in areas which normally become water-logged with heavy and protracted periods of rain-fall. This, moreover, should not have been a very expensive precaution. But no one in authority responsible for the storage of food articles in Government godowns appears to have been at all concerned about the matter. In the result, some 5,000 tons of rice are now reported to have gone bad, a measure of waste which the State cannot afford to incur, look at it from whatever point of view one might. One also apprehends that even apart from the 5,000 tons of rice which is reported to have gone bad and rendered wholly unfit for human consumption, there may have been considerable additional quantities of food grains and other rationed articles in the godowns concerned which may have gone at least partially mildewed by the damp and which now the helpless consumers in the city would be compelled to use, although it may not be quite healthful to do so.

The waste reportedly incurred would appear to be quite colossal, look at it from whatever point of view we might. In the first instance, there is not a great deal of surplus stock available to the State over its basic requirements of consumption. It is heartening to learn, as the Chief Minister of West Bengal has recently announced in a public statement, that if the order of Central subventions and procurement under local levies were fulfilled according to schedule, there should not be any crisis in

rice supplies in the State until it was time for the new harvest to come in late in October next. But it is easy to realise that supplies of rice in the State can only be marginally adequate and a sudden 5,000 tons shortfall in the stocks should seriously disturb calculations in this behalf and it would take quite a considerable amount of effort and manoeuvrings to be able to fully replace this large quantity.

In financial terms also, the waste would appear to be quite colossal. Different varieties of rice are stored in the Government godowns priced at different levels. Assuming that the wasted rice was of the most inferior quality alone, Government sell this rice to the consumers at 67 paise per kg. A tonne of rice of this variety should cost the consumer, therefore, Rs. 670, and the cost of 5,000 tonnes would work out at Rs. 33,50,000. This colossal loss, would be bound to be either passed on to the consumers directly by correspondingly raising the price level for future supplies or, if that is avoided having regard to the recent price increase of different varieties of rice already enforced, passed on to the tax-payer generally. But why should the people of the State allow themselves to be penalized in this manner for the criminal neglect of their elementary responsibilities by their own public servants?—is a question which every one has the legitimate right to ask and demand an answer to.

It would be equally criminal for the Government to seek to pass off this incident

with their usual nonchalance by blaming it all on the inclemency of the weather. The least that they owe to the public is a sifting inquiry into the whole matter and the location of responsibility for this waste where it should rightly belong. Normally such an inquiry, we feel, should be departmentally carried out, but the usual penchant of the Government, which have been evident for many years now, to protect their erring employees in similar matters, has made every one rightly suspicious of departmental inquiries and action. The present matter is so serious in both its nature and implication that only a public quasi-judicial inquiry should satisfy the public and then only when the findings that may be arrived at by the inquiry commission or whatever instrument is employed for the purpose, is followed by swift and appropriate action against those that may be found to have been responsible. We are especially suspicious that nothing would be done in the present matter by the State Government, because it concerns the Chief Minister himself who is directly responsible for the Food portfolio in his Government, and his kindnesses to and indulgences of his own departmental men have become quite notorious. Will the Chief Minister be able to muster the necessary detachment and the sternness to order the requisite inquiry and follow up its results with appropriately stern action? This is the least he owes, we insist, to the public of the State over whose destinies he has been appointed to preside.

We reproduce below, some of them *ad verbatim*, and excerpts from some others, the many articles published by some of the national dailies and periodicals, to commemorate the birth centenary of our founder, the late Ramananda Chatterjee.

We are also reproducing our own English rendering of an article by Pandit Banarsidas Chaturvedi, published by the *Navabharat Times* of Delhi, a Hindi language national daily. One time associate of Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Banarsidas Chaturvedi had been a close associate of the late Ramananda Chatterjee for well over a decade, while editing the *Vishal Bharat*, owned and published by the former. In this article some anecdotes are related which will highlight the place accorded by Ramananda to the freedom of opinion of the editor and his championship of the latter's rights to

untrammelled expression of opinion even when his views may be in conflict with those of the proprietors of the publication he was editing. There was, in fact, one such occasion when the editor of the *Vishal Bharat* severely criticised, in one of its editorial notes, the owner of the publication in relation to one of the latter's then public activities. Instead of taking his editor to task on this account, as might have been ordinarily expected, all that Ramananda did was to state that he felt that he had a right of reply to this criticism and would the editor of the *Vishal Bharat* concede to him this right? This was fully in accord with the principle that Ramananda held as being sacred to the profession,—that he conceded the same measure of freedom of expression to his subordinate working Journalists as he claimed for himself.

REASONED JOURNALISM IN AN EXCITED AGE

Niranjan Majumdar

It calls for an effort to picture, with present-day eyes, the Bengal and the India in which Ramananda Chatterjee was born a hundred years ago; the effort is worth making. Thirty years had gone since Macaulay's Minute on Education; eight since the Mutiny. Each experience was what we have since learned to call traumatic.

For a hundred years from the middle of the eighteenth century, as D. S. Sarma has observed in his study on the renaissance of Hinduism, nothing of importance had been produced in any Indian language. The pool of Bengali culture was stagnant, producing more malaria than masterpieces. But stirrings had begun; time started moving, when in 1800 a watchmaker called David Hare settled

down in Calcutta. In 1813 the House of Commons directed the East India Company to spend annually Rs. 1 lakh on education; Raja Rammohun Roy promptly wanted it spent on educating "the natives of India in mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, anatomy and other useful sciences" and not on Sanskrit learning.

By 1861 Michael Madhusudan Dutt had rediscovered the Bengali language and published *Meghnad-badh Kavya*, the first epic in Bengali blank verse. Not merely because he was no longer a Hindu, he had also acquired the impudence to proclaim, "I despise Rama and his rabble but the idea of Ravana elevates and kindles my imagination." Something had

started with a bang ; the air was to be astir for at least, the next sixty years.

TRUE VOCATION

A whole society was being transformed ; and nobody can write a history of the period without digesting the bound volumes of, first, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's *Bangadarshan* and, 1901 onwards, Ramananda Chatterjee's *Prabasi* and, from 1907, *The Modern Review*. After finishing college, for some time Ramananda taught English literature in the City College, Calcutta, and Kayastha Pathshala, Allahabad. But his apprenticeship with *Dasi* and *Pradip* told him early on that journalism was his true vocation. And, for him, journalism was the continuation of teaching through other means, for a larger class. The class once contained all educated Bengalis and much of educated India.

When he moved to Calcutta and began to publish also in the only all-India language, English, Calcutta was the political and intellectual centre of the country, which as a whole now became his audience. In those days it was necessary to be a good Bengali before becoming a good Indian ; something of this may be true even today, perhaps of the children of all States. Ramananda was a good Bengali and good Indian ; there was no conflict between the two.

BRAHMO SAMAJ

Early and voluntary conversion to Brahmoism set the pattern and pace of his life ; again, this did not set him apart from the source religion, Hinduism ; he always called himself a Hindu. Early acquaintance with the Vedas and the Upanishads taught him calm and tranquillity, which gave his intense nationalism a quality of serenity that was not to be found either in the mass movements started by Mahatma Gandhi or in the

movements' raucous chorus, the nationalist Press.

Understanding and analysis were his forte ; persuasion rather than exhortation or rhetorical invective. This basic approach led to a style of writing which has almost disappeared ; whether he was writing in Bengali or English, he was always simple, lucid, direct, factual and utterly unpretentious. Rabindranath Tagore's Bengali prose was heavily ornamented, often florid ; he made at least three generations of Bengali writers imitate him, almost slavishly. Ramananda, Tagore's great friend and admirer, never imitated him in any way ; and to withstand so compelling an influence called for what can be summed up only in one word : Character. The significance of this quality will be apparent when it is added that there is no Bengali equivalent of the word.

He once worked for temperance societies, always for the emancipation of Indian womanhood ; but journalism remained his first love, and he brought to it a passion for truth and reason almost unequalled. As many British liberals did, Ramananda supported the Indian National Congress and its aims, but never surrendered his right to criticize the highest objects of his admiration, including Gandhiji and Gurudev. Chatterjee's patriotism was concrete ; you could almost hold it in your hands. He wrote as much about India's pathetic cattle population as about the successive Constitutions the British gave this country, each short of rising aspirations. He wrote about lepers, of whom he had seen many in Bankura. Educational problems occupied him a great deal ; even when the call came for making politics the sole obsession of the Indian people, to the exclusion of all else, Ramananda, among a few others including Tagore, knew what a

worthless freedom it would be if the people were not taught what to do with it. It is altogether premature to claim that their fears have been totally belied.

PATRON OF ARTS

Austere in personal life, firm in principles, Ramananda yet was remarkably tolerant of the different ways of other people. His catholicity was most apparent in the selection of material for his magazines. If some of the younger generation will not forgive him for his patronage of the Bengal school of painting, they had better remember that he also published Gaganendranath Tagore. More important than these details is the impetus art in general received from Ramananda.

In 1924 Indians made their first acquaintance with Gandhara sculpture, through the writings of Rakhaldas Bandopadhyay published in *The Modern Review*. In what esteem this magazine was held will be clear from the fact that Nehru chose it for perhaps the most revealing piece of writing he ever did on himself. Under the pseudonym "Chanaky", Nehru wrote: "A little twist and Jawaharlal might turn a dictator sweeping aside the paraphernalia of a slow-moving democracy". (This was in November 1937; one remembers the angry arguments over the identity of Nehru's detractor!). It may well be that some of the indecisiveness of 25 years hence proceeded from this early consciousness of the other side of himself.

TAGORE ON SWARAJ

Prabasi and *The Modern Review* also published some of Tagore's most indignant

criticism of aspects of the developing nationalist agitation; one remembers the word "vandalism" used at least once. To publish such material in those excited days was not popular. What cared Ramananda? His loyalty was only to truth and reason. The pervasive pusillanimity of later days pained him no end.

The ordinary non-journalist reader cannot be expected to appreciate the full value of this far younger and far inferior journalist's final compliment to his incomparably superior elder: Ramananda Chatterjee was meticulous in preparing his "copy" for the printer and was an excellent proof-reader. Indian journalism is today far more professional than it was; it is, at last, thank heaven, a career. But Ramananda's abhorrence of misprints sprang not from his professionalism, which few have matched, but from a far deeper source. He cared for professional perfection, certainly; but a misspelt word, a wrongly placed comma or semicolon seemed to him a distortion, a distortion of truth itself, and a violation of the true journalist's compact with his reader. And the reader to Ramananda was not an anonymous entity with a rupee to spare but a man or a woman with a mind to enrich and, in the ultimate analysis, a soul to save. And because he believed in this, in every word he ever wrote, he was a better man—and a better journalist—than anyone in the game today; and it is erroneous to think that it is possible to be a good journalist without at least trying to be a good man.

(*Statesman*, May 29, 1965.)

SHRI RAMANANDA CHATTOPADHYAYA

BANARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

(Excerpts translated from the Original Hindi by Karuna K. Nandi)

In the history of Indian journalism there have been a few leaders of the profession whose thinking, capabilities, ability for sustained hard work, spirit of independence and rectitude of character, would easily rank them among the foremost journalists of the world. Among them one of the greatest, unquestionably, was the late Ramananda Chattopadhyaya. Journalism to him was a mission. His periodicals were universally acknowledged as the best of their kind and the foremost writers of the day all over the country would consider it a privilege to have their contributions accepted for publication by these. Contributions from such eminent writers of the day as the great poet Rabindranath Tagore, Lala Lajpat Rai, Lala Hardayal, C. F. Andrews, Sister Nivedita, Jadunath Sarkar, Bidhusekhar Bhattacharyya, Kashiprasad Jaiswal and many others, used to be regularly published in their columns.

Paintings from the brushes of the foremost artists of the country used, likewise, to be regularly reproduced in these magazines and which constituted another very distinctive feature of these publications. In fact it would only be fair to acknowledge that Ramananda Babu's was the most outstanding contribution, in this regard, to the renaissance of Indian art and the distinctive character of the editorial notes in his English-language magazine, inspired its wide circulation not merely within the country, but also, in very significant numbers, across the seas to the outside world. The famous American writer, Dr. J. T. Sunderland, was reported to have

observed, that there was no periodical published in the United States which could compete in their quality and sweep with *The Modern Review*, perhaps not even in Europe.

M. Romain Rolland used to hold *The Modern Review* in the highest esteem and the late Sir Michael Saddler pronounced it to be the most wideawake journal in India. Even Mahatmaji used to eagerly look forward to Ramananda Babu's approval and endorsement to his political programmes and action.

Those among us who had the privilege of working under the late Ramananda Chattopadhyaya, used to call him the *Bada Babu*. He was shy by nature and was a man of very few words. On the occasion of his seventieth birthday a few of us wished to publicly celebrate the occasion, but he would not accept a public ovation. On being hard pressed, he would only agree to the celebrations being limited within his own office staff and a very few intimate friends. We had no alternative but to honour his wishes in this regard.

I would relate here a few anecdotes of my personal relations with him. When Ramananda Babu accepted the Presidential Office of the Hindu Mahasabha at its Surat session, I openly gave expression to my staunch opposition to this in the columns of the *Vishal Bharat* owned by him and of which I was the Editor. In my editorial notes in the *Vishal Bharat* I commented that no political personality in the country should

accept the office of the Chief Executive of a communal organization, such as the Hindu Mahasabha was. But that was not all; I did not even publish *Bada Babu's* presidential address in the columns of the *Vishal Bharat*. On his return from Surat he requested me to inform him as to which among the Hindi newspapers and periodicals had published his address. I asked him to first read what his own periodical had commented on this. After reading the note, he asked in great good humour if I would agree to publish his reply to my comments, to which I naturally replied that I would surely do so. He then said that although he was able to speak in Hindi of a sort, he was not able to write effectively in this language; if he wrote his reply in English, would I agree to translate the same for him? I readily agreed to do this. *Bada Babu* then wrote out a very strong and critical reply which I promptly translated into Hindi and published in my paper. At that time a famous journalist of Bombay asked *Bada Babu*, how was it that one of his own journals publishes criticisms of himself? His reply was characteristic; he said that he extended to his subordinate journalists working in his own organization the same measure of independence and discretion that he claimed for himself. He was not prepared to suborn or control the independent judgment of others.

Bada Babu's treatment of his subordinate workers was wholly different from that of the ordinary run of newspaper proprietors. If he desired it, he might easily have told me that since his point of view and mine differed so widely, I had better look out for another job. But he was such a staunch votary of individual freedom that throughout my ten years' incumbency under him, I had never had

any occasion when he was even remotely attenuating my freedom. He would, no doubt explain his point of view on matters of importance by way of advising me, but he always made it quite clear that those were merely his advice, but it was only upto me to accept them in case I agreed with him; otherwise I should pursue my own course.

On one occasion I had published the photograph of a danseuse in an Urdu play in the *Vishal Bharat*. *Bada Babu* told me that I should not publish such photographs because the posture of the artiste concerned was such that its influence on the public mind would not be wholesome. He explained, however, that this was a suggestion he made as an editor whose first concern was the public good, but it was naturally upto me to accept his suggestion in this behalf or otherwise. I listened and then came away. A few days later the late *Rakhaldas Banerjee* visited me in my office and related to me an anecdote of his student days. Once while visiting *Bada Babu's* son *Kedarnath*, he carried with him the photograph of a certain actress. While coming away; the photograph was, by mistake, left behind on *Bada Babu's* table. When, later he arrived there, he found the photograph torn across in four pieces and then gummed together. He asked *Kedar Babu* how this had happened to which he replied that *Bada Babu* had done this. *Rakhaldas Babu* explained to me that the *Bada Babu* belonged to the old school and would not even see a cinema film. To publish the picture of a danseuse is not a matter of journalistic principle with me and it were better that in deference to *Bada Babu's* prejudices in this matter, I should not publish such pictures in the future. I understood *Bada Babu's* point of view in this matter after my talk

with Rakhal Babu, and I never repeated this mistake.

When I started preaching the gospel of anarchy in my journal, instead of forbidding that, Bada Babu simply had his own name removed as the director of the publication. He had incurred losses on this publication running to thousands of rupees, but he nevertheless always suggested that for the sake of popularity I should not fill the journal with popular matters of inferior quality and taste and thereby bring down the high standard of the publication.

...He used to put in a great deal of labour in editing his two journals. Besides his own writings and notes, he used to read the proofs for most things that were published in his journals. He last attended a session of the Indian National Congress in Surat in 1907, after which he seemed to have shut himself up into his own work. He had no ambitions for popular applause, and seldom visited any meetings or was prominent in any association of men. When, however, the League of Nations invited him to Geneva, he agreed to accept the same on condition that he would not be expected to accept reimbursement of his expenses of the visit because he felt that after accepting any monetary assistance from the League on this account, he would feel his editorial freedom correspondingly attenuated. This had cost him something like eleven thousand rupees, which he considered a small price for the independence of his opinions.

When after his return to India he very strongly criticised the League in his Notes, the *Civil & Military Gazette* of Lahore commented that this was an abuse of the League's hospitality. Replying to this comment, Bada Babu wrote that he had heard that the best method of pleasing John Bull is to feed him, but it might interest the Editor concerned to know that he, however, had not been indebted to the League of Nations even to the very small extent of a free cup of tea.

Bada Babu never liked to be under any obligation to others. Likewise it was wholly against his principles to accept contributions for publication in his journals under anyone else's recommendation. He would fearlessly judge each contribution on its own merits according to his own untrammelled judgment and would care little of what others thought of himself on this account. There have been occasions when he has criticized even Rabindranath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi. Nevertheless, the poet used to hold him in the highest esteem and Mahatmaji used to regard him as a Rishi.

...His contributions to the development of the Bengali literature should form the subject of a separate discourse. In the history of the development of Indian languages, literatures and culture, as well as that of journalism and the nationalist spirit, the name of Ramananda Chatterjee will always remain indelible.

(*Navabharat Times*, Delhi, June 2, 1965)

CENTENARY NEWS

RAMANANDA BIRTH CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS

Calcutta

The birth centenary celebrations commemorating the hundredth birthday of the late Ramananda Chatterjee, opened in Calcutta with a public meeting at the Rabindra Bharati Hall, Jorasanko, on the evening of May 31 last. Shri Prafulla Chandra Sen, Chief Minister, West Bengal, was scheduled to preside over the meeting, but as he had to go out of town on the day on emergency State duty, the Chairman of the Ramananda Birth Centenary Committee, National Professor Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, conducted the meeting.

Ramananda's Journalistic Integrity

In a brief address to the gathering, Prof. Satyen Bose underlined the unshakable journalistic integrity of the late Ramananda Chatterjee, which was, perhaps, incomparable in the history of Indian journalism. He never allowed emotional impacts to cloud his judgment or his sense of proportion; as a result his expression of opinion or pronouncement of his verdict on all sorts of public questions have always been distinctive for their objectivity and balanced criticism. Another very distinctive aspect of Ramananda's journalism was the broad sweep of his interests and there was nothing that touched life which was left out of his careful editorial assessment. Both as an individual and a journalist, Ramananda was a **complete man**. And his essential humanity was sustained and reinforced by an integrity of character and a universalism which at once placed him far above the common run of journalists. These qualities in the man were fully reflected in the two journals he edited with such conspicuous distinction and which were ranked as the best in periodical

journalism not merely in this country but, to readers of intellect and discernment, also in Europe and America. It was mostly through the **Modern Review** that India was able to carve out for herself a distinctive place on the map of the world, Prof. Bose asserted.

Continuing, Prof. Bose said, what would appear to be especially creditable was that the late Ramananda Chatterjee had to publish his journals in an atmosphere of severe official hostility. His writings have often been frowned upon by the alien British power then ruling over the destinies of the country; as a publisher he had also to face official wrath and financial losses. But nothing was able to suborn his steadfast loyalty to what he believed to be the truth and justice. He was intensely a nationalist, but he was also a universal man and there never appeared to be any conflict between the two. It was, Prof. Bose felt, very largely as a result of Ramananda's fearless but balanced expression of truth that Indian nationhood was able to evolve an integrated and a concrete personality. Remembering today that he was able to achieve this great purpose inspite of a hostile and inimical environment, one is apt to feel sorely disappointed, Prof. Bose concluded, that the light that Ramananda continued to shed upon the country for well over half a century appears, now that India has attained her own political sovereignty, to have been snuffed out for ever. A stygian darkness of unreason appears to have been leading the nation to grope about towards an uncertain future.

Ramananda's Historical Outlook

Dr. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, the celebrated historian, speaking on the occasion, emphasized the late Ramananda Chatterjee's broad historical outlook and the keen sense of historical assessment of

men and events that he brought to his work as Editor of the renowned periodicals, the **Prabasi** and the **Modern Review**. There is abundant material to be found in the columns of the **Modern Review** and the **Prabasi** which would bear testimony to the broad historical outlook of the founder-editor of these two distinguished periodicals. Trends of history, Dr. Majumdar observed, may not always be palatable or conform to certain desired points of view; but the true historian must always be able to arrive at the conclusions, however unpalatable or divergent from his own preconceived notions or predetermined desires to which the trend of events would inevitably lead him. Ramananda's journalism, Dr. Majumdar observed, was distinguished by this true historian's outlook. It was his unshakable integrity of character, his steadfast loyalty to truth and reason that made Ramananda that true doyen among journalists that he was.

In independent India, Dr. Majumdar deplored, history is being sought to be made to order of the powers that are. It is the inescapable duty of journalists, he claimed, to fight this sinister design to distort the truths of history with a view to propagating a particular view of historical events and trends.

Asansol

The Asansol Ramananda Birthday Centenary celebration began with a public meeting held in the Durand Hall on the 17th June 1965. Mr. B. K. Guha I.C.S. (Ret.), Vice-Chancellor Burdwan University presided over the meeting. Mr. Soumyendranath Tagore addressed the meeting as the Chief guest of the Centenary Committee. He began his address by describing in detail the life and work of the people who brought about the moral and religious reforms and the revivalistic upsurge in India's cultural, economic and political life in the eighteenth-nineteenth centuries. Raja Ram Mohun Roy was the pioneer of all modern movements in India after the fall of the Moghul Empire. He was a vastly

learned man in the philosophy of the nations of the world and the theology of the various religions. He studied and mastered Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Arabic and Hebrew and knew at least nine other languages of Europe and India. His learned controversies with the Christian Missionaries were instrumental in slowing down the mass conversion of Indians to Christianity. He was the first great reformer in modern India, who successfully removed many superstitious evil practices from the field of religion and social custom. The burning of widows with their dead husbands was probably the worst of these and Raja Ram Mohun Roy was the man who fought vigorously against this vile crime and eventually succeeded in making **suttee** illegal and punishable. During his visit to England he met men like Jeremy Bentham, John Stuart Mill and Robert Owen and created a remarkable impression on the master minds of Europe. They felt as if Plato or Socrates had come back from the remote past to discuss the fundamentals of life with them. Such was Raja Ram Mohun Roy! After the great Raja came Maharshi Debendranath Tagore, Vidyasagar, Keshub Chandra Sen, Shivanath Shastri, Ramtanu Lahiri, Vivekananda and a host of other reformers, intellectuals and nation builders who were the true successors of Raja Ram Mohun Roy. **Brahmo Dharma** is based on the Upanishads and avoiding ritualistic Hinduism it went back to the thoughts of the **Rishis** to find an emotional basis for its sacramental acts.

Kedarnath Kulavi who taught Ramananda mathematics in the Bankura school was a Brahmo Samajist. He was an ardent reformer and his influence slowly turned Ramananda's mind to the teachings of Raja Ram Mohun Roy. When Ramananda came to Calcutta, Pandit Shivanath Shastri and Raj Narain Bose won him over finally to the Brahmo way of thinking. He also took his vow of nationalism from Pandit Shivanath Shastri. This was a vow to achieve freedom for the nation, to eschew gainful employment under the British and to establish true equality among all men and

women of India. This happened in the Eighteen Hundred Eighties, long before any organised political thought emerged anywhere in India. Pandit Shivanath Shastri was a most remarkable man. He had dedicated his life to the service of the nation. He was vastly learned and did very intensive work for the uplift of women, the depressed classes and the morally depraved. He was a powerful speaker, a fine writer and he possessed a magnetic personality. Ramananda Chatterjee and many others like, Krishna Kumar Mitra, Heramba Chandra Maitra, Nilratan Sircar, Prankrishna Acharya and Kshirode Chandra Das, were inspired by Pandit Shivanath Shastri to devote themselves to social welfare, national progress and ethico-religious progress. In whatever capacity the Brahmos worked in those days they were fundamentally full time servants of humanity, the Nation and God. Ramananda's earliest efforts in journalism were linked up with the **Sanjeevani** which Krishna Kumar Mitra edited; **Dasi** edited by Kshirode Chandra Das, **Mukul**, a children's magazine edited by Pandit Shivanath Shastri. **Pradeep** came later on. His journalism had always been the expression of his nationalism and this nationalism was deeply coloured by his monotheistic and ethical ideals, his fiery love of liberty, his deep humanitarianism and attachment to the principles of equality, fairplay and justice. Throughout his life Ramananda fought for what he considered right, just and true; and every now and then he had to criticise persons of great importance and thus incur the displeasure of the powerful elements in society. But he never wavered from his chosen path.

Mr. B. K. Guha, summing up said he had spent his life working as a judge. He thought if Ramananda Chatterjee had chosen Law as his profession he would have been a great lawyer. For he never expressed an opinion without giving convincing arguments and reasons for the same. A judge believed only in argument, reason and proof. Ramananda Chatterjee did the same. Whatever he wrote had the soul of logic and evidence in it. That is why he was so great a man.

PUBLISH EDITORIALS BY
RAMANANDA : KABIR
New Delhi

MAY 31.—Mr. Humayun Kabir, Union Minister, said that it would be a good idea to publish a selection of editorials written by the late Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee.

Mr. Kabir was speaking at a meeting organized by the Ramananda Chatterjee Birth Centenary Committee in New Delhi.

Dr. B. V. Keskar, a former Union Minister for Information and Broadcasting, and Mr. Pyare Lal were the other main speakers who paid tributes to Mr. Chatterjee.

Mr. Shastri, in his message, said that Ramananda Chatterjee spurned material advancement to serve the cause of the nation. "The celebration of his birth centenary should be an occasion to re-dedicate ourselves" to the causes he propagated.

Mr. Rajagopalachari said in his message that Mr. Chatterjee's journal, **The Modern Review**, was a great source of inspiration to him in his love for his country.

Indian Periodicals

Distortion of History: To What End?

Writing under the above caption in the Indian Libertarian of June 1, 1965, Mr. M. N. Tholal speaks of his own understanding of the Government of India's policy of non-alignment which, he apprehends, has been leading this Government to 'slip' into the "Russian spider-web" and which, according to him has been "getting wider and wider and it will be for the Union Government to decide soon how far it is prepared to oblige Soviet Russia in her march towards peace and progress—peace through progress towards the goal of the one and only mighty State in the world."

The occasion for such strong condemnation of the Government of India's present policies appears to be Prime Minister Shastri's reported condemnation of American bombing of North Vietnam immediately following a reportedly earlier remark—"who am I to advise Washington?" Mr. Tholal permits himself to paint the faithful followers of the Nehru tradition as seekers of "personal glory rather than the interests of the country"—a view of the matter which may or may not be justified according to the particular angle of view from which one looks at it.

Many people appear to have been surprised by Prime Minister Shastri's repeated condemnation of American bombing of North Vietnam almost immediately after saying, "Who am I to advise Washington?" But they forget one thing about our Prime Minister. That most important thing is that he has been nurtured in the Nehru tradition and is faithfully following it. Nehru also, with his great faith in claptrap, used to take every opportunity of condemning the U.S.A. on the eve of his visit to the Soviet Union—just to make the Russian welcome to him a bit warm. As a faithful follower of Nehru, Shastri could not have been unaware of it, and he is following in his footsteps to the best of his ability. It was a bit unfortunate that his humility made him say, just before his repeated advice to Washington to stop bombing North Vietnam, "Who am I to advise Washington?" But then he is new at the game of claptrap, and may be forgiven this slight lapse in the pursuit of the ways and policies of his great master.

The Russians are no fools and must have learnt by this time that Indian leaders are after personal glory rather than the interests of their country. Thus Inder Malhotra, a correspondent of the Statesman, cabling from Leningrad on May 17 had this to say about our Prime Minister's visit :

"Observers have noticed that throughout Shastri's stay in Leningrad, the Soviet Premier and his wife hardly left the side of Mr. and Mrs. Shastri. This gave the two Prime Ministers an opportunity to talk informally...The only point to emerge from these talks, however...is that the Soviet leaders have expressed anxiety over the style as well as substance of President Johnson's policies and have pointed out that the present American regime is putting the Soviet Union's firm policy of lessening tensions, promoting peace and preventing war under great strain."

That same firm policy of the Soviet Union, which Prime Minister Shastri tacitly acknowledged as such, when he repeatedly advised U. S. A. to stop bombing North Vietnam. At a time when there is legitimate fear of India changing her foreign policy, it is only natural that Russian leaders should put on their best mask of friendship to prevent any change from materialising. For, after all, what greater service can the Russian leaders render to China than to see to it that India continues faithfully to follow the policy of non-alignment as laid down by Nehru?

What is surprising is that the Indian leaders are also doing their best to render the same service to China. Mr. Krishna Menon observed recently in New Delhi that in his view "the Soviet Union is the only lasting friend this country had." The Congress President, on the eve of the Prime Minister's visit to Russia, also spoke in the same anti-American vein. Mrs. Indira Gandhi, as perhaps befits a faithful daughter, has been out-Nehruing Nehru in the pursuit of advocacy of friendship with China and has, with that end in view, been distorting history, as Prime Minister Shastri did while denying the role played by Nehru in seeking Ame-

rican assistance during the Chinese invasion. She observed the other day: "It was wrong to believe that India was saved from being devoured by China because of western military power. India was saved only because the U.S.S.R. fell out with China. She was sure that, if China and Russia joined hands and attacked India, the western powers would not be able to save it."

Far from Russia and China having fallen out, they were in agreement over the invasion. China's foremost Government daily, the People's Daily of Peking, nearly a year after the invasion gave out that China had obtained Russian assent before launching the invasion, and the allegation was not denied by Russia. This has been repeatedly pointed out by me in these columns. Mr. A. G. Noorani in an article in *Opinion*, a Bombay weekly priced at 5 Paise even before the price resistance movement started, has this to say about Mrs. Gandhi's distortion of history:

"As to the first part of her remarks" (that it was wrong to believe that India was saved from being devoured by China because of western military power) "Mr. Khrushchev is a better judge. Speaking in the Supreme Soviet on December 12, 1962, he said: "Some say that China has stopped hostilities apparently because India began to receive support from the American and British imperialists who supply her with arms. Yes, evidently, the Chinese friends have taken this circumstance into account, and this again points to their wisdom and understanding of the fact that, when war breaks out between friendly neighbouring peoples, the imperialists always try to benefit from it."

"In his thoroughly documented work, 'The Sino-Soviet Rift', Prof. William E. Griffith (p. 58) cites the People's Daily editorial of November 2, 1963, thus: "We now have a November 1963 Chinese (but as yet no Soviet) detailed account of the then secret Moscow-Peking discussions preceding the October 20 Chinese attack. On October 8 a Chinese leader told the Soviet Ambassador in Peking that a massive Indian attack was pending and that Indian use of Soviet manufactured planes was making a bad

impression on the Chinese frontier guards. In reply on October 13 and 14, Khrushchev told the Chinese Ambassador in Moscow that the Russians had similar information and that, had the Soviets been in China's position, they would have taken the same measures."

"Specific dates are given," Mr. Noorani says. Mr. Khrushchev's remarks are in quotes and most tellingly, have not been denied by him. The remarks are a clear green signal by Russia to China for the October 20 talk about a pending *Indian* invasion...The notorious *Pravda* editorial supporting China and Mr. Chavan's publicly expressed criticism of Russia at that time may be recalled." Not only that. It was that same editorial in *Pravda* that provoked Nehru to blurt out the confession at a public function in New Delhi: "We have been living in a world of our own creation." So, far from India being saved "because the U.S.S.R. fell out with China", as Mrs. Gandhi says, the truth is that Russia not only gave the green signal for the Chinese invasion but also agreed with China that a massive Indian attack on China was pending. Could distortion of history go farther? But the most interesting part of it is that Mr. Nehru, the great Indian patriot, returned soon after to "living in a world of our own creation," and even denied that he had sought American air assistance, a fact to which President Kennedy gave testimony at a Press Conference the following day.

Mrs. Gandhi does not worry about facts. In her campaign against the western countries. In her May Day speech she observed: "World opinion was in favour of India when China attacked this country. But when Pakistan repeated the aggressive act, most of the western countries were quiet." The first part of the remark is manifestly untrue, as Mr. Noorani points out. Her late father Nehru remarked in sorrow apropos the Afro-Asians' non-alignment over the Chinese invasion (December 13, 1962) "what is obvious to us is not obvious to the world." That may well be because Mr. Nehru, the father of non-alignment, himself gave the lead in considering the obvious to be obscure, as with reference to the captive nations on the western frontiers of Soviet Russia.

Foreign Periodicals

When Art Becomes Propaganda

Alberto Moravia, the celebrated Italian novelist, writing in the Saturday Review discusses the question as to whether art can be directed towards illuminating any particular school of thought or social or political ideology in his characteristically lucid style. "The last word about art," he says, "rests with the artist. Chicken broth cannot be made without chicken. It can happen that the chicken escapes to the top of the tower and then the pot boils in vain." He comments "that if art accepted any extrinsic definition it would be like a woman describing herself as up for sale....poetry springs from a sense of its own autonomy; and that determinism of any kind and not only the economic kind, withers art like an icy blast on a budding flower." We reproduce the article in extenso for, we are sure, our readers will find a great deal in it that would be well worth their study:

The theory of art as superstructure we owe to the moment in which Marx wrote his books. A bad moment for art, if a passing one. Two centuries earlier Marx would have found no pretext for his theory. The theory of art as superstructure is bound up with the problem of the industrial production of art and leads to a new social and economic definition of failed art, bad art. Successful art, good art, has no place in it.

The educational value of art is enormous, but it diminishes insofar as art departs from nature. Banish nature from art—nature with its contradictions, its variety, its imagination, its freedom—and you get an art deprived of educational value, whatever the ideology that inspires it. A stay by the seaside gives strength but a stay in a room with a painting of the seaside has no health-giving effect whatsoever.

The present universal collapse of mankind is no more than the outcome of two frightful wars. One need not be a great prophet to foresee that within a century or two mankind will have rediscovered a decent image of itself. But meanwhile mankind is like a filthy, blood-stained drunkard who looks at himself in the mirror and is surprised to find he looks so horrible. According to some, mankind should go on looking at itself in the mirror; according to others, mankind should replace the mirror with a picture of a clean, sober man. Few think it would be better if mankind had a brush-up and a rest. And even those who think this are not prepared to give up either the mirror or the picture.

There are two alternatives: either, as Marxism wants it, art is superstructure and in that case—as it is normal to proceed from the superstructure to the structure, from the fruit to the tree—we are bound to conclude that the structure in certain Eastern countries today is not as they would have us believe, or else Marxism, where art is concerned, is in error and in that case we are forced to the conclusion that the artists in those countries are not much good.

Political freedom is not a *sine qua non* of great art. Great art has flourished in ages when there was no freedom. But in order to flourish, art has an absolute need of something else: that the social body should be made of the same stuff as the art. If, owing to religious or political fanaticisms, the social body has reduced or suppressed in itself the variety of nature, then art can be as free as you like, but it will not flourish.

Any systematization of art on the basis of a theory extrinsic to art itself is, at the least, risky and fraught with delusions. Imagine the opposite for a moment: politics conceived in terms of the dictates of aesthetics. In reality such systematizations are dictatorial acts on the part of the predominant activity toward the activities that for the moment seem less important.

The case of Dostoevsky, whose work is not allowed to be reprinted in his own country, raises the question of ultimate reconciliation with history. Dostoevsky is banned because the game being played by Communism with history has not yet reached its limit. But when will it reach its limit?

Societies in the past, whether feudal, bourgeois, slave-trading, or patriarchal, were capable at their best of expressing this sort of realism. But a society that cannot, will not, and does not know how to see itself as it really is, is incapable of doing so.

Class art or official art corresponds pretty accurately to the baser concept of art proposed by the Marxists—art as superstructure. The Communists are only too ready to declare that class art or official art or art as superstructure will cease to exist once the classless society has been achieved. Why is it, then, that art in Eastern countries, perhaps more than anywhere else, reveals such notorious aspects of class art or official art or art as superstructure? There seems no doubt as to the answer: it is because art does not need a revolution to be real art. All that is needed is that the artist himself, and by himself, should attain the sphere where there are no classes, nor ever were, nor ever will be—the sphere of poetry. Art in the Eastern countries has such marked characteristics of class art because the

proletariat in those countries still sees itself as proletariat or a class, and has not yet rediscovered mankind in itself—mankind old or new but anyway classless.

The relationship between art and society is not of a moral or moralizing order, as all those who attach a negative meaning to the word "decadence" would like to suppose. It is of a biological order. Art bears a relationship not to the morality of a society but to its vitality.

Art is memory, propaganda is prophecy. But in the past prophets always prophesied disaster. The great novelty is having optimistic prophets.

If art is a superstructure, how in the world can it outlive the structure? Why do we still read *The Iliad*, which is a superstructure, so they say, on archaic Greek feudalism? What guarantees eternal life to the superstructure? And why is the transitory structure accorded more importance than the enduring superstructure?

Who is going to deny that the Communist ideas on art are on the mark? The very term "socialist realism" contains an irrefutable critical reflection: art has always been realist or it has not been art and it has always been bound up directly or indirectly with the dominant ideology. So realism is inseparable from art, or at least from European art, and so is ideology. What, then, is odd about the socialist state asking the artists to produce socialist realism? In our view the oddity consists in the fact that, unlike the Church and other totalitarian organisms of the past, the socialist state knows these things, having a very developed critical and historical awareness. In this sense the socialist state, with its intellectual and pragmatist tendencies, participates in the dialectic of decadence.

Having said all this, we must now point out that art does not really interest Communism. This is proved by the simplicity of Marxist ideology in matters of art. This is all the more apparent if compared with the complexity of Marxist theories on social and economic problems. Marxism is uninterested in art as, let us say, it is uninterested in religion. The difference between the Marxist attitude toward art and the Marxist attitude toward religion is that whereas Marxism wants to take the place of religion, it merely wants to make use of art. And in fact all Marxist theories of art concern not so much art in its inner being as art in its relationship to society and the state. In other words, they concern the uses of art.

A novel describes a battle. The description of the battle does not please the rulers of a certain Eastern country. The novel is thus recast according to the ruler's specifications. What strikes one most about such a recasting in accord with authority is not the docility of the writer, not yet the tyranny of the rulers. What strikes one most is the domination of an idea of artifice, rationality, technique, and manufacture over one of poetry, inspiration, originality, and creativity; that is, the domination of a classical idea (or at least an idea in tendency classical) over a romantic one. It is as if an aesthetic system that to all appearances had seen its day had started developing again.

It is astonishing to see writers and critics in the West, those with the Marxist faith, rising up to defend art from the Eastern countries on which their views could be expected to be severe. When this happens there is talk of party discipline. But in my view we are dealing with a substitution which these people have made in the depths of their

souls—the substitution of ideology for reality. For Communists, ideology is reality, and what ordinary people call reality is nothing at all. If reality fails to confirm the ideology, so much the worse for reality. Nor can we say that such Communist writers and critics are wrong, at least from a psychological point of view. With them the substitution probably happened in dramatic circumstances, as with all conversions. At such moments the ideology genuinely is reality—were it not, the conversion could not take place. Later, when confronted with art or any other human activity or manifestation, they reproduce easily and almost automatically what happened with pain and anguish at the time of conversion.

The Communists always present their ideas on art in strict correlation with their economic and social theories, and merge the two. So anyone who approves of the economic and social theories of Communism, whether partially or wholly, is led to approve of the aesthetic ideas also, or at least to view them with favor. And this inevitably leads to the acceptance of a rude and simplistic conception of art. For though art may perfectly well have a proletarian content, its formal and technical pattern is bound up with maturity in taste. This fact has never been disproved in history and, whatever its content, art has always been a late and aristocratic product. For the truth is that art always appears at the apex of a civilization—it is the final flower of the human plant. The barbarians who flocked into Italy in the Dark Ages no doubt had plenty to say, but they said it when, precisely, they were no longer barbarians. In the same way the proletariat (above all in countries where social slumber was accompanied by biological slumber) no doubt has plenty

to say, but it will say it only when it has the capacity to do so, when it has ceased to be a proletariat.

It is a mistake to suppose that socialist realism in the Eastern countries has prevented the appearance of a new Michelangelo or, at least, of a new Picasso. If the socialist regime in those countries were suddenly supplanted by a liberal one, the artists might well imitate the Western artists (though this is not certain), but they would certainly not surpass the rather low artistic level of their present production. For in those countries the revolution has resulted in decapitating the cultivated class, and now rulers and people form one single bloc with the same tastes, the same outlook, and the same degree of culture. The leaders in those countries view art no differently from the workers and the peasants. The works of art they select for the admiration of the people are the ones that in all sincerity they themselves prefer. Something similar happens in all revolutions. Even the French Revolution, which brought such a long-prepared and cultivated class as the bourgeoisie to power at the beginning of the nineteenth century, produced a crude and transient form of art—early romanticism. In this perspective we should judge the decadent tendencies that followed as a systemization in a classical sense of that early romanticism.

The Communists can never be brought to admit that the works of art of the Eastern countries are of little artistic value, and how could they? They do not believe in the true but in the credible, not in nature but in reason, not in reality but in ideology, not in poetry but in artifice, not in creative spontaneity but in constructive will. To be sure, they will produce art in the end, but this will be in spite of themselves.

The Communists seem to advocate classical art. We say "seem" because nothing is certain in a regime as certain as a dictatorship, even a dictatorship of the proletariat. Hence when the Communists set out from the Marxist presupposition that every society, in the moment of its highest functionality and historical necessity, expresses an art that is perfectly objective and realist without reserve or compromise, evasion or incompleteness—in a word, a classical art—they are really contrasting their moment of high noon with the sunset or decadence of every other country, a decadence whose expression lies in an unhealthily subjective, incomplete, abstract, evasive, and reticent art—a decadent art. It is obvious that in this case the distinction between poetry and non-poetry falls to the ground and is replaced by the distinction between classicism and decadence, or between completeness and incompleteness, or, in other words, between the society's greater or lesser courage, capacity, and will to represent itself as it is in all its aspects, even negative ones, and to recognize itself in this representation, make use of it, and turn it into an instrument of improvement and progress. Hence, once again, there is no question of poetry and non-poetry but on one and the same level, of total or partial poetry, of classical or decadent representation. But inasmuch as Communist society claims to be the heir to all the societies of history, and their crowning glory, it should give rise to the most classical and complete art that could ever be imagined, and this indefinitely and without any interruption. In this way we see how, in the Communist ideology, there is no place for even the smallest negation of reality. Everything is spun out on the thread of logic, everything is rational. Communism cannot fail to produce

the perfect society, and the perfect society cannot fail to produce the highest form of art. In such circumstances the artist who wants to argue with Communism seems like an advocate of the irrational or of nothingness, not to say of evil.

It is not easy to see why, once he has accepted and confirmed the autonomy of the fact of language, a given Eastern statesman should not do the same for the autonomy of the fact of art. It is not easy to see why, but we can make a guess. Language, as our statesman has to admit, is neither bourgeois nor socialist; like a locomotive, it is a means, whereas art can be, and is, an end. But there can be no end save that of the socialist revolution.

Why socialist realism and not, for instance, neoclassicism? Because the last objective form of art in Europe was naturalist. States whatever people may say, are never in the *grand geste*.

There is no relationship between the alienation of the worker and the alienation of the artist. The worker is alienated because, in the economy of the market, he is a piece of goods like any other and as such he is defrauded of his surplus value, or of what represents his value as a man, whereas the artist creates an object that has no market (or, if it has, it is not that of necessities that always have a market) and no real price in money or kind. The artist receives the price of his work of art in creating it. In other words, when he hands his book over to the publisher, his music to the conductor, or his

painting to the art dealer, the artist has already been paid and whatever he receives after that is a bonus. Hence the alienation of the artist consists in the total or partial prevention of his expression, or of his true relationship with society.

The force of the Communist polemic about art lies less in its own tenets than in the funeral and suicidal character of most Western art. For the Communists nothing is easier than to show how Western art is the expression of an over-all *capito desolati* whose origins inevitably lie outside art itself. But all they can do to counter Western art is to propound theories. With regard to their artistic production, the best we can say about it is that it is the fruit of good will.

The Communists, though they may well be unaware of it, propose not so much a new art as a suspension of art. In the country, when a field has been sown too often, you let it lie fallow for two or three seasons so that it can rest and regain its strength. In similar circumstances Christianity decided that pagan art, the only possible art at that time, was the work of the devil. The Communists do not believe in the devil, but they believe in the decadence, immorality, corruption, and downfall of capitalism. In reality Communism now, like Christianity in its time, is an instrument of an exhausted nature that clamors for rest. But men do not like admitting that they are determined by simple biological laws. So, in the field of art, tiredness is called, let us say, abstract art; and rest is called socialist realism.

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NOTES

Goa and India

Prime Minister Shastri's affirmation of Goa's right of self-determination in the matter of merging into this State or that or remaining, as now, a Union Territory, is quite in keeping with the spirit of India's Constitution. Mr. Bandodkar, Goa's Chief Minister, also said that Goa alone should decide whether she should merge into Mysore or Maharashtra and these States (that is Mysore or Maharashtra) should not come into the picture at all and take a hand in what is exclusively Goa's affair. So far so good. But Mr. Bandodkar thereafter said that if other States took a part in Goa's affairs then West Bengal might say something too. Apparently, he named West Bengal quite unnecessarily and in an uncalled for manner. But did he? Or was he thinking of how West Bengal was created by the partition of India in an arbitrary manner by Mr. Bandodkar's party leaders? This had then brought about the total abolition of Sind and a major surrender of the territories of the Punjab and of Bengal. India did not make good this loss of territory to the Bengalis, the Punjabis and the Sindhis. The Congress Party should have added more territory to the new Punjab and to West Bengal. And there should have been a new Sind. They forgot to do all this and the boundaries were fixed quite arbitrarily for the States that were dismembered to obtain indepen-

dence by barter. Far from doing what was right, the Congress retained in Bihar all the territories that were taken out of Bengal by the British to make a self-sufficient Bihar. Jamshedpur and the Jharia coal-fields rightfully belong to Bengal, as also the Santal Parganas and certain other areas too. But nothing was done to return her territories to Bengal. In the Gazetteer of Dhanbad District published by the State Government of Bihar, there is no mention of the fact that the District was historically a part of Bengal. Rather every effort has been made to make it appear that Dhanbad has always been an integral part of Bihar. These facts of political history must have been in Mr. Bandodkar's subconscious and he named West Bengal as soon as he thought of Goa being merged in any other State. West Bengal has a right to ask for more territory from all other States which have gained conjointly by the Partition of India. But she cannot demand any territory from Goa while Bihar is still hanging on to Jamshedpur, Jharia and many other important places in her immediate vicinity which were once included in the western districts of Bengal. The World, of course, does not know so much about the details of Indian independence. The nations of the world think that Pakistan is a nation within a nation and that the separation was based on some sort of expression of a popular desire to

divide territories. That the British engineered the whole thing with the help of agents provocateurs is not known to the peoples of other nations. Goa is more recent and Anglo-American and Portuguese propaganda kept the matter of her liberation to the forefront of international politics, at least for some time. If now Goa is merged with this or that State in an off-hand fashion world opinion may find India's ideals of freedom, justice and fair-play slightly farcical. The people of West Bengal, Punjab and Sind have experienced the hideous tragedy of creating two nations out of one.

The Centre Vies with States

Virtue is a simpler mental state than vice. That is why Satan is so very complex in his appeal to those who find virtue stale and uninteresting. Sadachar came out of a simple outlook on Life and those who found it bracing also thought that butter-milk and spinach were better food than caviar and champagne. Our Central Government Ministers are mostly inspired by Sadachar. They cannot think ill of anybody excepting of those who criticise their thoughts and deeds. Due to this, they like to extol, openly and otherwise, the organisations set up by the Central Government. If some one pointed out to them the shortcomings of the Indian Police, Post Office, Railways and the Corporations that are going to put India on the map of economic superiority, they feel hurt and wonder if such criticism would interfere with the proper defence of India. In fact those who love the Indian National Congress feel that all who do not love that political party are undermining the defence of India by their lack of faith and affection in and for the Congress.

But there is a queer twist in the reasoning used unconsciously by the Central Giants of the Congress. They, as well as the "lesser" men who rule the States, belong to the same fold of idealism. Yet the

Centre thinks that those who are in the States are not so effective, efficient and what not. They do not say so but their actions clearly point that way. The States cannot, for instance, achieve border security. If the States' armed police were given the same arms and the same training why should they not be able to guard the borders? If the enemy used military force on a large enough scale, the matter would then become too big even for the centrally controlled armed police. If not, the States' armed police could easily control ordinary inroads by the enemy. In the circumstances we find the utter faith of the Central Minister in his own henchmen very touching. We do not think such faith is justified. The borders should be guarded by the States' armed police. The reason is one of economy. For the States can divert larger numbers of their armed police to the borders whenever tension arises; and use those same men for other work when things remain peaceful. The Centre would have to maintain armies of men in their border police at all times which will be very expensive. Regarding the proposed central industrial police these would again be quite unnecessary. The States' police have been guarding and assisting the industries very well so far. We have every confidence they will continue to do so. If on the other hand the Centre brings in a separate police force into the States, there will be no extra advantage, for all police will have to enforce the same law in the same manner. This idea of Central control in the States has the seeds of dictatorial management in it. Surely we do not want to be ruled by people in Delhi excepting in such spheres of our life which have an overall national colouring. There are matters which have a very local nature, and these should be managed by local bodies. The States do not interfere in such matters. True freedom can only thrive where outsiders do not dictate or give orders unless required

by the wider and more general needs of the Nation.

Imperialism, Colonialism and Tyranny

Imperialism is an abstraction derived from empires. The idea of overlordship created empires and quite often empires were so loosely knit that the emperors hardly ever actually ruled any part of their empires. There had been empires, however, which were more effectively controlled from the centre and the emperors successfully collected their dues from the farthest corners of their empires. Imperial might was founded on the gains thus made and imperialism came to mean the exploitation of subject territories by the imperial overlord.

Colonies were sometimes the garrisons maintained by the emperors in the distant parts of their empires. Quite often trade, commerce and industry followed the garrisons and created communities of non-martial colonists in the conquered countries. Colonialism slowly came to mean the occupation of other people's home-lands by the people of the imperial race or their slaves and mercenaries. Fights for freedom and liberty were quite commonly directed against the emperors and their garrisons by the peoples of the conquered and occupied territories who found imperial exploitation oppressive and unjust. But all fights for liberty and freedom were not directed against imperialism and colonialism only. The French Revolution, the Russian Revolution, the Chinese Revolution and many other revolutions were directed against French, Russian, Chinese and other tyrants who oppressed and exploited their own people. These revolutions have been great landmarks in the field of human freedom without destroying any imperial or colonial citadels. In the case of the American War of Independence the colonial settlers revolted against the mother country as they could no longer tolerate being ruled and exploited by the king of a far-away land from which

they had come originally but had no connections with afterwards. This was a case of destroying colonialism. When Greece broke away from the Turkish and Italy from the Austrian empires the revolts were against imperialism. These references to various historical wars that men have fought in order to gain liberty and freedom go to prove that Liberty and Freedom are the real objectives of such fights; no matter whether the fetters of slavery were forged by imperialists, colonial ancestors or home-bred tyrants. So that when tyrants engage in diatribes against imperialism and colonialism in order to hide their own shortcomings, one has to point out to them that they too have been destroying human freedom. China's occupation of Tibet is an act of imperialistic conquest, no matter what history China may cite. Their domination of that conquered territory is an act of tyranny and if the Tibetans fight against the Chinese it will be a fight for freedom and for regaining the human rights they have been deprived of. Ayub's military raj in Pakistan is hardly in keeping with the principles of democracy and true freedom. There are many others who roar against imperialism and colonialism without realising that they themselves are also guilty of the same offences against Humanity that imperialists and colonialists are charged with. All tyrants are the enemies of human freedom and dictatorship in any shape or form soon becomes a tyranny.

Threat of Nuclear Attacks

General Pierre Gallois, considered to be France's most capable nuclear strategist, pointed out to Inder Malhotra (*The Statesman*, July 8, 1965) that China was developing nuclear power in order to become the most feared nation of Asia by 1975. By 1980 even the U.S.A. would have to take serious notice of China's nuclear might, even if it did not compare well with that of the U.S.A. China has a large enough nuclear armoury even now and she commands about

300 bomber planes which can deliver nuclear bombs on to targets hundreds of miles from their bases. The position is quite obviously very dangerous for all countries which are not considered to be friendly with China. If the other nations of Asia remain idle and indifferent and do not develop their defences against China's nuclear weapons, they will have to kowtow to China or to such other nations as will agree to defend them against China. India, for instance, can ask the U.S.A. or the U.S.S.R. to give her nuclear protection. But, why should these countries risk a nuclear war in order to save India? India's refusal to develop nuclear power is based on sentiments which are contrary to the logic of national defence and ordinary common sense. If there is war, and the chances are that there will be wars, the enemy can only be resisted by the use of equal or superior weapons. If China knew that India could answer her attack with similar weapons, the use of nuclear weapons would be ruled out automatically. If on the other hand China knew she could bring India down on her knees by blasting either Calcutta or Delhi with a single nuclear bomb, she would certainly do so, instead of carrying on prolonged warfare with conventional weapons. And India's hopes of intervention by the U.S.A. or the U.S.S.R. may quite easily remain unrealised for the reason that these countries may find China strong enough to defy them.

Ahimsa is not maintained when one man stabs another with a knife, or even with a knitting needle. Where bayonets, swords and guns come into use, all pretensions of non-violence must cease. High explosive shells, bombs and bullets from automatic rifles make warfare as violent and destructive of human life as atomic explosions. Perhaps the immediate loss of life may be less in nuclear wars on account of the relatively limited use of these highly expensive and destructive bombs. It is no doubt true that a prolonged nuclear war in which

several hundred such bombs will be exploded may cause such lasting damage to the human race as will be irreparable. But that cannot happen if there is a nuclear balance of power. Even smaller nations like France are now getting ready to deal with nuclear bullies. China is making every effort to become a nuclear bully, as she is finding out the limitations that very large armies suffer from. Her bullying can be resisted only by nuclear weapons and by nothing else. Sanctimonious declarations are no answer to rockets with nuclear war heads. It is high time we Indians got rid of some of our pseudo-ethical notions of right and wrong and replaced them by scientifically tenable and logically balanced ideas of social and human morality. As things are we do nothing to prevent the death of millions of babies from lack of proper nourishment; but we cannot tolerate the killing of a calf. This does not put us mentally on the top shelf. If by not developing nuclear weapons we could save the world from the menace of nuclear wars, we might then be justified in not going in for such weapons. But knowing that the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., Britain, France, China and several other nations are building up huge stockpiles of these weapons; how can we reasonably think that we are preventing nuclear warfare by remaining unarmed unilaterally? We are, by our helplessness, only providing temptation for the ungodly possessors of nuclear weapons. A person may not believe in stealing. But, must he to prove his faith in the Lord's Commandment, keep his front door unlocked? We may be fully armed and yet remain peaceful. And our arms will induce others who do not share our faith in non-violence to keep the peace too.

Some say we cannot afford to develop nuclear arms. This is quite untrue. Nuclear arms are very expensive but a nation requires only a few of these weapons. And these few weapons will cost much less than a hundred divisions of soldiers armed with

thousands of tanks, guns, ground to air missiles, supporting fighter planes and all the rest of the paraphernalia. In any case, nuclear weapons have become a question of life and death for India. There is no alternative method of national defence. We must develop these weapons or go under.

Pakistani Logic

Pakistan has never been famous for consistency or logic. This is a natural by-product of her habitual detachment from all feelings of moral obligations. She came into existence for reasons of imperial expediency, she continued to develop a political philosophy based on her own sordid desires and, she would possibly wind up when she became too blatantly inexpedient for her sponsors. About her logic one might quote her own pronouncement after her younger hooligans had recently demonstrated against the U.S.A. at Dacca and Karachi. Pakistan said, that political considerations should not affect economic co-operation between the two countries. This of course meant that economic co-operation should be unconditional and that Pakistan's part in that co-operative venture should be to take all and to give nothing. For, though she was born of imperial needs and was maintained by Anglo-American capitalism, Pakistan found it useful to establish friendly relations with Communist China. And she felt no shame in going over to the "enemies" camp. Of course she might have done this under orders. We do not know. But there is such a thing as international public opinion and national honour and prestige. Pakistan seemed to be indifferent to all such minor considerations when she discovered the easiest way to put Islam out of danger was to join up with Russia and China. Pakistan may yet discover a Marxist interpretation of Islam which will not be acceptable to true Musalmans but will be cashable at any bank in China or Russia. All glory to the inconsistencies that lurk in the secret corners of great minds which seek small

advantages. Pakistan never had any back-ground and nobody will miss it if it ceased to exist. But ignominy is worse than death.

Social Security and Socialism

Social security in avowedly socialistic countries and in conventionally organised countries are not similar. A few examples will be interesting. The National Insurance Scheme in Great Britain grant the following benefits : (1) Unemployment benefit ; (2) Sickness benefit ; (3) Maternity benefit ; (4) Widow's benefit ; (5) Guardian's allowance ; (6) Child's special allowance ; (7) Retirement pension ; (8) Death grant. Participation is contributory but the advantages are so very pronounced compared to the contributions that few remain outside the scheme. Sickness and unemployment benefit is normally £3 7s. 6d. per week plus £2 1s. 6d. per week for an adult dependant plus £1 per week for each subsequent child. Thus a man with a dependant wife and three children would get about Rs. 140/- per week as sickness and unemployment benefit in Britain. Other benefits are also substantial.

Social security benefits paid in the U.S.A. totalled \$13,649,000,000 in 1963.

Japan has health insurance, unemployment insurance and old age pension schemes.

Norway has extensive social welfare arrangements. In 1961 7.8% of the net national income was paid (Kr. 2,400,000,000) in social welfare benefits which included unemployment benefit, Health insurance, Injuries insurance, Family allowance, Survivor's benefit, Old-age pension, Rehabilitation assistance, Disablement pensions, War pensions, Special pensions.

Sweden spent 14% of the national income in social welfare expenditure in 1961 which totalled to Kr. 8,250,000,000. Sickness, injuries, unemployment, old-age pensions, widow's pensions, maternity benefits, children's allowances etc., were the heads of expenditure under these schemes.

Switzerland has compulsory insurance

benefits for the entire nation (foreigners admitted too). Sickness, unemployment, old age, widow or widowerhood, accidents etc., are covered.

Generally speaking the so-called progressive socialist countries are far behind the above-mentioned conventional and conservative countries in respect of social security. Social security is the expression of social justice. Without proper social welfare arrangements a nation cannot be called progressive and socialistic. And it is a surprising fact that almost all nations which publicly profess socialism have very meagre social welfare arrangements.

Difficulties In Planning

Mere wishes do not achieve any ends. Planning for economic development, moral upliftment, spread of education, military self-sufficiency and for maintaining the Ruling Party in power for ever, are only wishes expressed in the language of science, to begin with. But these wishes, however precisely weighed and measured, remain only mental images, until they are transformed into realities by material effort and the application of material resources. If there are no efforts commensurate with the dimensions of the abstract thoughts, and if the available material resources are not put to proper use; the wishes remain unfulfilled. Arguing from the other end one might say that if wishes remained unrealised the suspicion that proper efforts had not been made and resources had not been put to proper use, would be justified.

So that when we are having so much

talk about our failure to realise the ends of our planning substantively, we may reasonably enquire whether proper efforts were made and whether the resources obtained were put to full and proper use. There is every chance that our burden of taxes will double, redouble and re-redouble to enable our rulers to realise their dreams in full. Will that not justify public enquiries, carried out by impartial experts, to find out the truth about national planning in India? But have we any statutory machinery which may be used to force our rulers to be subjected to investigation for their actions, inaction or inability? These are matters which should be discussed by public bodies other than the Indian National Congress. There are Chambers of Commerce, Universities, Bar Associations, Learned Societies, etc., etc. Other bodies can be set up by the public to safeguard their interests and such bodies may have representative men and women from all professions and classes in the country. For we are nationally putting all our eggs in the Planning basket and we should make our enquiries nationally too while there is still time.

Food Problem

There has been very strong criticism of the Government's lack of a food policy. We cannot say that the Government have been more lax in the matter of food than in other important fields. As a matter of fact increase in food production has been much more than proportionate compared to increase in population. The following figures will prove that.

	1949-50		1961-62		1962-63	
	Area sown	Yield	Area sown	Yield	Area sown	Yield
Rice	75414000	23170000	84650000	34257000	85961000	31512000
Wheat	24114000	6290000	33410000	11849000	33255000	10956000
Total Cereal	195497000	46018000	226288000	68310000	225690000	66041000
Sugarcane	3624000	4938000	5988000	9984000	5661000	9223000
Jute	1163000	3089000	2280000	6347000	2095000	5367000
Total Population	1951—361129622—1961—439235082,					

From the above one would think that India could not have any food shortage. But the food shortage is very acute. If gram is added to the total of cereals we should have had in 1962-63 more than 66500000 tons of basic food grains for about 450 million people out of whom 15% belong to the age group 0—4 years. So that if one allowed for lesser consumption of food among infants and very young children the total food grain consuming individuals might have been 385 millions. This may work out at 15 seers of grain per capita per month. That is more than 16 oz. per capita per day. Our Government are of the opinion that 12 oz. per capita per day is quite enough food for Indian nationals. This would be so if people had along with that milk, vegetables, pulses, eggs, fish, meat and such supporting food items. But our production of these subsidiaries are miserably inadequate. The prices too are exorbitant. Pure milk (unobtainable) may be Re. 1-50 p. to Rs. 2/- per seer, vegetables about Re. 1-50 p. per seer, pulses about Rs. 1-50 p. per seer, egg-fish-meat about 4-5 rupees per seer. Roughly speaking a supporting 12 oz. of these subsidiaries will certainly cost about 75 paise per capita per day. The cereals at fair price shop rate will cost about 25/30 paise per day too. That will come to a rupee per day per capita for food. Ordinary arithmetic will show that if food costs are Rs. 365.25 per annum per capita, and food costs are 75% of one's total income, the total expenses of bare existence should be at least Rs. 487.00 per annum per head. Leaving out the 0—4 age group our total National Income at that rate should be about 20000 crores per annum. The National Income is much less and our total food costs estimate being a rupee per day per capita at the present level of prices the food prices must be reduced so that they work out to a total of 75% of the actual total National Income, whatever that is. The quantities of subsidiary food articles must be increased very fast to pro-

vide 12 oz. per capita per day. There are not now any supplies of milk, potatoes, beans, other vegetables, eggs, fish and meat (poultry and others) sufficient to make a total of $450 \times 12 \times 365$ M. oz. per annum. That is about an equal weight of all these items to the total weight of cereals grown in India. As far as our experience goes we have sufficient knowledge of Governmental ways of doing things to feel certain that Government will not be able to arrange the production of these subsidiary items of food by departmental effort or by floating corporations. The individual members of the peasantry will be able to do something but not all of it. The Government should therefore try to induce private entrepreneurs to take up the production of milk, fish, poultry, vegetables, etc. They can also be called upon to produce rice, wheat, pulses, gram and the various other major food articles. The inducement should be two-fold: general assistance and guarantee of freedom from harassment by Government departments like the Income Tax Department. All effort in food production should be income tax free provided such efforts lead to certain minima of production and provided the products are sold through proper channels within a fixed ceiling price. In this way prices will be brought down and the quanta will be increased. The World Bank's criticism of the Government should now open their eyes to their own shortcomings. After all it is India's future that is at stake as well as the lives and well-being of hundreds of millions of men, women and children. The future of the Congress Party should be a purely incidental consideration.

Art Treasures of India

There are several public museums in India (and more are being set up) where representative pieces of ancient statuary (stone, bronze and terracota), paintings, relief work in metal, enamel, ivory, decorative objects, silver, copper and brass articles,

manuscripts on bark, palm leaf and paper, leather work, weapons, shawls, carpets, other textiles etc., etc., are exhibited. There are also several private collections in which such art treasures are preserved. India has now become art conscious and the peoples of other nations have also begun to appreciate and value Indian art. The main centres where Indian arts and crafts are preserved in a more living fashion are the temples of India and a number of Cave Temples, Palaces, Mausoleums, Masjids, Forts. etc., which preserve innumerable examples of Indian art and show the rare genius of Indian craftsmen.

The art treasures of India are a cultural heritage of which we are justifiably proud. We therefore desire that all these art treasures must be preserved and not allowed to go out of the country. But it is a very regrettable fact that these objects of great antiquity are often smuggled out of India. Sometimes they go out apparently with the knowledge and consent of officials. Also many art treasures are stolen from the Public Museums and other places where they are conserved. This removal of art objects of ancient times is an act of cultural vandalism, which must be stopped. Government must not acquire such objects if they cannot keep them safely in India. Recently we went to the Konarak Sun Temple. We found one of the important statues of the Sun God was not in its place. We were told the Government of India have arranged its removal. If so, why? Another time we were told many of the Bharut pieces had been taken away from the Indian Museum, Calcutta by order of Government. We should like to know fully and in detail where these most valuable pieces have

gone. There was a note published in the Press that since 1887 the Indian Museum has so far lost 5000 objects of art. If this is true the people of India should see to it that their national treasures are not handled in this irresponsible manner by their paid officials. At least if anybody connected with the Government arrange for the removal of art treasures from their ancient sites or from Museums, such persons, even if they are V.I.P.s must be removed from their positions of power and punished according to the law.

Congress is Conservative

The Indian National Congress always claim superiority over other political organisations on account of its progressive outlook and general ability to keep pace with the times. That is, the Congress is for ever youthful. But when we try to examine the truth of their claim to progressiveness and eternal youth, we find the average Congress leader has remained in power during his or her entire life time. Pandit Nehru remained progressive and young till death, unfortunately for the Nation, removed him from among us. The other leaders do not appear to grow old and they show no symptoms of old age or signs of a desire to retire. This is conservativeness in the extreme. How can an organisation remain progressive if the average age of its leaders exceed three score years and ten? If, on top of this, power, position and greatness are inherited and transmitted from father to son the differences between the Congress and Feudalism would slowly vanish. No wonder Morarji's conscience revived due to the shock treatment provided by the A.I.C.C.

THE THIRD PLAN AND THE SMALL MAN

Prof. SUNIL BANIK

A close study of the Third Plan will evoke a fundamental question in our mind, i. e., "is it a transition towards Socialism?" Socialism is still a far cry. A mere achievement of some targets in some corners will not mean planning for a socialist society. For a correct evaluation of the Third Plan, we must study the changes in the aggregate sectoral activities with relation to the plan objectives and the level of living of the mass. One specific objective of the Third Plan was "reduction of disparities in income and wealth, prevention of concentration of economic power and creation of values and attitudes of a free and equal society." But the Mahalanobis Committee on the "Distribution of Income and Level of Living" (set up in 1960) in its report (Feb. 1964), revealed that inequality in income distribution and concentration of economic power have accentuated during Planning. "There are a small number of individuals or groups who have in their control significant volumes of economic power in terms of capital, income, employment. . . . not measurable statistically by mere ratios of concentration" (Mahalanobis Committee). Now a monopolies commission has been set up by the Government after 13 years of planning. Even after years of planning, the Government has no effective answer to the ever-increasing price level, huge tax evasion, unaccounted money, 'canker of cliques' and other ugly economic activities, so widespread now.

Food for the People

Sector-wise evaluation of the present plan will only produce a dismal picture. The Third

Plan has proved once again that all our attempts at an agricultural revolution have failed. Community development, national extension service, irrigation, credit facilities, seed farms, fertilisers and land reform measures, have not initiated a process of growth in the agricultural sector. Fifty per cent of the plan outlay on agriculture, i. e., Rs. 1281 crores was spent in the first three years. But foodgrains production lagged behind the schedule. The first two years, maintained a more or less similar food-grains production level (i.e. 81.0 m. tons) but the year 1962-63 saw actually a serious shortfall (i. e. 78.7 m. tons). Things improved to some extent in 1963-64, when agricultural and foodgrains production moved to the higher point (i. e. 79.4 m. tons). In comparison with the population increase of 10 m. per year, this increase in farm production is insignificant. While the increase in agricultural production in 1963-64 was only 4 per cent over the 1961-62 level, the population growth rate was 5 per cent during this period. The first three years of the Third Plan were really very unsatisfactory, as far as food production was concerned. In that sense, 1963-64 is definitely a shining spot in an otherwise gloomy picture. Still in this current financial year India has made an all-time record import amounting to 6,313,000 tons of both rice and wheat from different countries. From Pakistan alone, we have imported 100,000 tons of rice during the current season. Food imports will cost the Government Rs. 60 crores more. The share of the agricultural

sector of the total N. I. in absolute terms fell by Rs. 110 crores in 1962-63 as against the previous year. Now statutory rationing and price control has been accepted by the Government as a necessary evil. The target of food consumption per adult per day was fixed at the end of the Second Plan at 18.3 oz. (This is far below the civilised diet standard), but State Governments are advising the people that the present supply level of 12.6 oz. of food per adult per day is quite sufficient for healthy subsistence. Recent measures taken by the Government on the food front did not impress any section of the community. The Govt. will not take the blame on its shoulders for this continuing crisis but will rail against others such as black money and irrational consumption habits. The food production and administration policy has failed miserably. Why this shortfall in agricultural production in the Third Plan? No reason was supplied by the "Mid-term Appraisal of Third Plan" (Report of the Planning Commission). This report revealed that during the last 3 years of the Third Plan production of Chemical Fertilisers was satisfactory. The output of organic and green manures was 2.6 and 2.9 m. tons for 1961-62 and 1962-63 respectively, while the plan target was only 5 m. tons; additional areas brought under cultivation were 26 lakh acres in 1961-62; 33 lakh acres in 1962-63 and near about 55 lakh acres in 1963-64. Utilisation of irrigation facilities rose by about 9 per cent from the 1959-60 level. Soil conservation programmes, supply of good seeds, credit facilities and plant protection measures improved during this period. But we still blame some people and curse the monsoon. Reserve Bank of India Report on currency and finance (1963-64) frankly admitted that there had been a virtual stagna-

tion of agricultural production in the Third Plan period. The third year of the Third Plan even failed to produce what had been produced at the end of the Second Plan. The Government agricultural policy has no long-term perspective, as a result a morass of subsistence cultivation is still pervading, when the slogan of agricultural revolution is widely proclaimed. "Programmes of land reform have not been fully completed for various reasons and for various pressures". The landlords have succeeded in finding out loopholes in the tenancy laws. The ideas such as "lands to the peasants", "Co-operative village managements" etc., can be found only in the official resolutions. The co-operative movement, including co-operative farming has not been able to make any considerable headway. The Third Plan allocated Rs. 11 crores for the development of co operative farming with a target of 3,200 pilot farming Societies in 320 districts, but upto June 1963 only 994 such Societies had been set up. The reasons are official half-heartedness, statism and the traditional outlook of the peasants, in the absence of sufficient incentives.

Even now two-thirds of the total cultivated lands in India depend to a great extent on rainfall. The Third Plan nitrogenous fertiliser consumption target was fixed at 1 m. ton whereas the actual consumption was 221,000 tons, 292,000 tons and 375,000 tons in 1961-62, '62-63, and '63-64 respectively. Land reclamation and resettlement programmes during the Third Plan faced considerable setback,—the targets were unreasonably low. Nearly Rs. 10.67 crores were allocated for resettling 7 lakh families. But in the first two years only 20,000 families were settled.

Other Commodities

In the field of industry also, there is no sign of steady and appreciable growth rate. In the first two years, the growth rate was only 6.5 per cent and 8 per cent respectively and in 1963-64 also it failed to catch up the Third Plan target of 11 percent per year. During 1963-64 the industrial production rate was somewhat fluctuating, as the output moved (1956=100) upto 160 in June 1963; 174 in January 1964 and moved down to 164 in May to rise up again to 174.9 in July. Performance of steel production was also far from satisfactory. The growth rate in the consumer goods industries was much lower; in cotton textiles 5.6 percent, in paper 9.9 per cent and production of sugar declined from 3.0 per cent in 1961 to 2.3 per cent in 1963. Shortfall of power production badly hit the industries. The working of the public sector undertakings from the point of view of returns has been unsatisfactory. Skilled hands drift away from the public to the private sector. The Third Plan targetted that some 300 new "industrial estates" will be set up in addition to 53 such estates as a spill-over from the Second Plan. But the third plan has not yet completed one-fifth of the target. During this period only 60 joint management councils were working in public and private sector industries, when the call was to set up such councils in practically all big industrial units. Emergency production committees set up under the Industrial Truce Resolution failed to achieve the targets set for industrial production. Labour discontent is still very widespread. Too much of Government intervention has neither increased productivity nor established industrial democracy. "The influence of collective bargaining is only marginal" in determining the wages and working conditions of the workers.

Worsening Employment Situation

Continuous heavy doses of investment programmes have completely overlooked the worsening employment situation, which has been aggravated by the population growth. "Employment should be regarded as the primary object and not as a mere by-product of development". On one side, the swelling "reserve army" of unemployed youths is posing a socio-economic problem, while the critical shortage of skilled people is frustrating the Plan itself. Total number of people enrolled in the employment exchanges in March 1961 were 1.56 m.; but this shot up to 2.68 m. in June 1963. Educated unemployment figures increased from 490,000 to 780,000 during this period. Upto now only 50 per cent of the total Third Plan target of 14 m. new jobs have been created and it is expected that another 4.9 m. and 1.6 m. jobs can be created both in the non-agricultural and agricultural sectors respectively. The centre and the states have no effective co-ordinated employment policy and some states failed to provide adequate employment as envisaged. It is estimated that the number of new entrants to the labour market will be 17 m. during this Plan. In West Bengal, on an average, some 1959 candidates were registered on each working day in the employment exchanges in 1962 and of these only 122 found some types of jobs.

Housing

Progress of housing programmes of the Third Plan has also lagged behind the target. Of the estimated Third Plan outlay of Rs.80.59 crores in the State plans on housing, only 45.7 per cent has been used so far, whereas it should have been 76 per cent. The Centre is blaming the States for this shortfall. Housing programmes have failed to keep pace

with industrialisation and urbanisation programmes. At the present moment, nearly 61 per cent of the urban households and 82 per cent of the rural households are at deplorable, dilapidated and slum conditions. It was calculated that some 80 lakh new houses will be required at the end of the Third Plan but upto now only 10.5 lakh houses have been built, thus throwing a huge backlog during the next Plan. Low priority has been given on housing by the States and ear-marked funds remained unspent. On the other hand, we find a boom in creation of urban properties and buildings. Lots of unaccounted money are being utilised in these non-currency assets and the common man, hardpressed with so many direct and indirect taxes and soaring prices, is also paying a substantial portion of his subsistence budget to the land speculators and urban property holders, to get a shelter, so essential for his livelihood in the city. Fixation of a ceiling on urban property holding and a price ceiling of such properties seem unrealistic to the Govt. It has no intention of introducing housing co-operatives and subsidised housing schemes on a massive scale; on the other side, slum-dwellers are being uprooted to give place to the multi-storied upper class residential flats to appear.

Purchasing Power

At the time of finalising this Plan, the wholesale price level and cost of living was high, so the Third Plan said, "it must prevent any considerable rise in prices of essential goods that enter into the consumption of the low income group". These years of the Third Plan have resulted in a further upward movement of the price level by 24.5 per cent, highlighting the absence of any sound price policy suitable for our developing economy. Though a certain upward increase in prices is to be

accepted as a price of economic growth, yet such a scandalous movement of prices will abridge the real content of the Plan. Wholesale price level in 1963-64 was even larger than the official figure of 10 per cent. The All India consumer price index for industrial workers (1949—base = 100) were 124 in 1960; 130 in 1962 and 140 in December 1963. The wholesale price index (1952-53 base = 100) was 136 in Oct. 1963; 137 in December 1963 and 160 in 1964. The completed years of the Third Plan saw an increase of money supply by over 31 per cent and price rise is 9 per cent per annum on an average. Foodgrains price is more acute now, even though the 1963-64 food position is much better due to large food imports and better yield. The Govt. is now controlling only a very small percentage of foodgrains for distribution through rationing and fair price shops. But the Govt. has no well-defined price policy, other than some piece-meal and spasmodic attempts to check prices in the face of people's open discontent.

On the rising trend of prices, The Reserve Bank of India circular of 25th September 1964 said, "the increase in prices reflects an imbalance between the rate of growth in liquidity in the economy and the increase in real output. "The crisis accentuated with the widening of the gap between the aggregate demand and aggregate real output and the Govt. having failed to boost up food production is unsuccessfully tightening the distribution of essential commodities. Black marketing, hoarding, speculation and adulteration have been institutionalised, even when China is knocking at our door. Consumers' co-operative is not yet a popular cry as only 143 wholesale stores and 2,341 primary stores were opened in 1963 throughout India.

Per-Capita Income & Debt Burden

Parliamentary debates revealed that the poorest 10 per cent of Indian people today live on a monthly average income of Rs. 10 in the urban areas and Rs. 8 in the rural areas. N. I. has increased, though not significantly, but the per-capita income, according to the 1948-49 price level did not increase (1961-62 = Rs. 294.3 and 1962-63 = Rs. 294.7). Of course, per capita income has increased, if we accept the current price level and the present large-scale erosion of the rupee (then 1960-61 — Rs. 325.7 and 1962-63 = Rs. 339.4).

According to the Reserve Bank of India (report, June 30, 1964), the total money supply increased by 13.3 per cent (i.e. Rs. 447 crores) during 1963-64 as against 10.2 per cent (i. e. Rs. 310 crores) in 1962-63 whereas the N. I. at constant prices increased by a slightly more than 4 per cent during the period. Deficit financing in the first two years of the Third Plan was Rs. 339 crores and in the third year also it was Rs. 241 crores. Now the Government is censuring the private traders for excessive bank credits. But the R. B. I. report says that a great part of the increased money supply, nearly Rs. 281 crores (out of Rs. 447 crores) was taken by the Government. No systematic attempt has yet been made by the Government towards economising its expenditure. Total Central Government expenditure has been increasing gradually, e.g., in 1963-64 Rs. 723 crores, against Rs. 684 crores in the year before. The magnitude of the peoples' tax burden is swelling day by day. The total revenue of the Central Govt. in 1964-65 (budget estimate) will be Rs. 2135.39 crores, whereas it was only Rs. 515.36 crores in 1951-52. But if the Central, State and Local Government revenues are added up together, then the aggregate revenue will be Rs. 3500 crores according to the 1964-65

budget estimates. This aggregate revenue is nearly 27 per cent of the total N. I. which is expected to be Rs. 14,500 crores in 1964-65 (budget estimate). N. I. in 1951-52 was only Rs. 9100 crores. The total Third Plan target of additional taxes by the centre was Rs. 1710 crores but the total tax yield in these years has already crossed the 5 year target. So we can realise the steep increase of taxation. The rate of increase in India's national debt is also faster than the rate of growth of N. I., thus even encumbering posterity to a large extent. The total Govt. of India debt in March 1964 was Rs. 9,364 crores whereas it was Rs. 2,773 crores in 1950-51 and Rs. 7,996 crores in 1962-63. The total debt obligation of the Govt. at the end of the Third Plan will be Rs. 13,600 crores. Again interest charges on outstanding debts is near about Rs. 257 crores in 1963-64 and during the Fourth Plan period some Rs. 1,100 crores worth of foreign exchange will be required for paying interest and other repayment charges on the debts.

Painful Planning

These are the pains of development planning in India, which has definitely witnessed some progress and development here and there. Presently, we do never call India a dormant or stagnant economy. But how far the Common man's lodging, living and security conditions have been improved during the last 13 years of "painful planning" has yet to be ascertained. Considerable faith has been generated among the people towards the necessity of planning. But on the present pattern of planning, a conviction is yet to be born, as this depends on experience. The Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission says, that this decade of development must

be a "decade of dedication of the common people". But it is the common people who "dedicate" whether it is the time of war or peace and now planning. The common people in the last decade dedicated only to help accumulation of profits and concentration of wealth in a few hands. Again it is this common people, who are in the midst of a low

level of living and socio-economic injustice. The common people will be glad to undergo a period of pain for future plenty, provided, socio-economic justice is not evaporated in our journey towards plenty. The Govt. shall have to reorient its planning policy in view of its low-key performance for the betterment of the small man in the past decade.

INDIAN MUSLIMS AND POLYGAMY AND WOMEN'S RIGHT OF DIVORCE

The Turkish Dictator abolished polygamy and gave women the right to divorce. Here in India, whenever any bill directed against polygamy is sought to be introduced in any legislative body, the sponsor has to exclude Muslims from its operation—so wedded they are to that institution.

As regards women's right to divorce, newspaper readers know that a certain bill introduced in the Central Legislature a few months back by a Muslim member seeks to tie down Muslim wives to their husbands even if the wives have renounced Muhammadanism and embraced a different faith in order to shake off their Muslim husbands.

(December, 1938, Page 643)

Current Affairs

KARUNA K. NANDI

CONSOLIDATING THE PLANS

In a brief but carefully worded statement recently released to the public press, the President of the World Bank was reported to have counselled that India should now concentrate upon consolidating the achievements of her first three quinquennial Plans. This counsel appears to have obvious reference to the foreign exchange gap in the estimates of the, so far, tentatively formulated Fourth Five Year Plan. The statement of the Bank President, however, does not seem to include the additional counsel that the initiation of the ensuing Fourth Five Year Plan should be held over pending achievement of the desired consolidation,—at least not in so many words. But such an implication appears to have been generally read into the World Bank President's counsels to the Government of India and their Planning executives by certain sections of the people and the press. For obvious reasons the World Bank President cannot be expected to frankly say so without being guilty of diplomatic *faux pas*, they say, but what he must have meant by implication is only too clear and which, indeed, is an inescapable corollary of what he has actually expressed in words. In any case, a fairly large volume of controversy appears now to have been engendered over the matter. There are those, for instance—and among them naturally are the highest executives of the Planning Commission—who insist that despite past failures and shortfalls it would be foolish to think of either halting the initiation of the Fourth Plan or even to attenuate its size or redraw its shape and contours without seriously affecting the prospects of economic growth towards a future stage of take-off for self-generating and self-sustaining development. There are, again, those who feel that planning has altogether been

wrongly conceived of which ample and incontrovertible evidence is being provided by the present extremely sick state of the national economy and would like the process to be discarded even at the present late stage. There are also those who would not like the process of planning to be altogether discarded, but feel that there is urgent need to attenuate the Fourth Plan to what they consider should be a more realistic size and to redraw its contours and readjust its priorities towards a more wholesome balance in the light of past experiences of planning.

Instability and Price Pressures

There is the school of thought, for instance, which has been increasingly and rather popularly vocal of late, which feels that the current instability in the economy and the accelerating inflationary pressures which are one of the principal factors in this instability, are mainly derived from the faulty priorities as well as the constitutional imbalances in the process of Plan formulation in general and, particularly, from the failures and shortfalls of the Third Plan.

Such a sweeping condemnation of planning as a whole may appear, on the face of it, to be an exaggeration of facts far beyond their actual proportions. But that there is considerable substance in such an accusation is something which is so self-evident that it should be beyond all controversy. The fact, for instance, would seem to be indisputable, that consonant with Plan outlays, Plan achievements have continued to be progressively short of estimated yields in terms of the rate of growth in the gross national product as well as those in employment incidences. The inevitable result has been that while the money supply with the public has been steadily and

increasingly accelerating in volume, production and *effective supply* have failed to keep pace, leading to a corresponding measure of explosion in demand and the consequent price pressures.

Taxation and other fiscal and monetary measures are conventionally assumed to be the normal correctives in such a situation. The burden of taxation on the people has multiplied by several hundred per cent during the period between 1950-51 and 1963-64. With a brief interlude during 1953-54 when prices, especially of primary consumption commodities appeared to have sagged somewhat, they have continued to steadily rage upwards throughout the period of planning. Still, with the supply of food grains maintained at a more or less even level,—albeit substantially with the help of massive imports,—price rise until 1962-63 have been substantial but steady and had not demonstrated that erratic spurt which would be normally expected to cause a serious dislocation in the economy. It should, however, be noted that on the eve of launching the Third Plan, the then Minister of Planning, Shri Gulzarilal Nanda, deplored on several separate and public occasions that rising prices had considerably attenuated the achievements of the Second Plan (1955-56 to 1960-61) and he was apprehensive that unless necessary and effective measures were timely taken to hold the price line at an even and steady level, the Third Plan, likewise, was bound to come to grief. It is on record that both the Congress Parliamentary Party and the then Union Finance Minister, Shri Morarji Desai, appeared to have treated the matter in a callously cavalier fashion, and Shri Nanda's apprehensions and dire prophesies came to be proved only too true.

Defence—A Pretext

It is true that the onset of the massive Chinese aggression upon our northern frontiers in October 1962 and the consequently large additional appropriations for defence expenditure caused a great deal of aggravation to a situation which had already arrived at what, for want of a more adequate expression, may only be described as the very brink of a breakdown on the price front. The slowing down of agricultural production generally and of food grains production in

particular during the 1962-63 season had, no doubt, added a fresh element in a situation already loaded with a variety of complications, but what was the real cause was that both the Government and the Planning Commission had failed to visualize the need for effectively mopping up at least a reasonable proportion of the increasing money supply with the public which would, otherwise, be bound to be directed towards speculative pressures upon essential commodities in marginal supply as, for instance, food grains, cloth and other essential consumables. With the onset of the Chinese aggression making it necessary to undertake massive mobilization of defence resources, it should have been clearly foreseen that two things would almost immediately eventuate; first that there would have to be immediate and substantial additional budgetary appropriations for defence expenditure and, secondly, that this would provide the needed *fuse* for a fresh spurt of aggressive price explosion. It may be recalled that in a brief emergency session of Parliament in November 1962 such an additional defence appropriation was actually sanctioned by Parliament but the Finance Minister did not or really would not match his budget for a supplementary grant in this behalf by at least a corresponding taxation budget. We, in these columns, in our issue dated December 1962, pleaded that in the context of the supply and price situation in the country then existing, it was clearly incumbent upon the Finance Minister to take measures for *immediately* mopping up all surplus money from the market through a courageously conceived and boldly formulated taxation budget, or else it may be impossible, later, to inhibit the speculative activities of certain sections of the community with correspondingly disastrous consequences to the economy and even upon the defence effort. It may be mentioned that our own plea in this behalf was reiterated and endorsed by a joint statement issued in Delhi eleven days later by a team of high-level economists of the country, but Shri Morarji Desai remained impervious to these counsels of wisdom and would not do anything until the annual Budget Session of Parliament some three months later.

(Contd. on page 146)

RAMANANDA'S CHILDHOOD IN BANKURA

By S. L.

(A free Translation from Santa Devi's original Bengali biography)

Bankura : red soil, land that rises and falls. Here and there, in the dry earth, we come across a scraggly wisp of a river ; or there is no river at all ; only underground streams. In Bankura's forests : black, hulking rocks, like giant figures from myth. No, not much like the rest of green, pleasant Bengal. Mostly Brahmins in Bankura ; and there is a place by the name of Pathakpara, where only Brahmins live. At one time, they say, a group of migrants from the north-west of India came and settled here. You will find touches of Hindi in the language they speak. The local zamindar, Krishnakumar Pathak, once hired a pandit, Sarvananda, for Bankura, bringing him over specially from near Calcutta. When Sarvananda died, his son Ramlochan was seven. It is said a rich Bankuran had intentions of adopting the boy, and expressed them ; but Ramlochan refused, built a small hut on his father's plot of land, and seemed pretty happy there. But he took help from Krishnakumar, went to a Sanskrit grammar school, and soon fitted himself for the grim business of life. He got a job as teacher in the school. His wife's name was Kamaladevi ; they had four sons—Harinarayan, Ganganarayan, Shambhunath, and Srinath—and two daughters. (Ganganarayan and Shambhunath later became eminent pandits.) Srinath was slightly mollicoddled, it seems ; for he never went to the grammar school. He picked up a nodding friendship with Bengali and a smattering of arithmetic ; that was the end of his education. The elder brothers, being pandits, did not

much care for assured futures ; and they let Srinath have the ancestral house as inheritance. But you can live in a house ; you can't live on it ; a house will not feed a man. He was a strong, handsome man, Srinath ; muscular, striking. And he determined to earn a living by his brawn, if brain did not do.

First he went to the village magistrate, looking for work. At the gate he found guards. "No, sir, no going in without tips." He did not believe in the morality of tipping, so he climbed a nearby tree and waited. As the horse carriage came out of the gates, he leaped down and grabbed the reins. "Hey, what's the matter ?" said the magistrate. "I want to see you, sir," Srinath shouted, "But nobody would let me in." The magistrate was impressed by the young man's daring and good looks. And Srinath was appointed a gaoler.

His wife, Harasundari Devi, was a beauty—and a virtuous lady. Children would marvel at the face, its milk-whiteness, the striking features, even when she had become quite old. She was a silent type ; good-natured, simple, hard-working, Hard work and a sense of duty went hand in hand with her ; but she had a curiously attractive detachment to worldly matters, which meant of course that she was no good at keeping the household accounts. She did not know how to lock the money box. It would lie in a corner like a disused flower pot, and the notes and coins would be daily put in it or taken out. When she bought things from vendors, she would add

a gracious extra heap of grain to the price demanded. Cleanliness was almost a fad with her: she bathed three or four times a day; and she was the earliest to rise, dust and wipe the house, and the earliest to have a bath. In the stray moments of free time she occasionally got, she would sit and stitch or embroider; then, carefully, dip the needles in oil to prevent them from rusting. Prayer came to her easily; she was pious in a good sense. Even when her husband had money, she did not go in for expensive jewellery and saris. On her wrists, silver bracelets; and a gold necklace—these she wore with pious regularity. She wasn't one to get angry easily; but she didn't tolerate mischief and injustice. She would delicately turn her back on the guilty person, but say nothing.

It was a nice place to live in. Nearby was a pond known as "Big Pool" and near the Big Pool a temple; the road to the temple had two enormous leafy pipals like stately guards on either side. Srinath's brick house abutted on the road to the temple. In this house, after three girls and two boys, was born Ramananda Chatterjee, the sixth child. The day: 31st May, 1865.

He was born in a house where love and affection grew round him with touching effect. His father had a magnificent horoscope made out, with the imposing name "Damarudhari" as the child's horoscopic inheritance. Bankura then was devoted to the name "Ram"—naturally the boy's name became Ram. Since the two other brothers were Ramshankara and Rameshvara, simple Ram became mellifluent Ramananda. Of the three daughters, one died at birth; the other two were, again mellifluently, Tripurasundari and Saradasundari. Tripurasundari was a sweet, good-natured lady, exactly like her mother in her mental accomplishments. She had no children, but Ramananda and Rameshvara were young enough to be her children, and she deluged them with her affection. Saradasundari was known for her frank-

ness, her beauty, and her courage. Both sisters had not passed through any regular channels of education, but their spontaneous culture surprised and charmed many. The youngest son, born after Ramananda, was called Baranasi. (Baranashi). These two older sisters and a childless sister-in-law would shower the infant Ramananda with their infinite tenderness. The handsome little boy would cross the common courtyard and barge into the sister-in-law's thatched cottage—demanding treacle-cakes and then gulping them down with great gusto. And she too would order him to 'sing for his supper!' She loved listening to the tiny boy's improvisations—'Oh, give Kanhaiya a cake and he will go away happy!'

Though a Brahmin stronghold, there did not seem to be much untouchability prevalent in Bankura. Not much caste distinction, specially in the family he grew up in. So that he developed an attitude of respect and tenderness to common people, born out of a spontaneous urge and nourished by a healthy social atmosphere.

Even as a boy, he was the quiet type. He did not mix much with the boys of the neighbourhood. One, it is recorded, he liked a great deal: Hemchandra Chattopadhyaya. Of games, it is also recorded, he loved most a brisk bout of **ha-du-du**. Not that he avoided rough and tough games. In fact, he prided himself on being the son of a muscular father, and probably wished to keep the family flag flying. But he was lost in books and thinking; and he had little time for other pursuits. Lost in himself, he would often huddle in a corner, his thoughts his only friends. "Wake up, Nanda!" his sister would call out. He would wake, stir himself in his corner, and slump again into the wonders of Thoughtland.

When he was five, he was introduced to his uncle Shambhunath's Sanskrit grammar school. "As far as I can remember," he writes in one place, "I got my first education in the grammar school. But I

was not one of the listed students—I was just sent along there. I remember my cousin Ramratan taking me to the little school by the Tenth Pool. A chalk was thrust in to my hand, and I was asked to scribble the alphabet on the floor. I began to sob, because Ramratan was not allowed to sit next to me, and didn't go there again." In other words, he became a "casual" student!

Bankura at that time had an "English" school and a "Bengali" school, the difference being that the "Bengali" school students had to wade through many more subjects than their "English" contemporaries—language apart, algebra, geometry, history, geography, physics and botany. All this was taught in Bengali of course. In Prabasi is a comment by Ramananda Chatterjee to the effect that what the "Bengali" students learnt in the first few years was not less than what the "English" learnt even at the Entrance stage (and he adds, "probably the same holds true even now.").

His avid love of studies and his truly astonishing memory soon made Ramananda a favourite of his teachers. A couple of double promotions made it possible for him to get through the "Bengali" Entrance examination at the age of ten. He did not read these books because they were his 'text' books, but because he found in them stirring sentiments, aspirations, the flush of patriotic feelings. Patriotic songs seemed to set his blood tingling; and he remembered them with affection till his last days. Indeed, all poems became grist to his mill; and his phenomenal memory quickly took them in with perfect precision of rhythm and thought. Michael Madhusudan's *Meghnad-Vad*, learnt at ten, he could recite without a mistake at the age of seventy-four.

"Forty years ago," he explained in a 1915 issue of Prabasi, "we were bundled into school and given all kinds of science

subjects to study. Never did we see a scientific instrument: let alone a laboratory. Books on science, like all other books, we learnt by heart; and used our little imaginations furiously to conceive of stellar systems and gravitation laws. Had we wanted, we could have collected all the most exquisite botanical specimens in the villagey town—perhaps frogs too, for the biology classes. But our teachers were not interested in such modernism. We—at least a few of us—would sally forth and spot some botanical items on our jaunts. In our Nature Study classes, my clearest memory is of two teacher's feet—just as in the other classes—atop a table, and a fearful voice booming from behind: 'Now, who knows what a Root is.' And out would come a volley of parroted textbook definition. And why is this definition wrong? Again a volley of gramophone learning."

It is recorded, however, that, in spite of his being the favourite student, on one occasion his teacher punished him. It is a preciously interesting story. In class, next to him, sat a carpenter's son. One day the boy felt slightly itchy in a somewhat inaccessible part of his body, and asked Ramananda to do the necessary thing. The result: a resounding slap on Ramananda's back from the teacher, who shouted: "You, a Brahmin's son, scratching the back of a carpenter's boy! Shame on you!" Ramananda never forgot his childhood friends. Two of his closest were Abinash Das and Surendra Bhushan. They would trek together in the woods, plucking flowers, having picnics, going to school together, reading books together, spending nights at each others' homes. They kept in touch with each other right up to their old age. The other two friends he had were Abdul Samed and Abdul Jabbar. Samed and he studied together at the zilla school till the final year. Abdul Samed later became a Deputy Magistrate.

Ramananda and he were always ranked first and second in class.

He had a special love for the beauty of nature. When Saraswati Puja and Lakshmi Puja came around, he was the first to go about picking lovely flowers for the votive offerings. Off they would go to Chatna, a village fairly far off, a village made memorable by the fact that Chandidas lived there, to collect white flowers from the Sal forests at dawn. On full-moon nights the victim was the village ferociously named Five Tigers, where they gathered flaming oleanders near the village pool. On holidays there would be picnics at Shushuniya Hill, a gigantic kneeling elephant with patches of green forest on its body. He used to go there all by himself whenever he got the chance; and much later, when in Calcutta, he would dream nostalgically of the childhood hill which exerted such fascination on the growing boy. One of his greatest joys was to tramp thirteen miles to Balarampur, where his maternal uncle lived.

At the age of ten he participated in a poetry writing contest for school children, the subject being "The Scenic Beauty of Bankura." He ran off with the first prize, a cash award of ten rupees: a fabulous treasure! He repeated this little story later to Rabindranath, half jokingly, half in a spirit of irrepressible childish joy. "That's why you never wrote poems again," said the poet. "That's what comes of getting cash awards so young. Why, I never got a prize until I was well beyond fifty."

At the age of ten too, he won a four-rupee scholarship and moved into the "English" school, where he did not have to pay his tuition fees. He even shared his princely four-rupees with his second brother by buying his text books for him.

In Bankura at that time circulated a paper edited by Keshub Chandra Sen called **Sulabh Samachar** or **Inexpensive News**, priced at one pice a copy. The circulation in Bankura was 140 copies, sold by an

assiduous school teacher. In the Puja number used to be a Humour Section, and the entire magazine was printed on paper of different colours; besides, it carried innumerable illustrations. Ramananda loved this paper; and would spend hours dreaming of how he would start a similar venture when he grew up.

The mathematics teacher of Bankura School was Sri Kedarnath Kulavi and he could not stand sums being done wrong! One of Ramananda's class-mates was a dud at mathematics, but always came to class with a splendidly parted hair line, done with professional hairdressers' precision. There is a pretty anecdote about the time when Kedarnathbabu flung a geometry book at the boy's head, muttering, "You can bisect your head, but you can't bisect a straight line!" Kedarnath was a Brahmo Samajist, the preacher in the local Brahmo Samaj and well-known for his sermons, to hear which Ramananda and his friends were always eager. The influence of this remarkable selfless teacher must have been incalculable on the young minds, for he was fond of reading out to them the life stories of India's great men. He told them about Sri Ramkrishna: and they were fascinated. Sri Ramkrishna's wife, Sarada Devi, was a Bankura lady: this stirred parochial pride in the young boy, and later Ramananda was the first to write in detail about Sarada Devi in **Prabasi**.

He had an adventurous, reformist streak in him all along; but in no way fanatical, and certainly he was afraid of any hysterical manifestation of such zeal. Under Kedarnath's influence, he felt specially drawn into the Brahmo Samaj. "From the time I stepped into the higher classes of the 'English' School," he writes in one place, "I felt fascinated by Brahmoism, and regularly went to the Brahmo temple. My family were unhappy over this; but they did not scold me. I know my mother never once brought the matter up: she was a tolerant lady."

His youthful ambitions were first, to

open new schools, and secondly, to help the poor; thirdly, anything that uplifted society (in his boyish imagination). He did not have the funds of course: so he began cautiously by opening a "school" in his house for little children. The staircase was methodically chalked off into compartments: CLASS ONE, CLASS TWO, CLASS THREE, and so on. Here the children took their seats: the brighter ones on the steps reserved for CLASS ONE, and the less gifted in CLASS TWO and THREE. The naughty and the ignorant and stubborn were promptly packed off into the abysmal parts of the staircase. No money for books and *khatas* was available. Chipped slates were very much in evidence. Torn and used books were carefully repaired and given to the new students. How would the teacher be paid? After much deliberation, the excellent conclusion was arrived at that each student, regardless of his mental calibre and the class in which he sat, would contribute one betel-nut. A few years later, Ramananda organised a night school in the Brahmo Samaj, and simultaneously arranged a debate forum.

Self-supporting himself, the young boy seemed to have a knack of inspiring confidence in others. He also collected money in the school for less fortunate folk—a sort of poor box fund—but, shy by nature, he would send a friend, Chandrabhushan Sen, to do the distributing. Many of his good works have been attributed to others; and it is perhaps useful, without being vain, to record here that Ramananda would have preferred to let another steal the thunder from him when it came to claiming authorship for good deeds.

Two well-known writers, Romesh Chandra Dutt and Bhudeb Chandra Mukherjee, were then school inspectors and would pay frequent visits to the Bankura village school. Romesh Chandra Dutt was indeed a Magistrate in Bankura: and at that time the school had special

prizes for English elocution and text-reading. Romesh Chandra Dutt often awarded these prizes to Ramananda. On another occasion, when the text for the Pre-School Final Examination was *Lamb's Tales From Shakespeare*, Romesh Dutt gave Ramananda 96 out of 100 in the English test. The headmaster didn't much like such generosity, and complained that it might go to the boy's head. "I can't help it," replied Romesh Dutt. "It might be that he has learned the book by heart. But the English is most correct. I have to give marks." But the headmaster was adamant; and six marks were lopped off. The reason: it wouldn't be good for the boy's future! In compensation, however, Ramananda received a special personal prize from Romesh Dutt.

Ramananda himself has acknowledged that two books of Romesh Dutt, *The Decline of the Rajputs* and *The Rise of the Marathas*, exerted great patriotic influence on his young mind. "Romesh Dutt's patriotism was like a subterranean stream: there wasn't much of drum-beating, declamation, and vote-catching in it." This type of patriotic feeling grew spontaneously in the heart of Ramananda. The personal prize he received was Maunders's Treasury of History; he treasured it; and when he became Professor of English, he showed it to Romesh Dutt, who said, "The wheel has come full circle!—the winner of a prize for English becomes a Professor of English."

Ramananda was an enthusiastic long-distance walker since his early youth. As a teen-ager, he loved carrying his lunch in a bundle and walking through several villages to visit his maternal uncle's home. He and his friends would visit distant villages in search of particular flowers or simply for a picnic in the surrounding sal-forests.

In one of the issues of the 'Prabasi' of the Bengali year 1345, Ramananda wrote

about the political situation in Bankura during his early youth—

"In those days a Kanauji Brahmin named Jawaharlal Tribedi lived in Pathakpara, Bankura. His family had lived for generations in Bengal, spoke in Bengali and had virtually become Bengali. This Mr. Tribedi knew no English, spoke tolerable Bengali and had a minor job in the government. I think he lived to be a hundred. He was a self-reliant man of great moral character. He was also a keen gardener. This Mr. Tribedi's chief topic of discussion was whether the Russians were coming or not. We never came to know how this rumour about the approaching Russians came to his ears. But he would keep asking all of us school-boys whether we had read anything about the coming Russians in the newspapers and how far were they now from India. Maybe he believed that the Russians would defeat the English when they reached India and thus we would regain our freedom.

"Whatever his sources of information were then, there was no doubt about Sri Tribedi's lack of love for the British-raj. This feeling was by no means a rare thing in our times amongst ordinary citizens, who were non-titled and non-seekers of favours from the government. Even young boys sensed around them this spirit of discontent growing up. We realised later how India woke up to a finer consciousness during the British regime and how these merchant rulers, while arranging for their own welfare and convenience, inadvertently bestowed on us certain stray benefits. But these, however, did not make us their devoted admirers. We had a teacher in the Bankura Government school who was also another Brahmin from Kanauj. This Mr. Bholanath Adhusurja knew the English language well, but like Tribedi, was not a lover of the British-raj. He was private tutor to the Ghosh boys, who lived by the Poddar-tank. All of us would gather around him to listen to innumerable stories

about the mighty Sikhs and Rajputs and their valour. I can't say that more of textual school-work was covered than telling and retelling of those stories!

"Later at night, we would recite together—with great feeling and little melody—passages from 'The Battle of Plassey' or the patriotic songs from Hemchandra. No doubt we disturbed the peace of the night and the sleepless elders curbed our emotions quite often.

"As we grew up in this atmosphere, none of us got around to attaining an honorable Rai-bahadurship!

"Our favourite books were Ramesh Chandra's 'Banga-Bijeta', Rajanikanta's 'Maharana Pratap Singh', Todd's 'Tales from Rajasthan' and essays on Mazzini and the New Italy."

After a while Srinath lost his job, as he knew little English. His savings he invested in a foodgrains business. Unfortunately, one day his huge granary, stacked with foodgrains, was burnt down completely. His eldest son was already married then and a father. These were anxious times for Srinath and Harasundari with their large family. During a family ritual-feast, Srinath suffered a heart-attack and died. After this untimely death the family faced a serious crisis. The two younger sons were still at school and all the major responsibilities fell on Harasundari's delicate shoulders. They still owned the house and their land but to feed her large family of children, grandchildren and other dependants—she needed more. Harasundari had great faith in Ramananda. In 1881, when he was less than sixteen, he was ready for his Entrance examination. But he would have to earn a first-class scholarship, if he wished to join any Calcutta college. His father, then living—but his business ruined,—could not afford to send his son to the city and pay his college expenses.

Ramananda decided not to sit for the examination that year, as he felt he could

not win a scholarship. The following year his father, Srinath, passed away. In 1883 he studied hard, receiving help or guidance from none, and decided to sit for the Entrance. Several days before the examination he suddenly stopped studying. One day as he paced back and forth in front of his room, his sister's husband asked him, very puzzled, "Nanda, did you not say you are sitting for the examination this year? Why don't you study any more?" Ramananda answered, "I have been cramming the whole year. I wish to cool my brains these last few days".

Throughout those examination days, Harasundari prayed before her household deity, and inviting a Sanskrit scholar, asked

him to recite from sacred books so that her son might succeed.

Her son stood fourth in order of merit and earned a scholarship of twenty rupees. No more hurdles to cross! With tremendous enthusiasm, Ramananda and his friend Pramathanath, packed their little bags and set off on a bullock-cart to Raniganj station, where they would catch the train to Howrah.

Up and down those rocky, winding lanes, through those beloved sal-forests, crossing tiny, rippling streams or the dried-up beds of the wide, ancient Damodar river—the little bullock-cart, reddened with the dry Bankura soil, carried the two young dreamers towards their future.



THE GADAR STRATEGY : SHIPPING MEN AND ARMS TO INDIA

The Story of a Programme that Failed

Prof. KALYAN KUMAR BANERJEE

This is part of the writer's study on some aspects of the Gadar Movement in the United States. The previous papers on the subject have been published in the Modern Review of November 1964 and February, May and July 1965.

The California revolutionaries started their work quite enthusiastically almost as soon as the war between England and Germany broke out. Finance became less of a problem. "We don't need to beg of our countrymen", Ram Chandra said, "because I have a good treasurer and I can get as much money as I want from the Germans."¹ A group of 62 people was got ready to leave for India. With Jawalla Singh as the leader, the party sailed on the steamship *Korea* from San Francisco on August 29, 1914. According to the testimony of Nawab Khan, an important Government witness in the San Francisco trial, 61 of these belonged to the Gadar Party.² More recruits were collected at various ports of call before it reached Calcutta. At Hongkong the party numbered more than three hundred. There, with the sanction of the authorities, some of the Indians were put on another ship and the two vessels sailed for Calcutta,³ where many of the men were apprehended. Subsequently, 100 were imprisoned, 6 hanged, 2 sentenced in conspiracy cases and 6 more were later arrested. Two of the leaders became approvers.⁴ The debacle of the *Korea* 'expedition' was one of several that simply miscarried. The Gadar organization sent out groups of Indians from America and elsewhere, sometimes accompanied with promises of arms.

The programme, on the whole, was badly planned ; adequate secrecy was not maintained, and, by and large, everything ended in a fiasco. It is interesting to note that in the autumn of 1914 groups of Indians left America at different times. Some were active members of the conspiracy. A large number was, perhaps, just keen to get back home now that a big war had begun. The *Korea*, we have already seen, sailed with 62. On September 5, the *Siberia* sailed with two Hindus. A week later, the *Chinyo Maru* left with three, followed by eleven on the *China* on September 19. The *Manchuria* had twenty-four Indians on board on September 26. The *Tenyo Maru* carried 109 Indians on October 21. Three days later the *Mongolia* had a still larger number of Indians—141. The *Shinyo Maru* sailed on October 31 with six Indians on board.⁵

The ship *Tosa Maru* arrived at Calcutta with 173 passengers on October 29, 1914. They were mostly Sikhs from America, Manila, Shanghai and Hongkong. News reached the Government of India that the passengers had talked openly of starting a rebellion on arriving in India. According to Nawab Khan's testimony in a trial in India, one of the resolutions passed on the *Tosa Maru* was to the effect that loyal Punjabis of

substance should be looted.⁶ The majority of these people were interned in jail. Some were subsequently hanged, or, otherwise convicted on various counts. "Of all the October, November and December shiploads of returning emigrants, the *Tosa Maru* was the most dangerous."⁷

Later, in the San Francisco trial, Nawab Khan's bona fides were questioned. Mr. Roche, a defence lawyer, asked Nawab Khan, "Now, getting back to Canada, before leaving Vancouver to come to the U.S., did you know a man by the name of Inspector Hopkins?" Khan said he knew Hopkins and admitted that the latter was a British Secret Service man. After the lawyer had asked Khan a few more questions to find out if he was a friend of the British Secret Service man, and a discussion had started, the Court wanted to know if it was Mr. Roche's theory "that the witness was never a bona fide member of the organization (Gadar), but merely was an agent of the Government in this cause."

Mr. Roche : I don't know as to that, your Honor ; that may be so.

The Court : Because otherwise I don't see the connection.

Mr. Healey : That is the theory of these Hindu defendants. ⁸

Later, Healey wanted to question Khan with respect to his relations with Hopkins.

Court : I cannot allow counsel to multiply on the same question.⁹

Much more interesting and significant was the flaw that the defence had pinpointed in Nawab Khan's testimony regarding the itinerary of the ship *Korea*. Khan is reported to have received from the German Consul at Canton a guarantee of safety from attacks by German warships that were in the neighbourhood. Very strangely, Canton was not initially mentioned at all by Khan as one

of the places touched by him.¹⁰ And to a question from the defence lawyer Khan had said that he had seen the German Consul at Hongkong. Roche pounced on this important omission and a palpable impossibility.

Q. What was the date upon which the *Korea* left Hongkong, approximately ?

A. The 28th of September or the 29th of September.

Q. That was about two months after the war had started between Germany and Great Britain ?

Q. Hongkong is a British city, is it not ?

A. Yes, held by the British Government.

Q. You testified here yesterday that you and some of your associates went to the office of a man that you characterized as a German Consul.

A. It was at Canton.

Roche : The record clearly shows that the witness referred to Hongkong.

The Court : The record is all right, but that is not what the witness meant.¹²

Even if the Gadar members on the *Korea*, the *Tosa Maru* and other ships had succeeded in eluding the vigilance of the Government in India, they might not have succeeded in their mission. Many of them were of an excitable temper and secrecy was not a strong point with them. Their objective was limited. By and large, they thought that they would find India seething with discontent and ripe for a revolution.¹³ That, however, was too optimistic a view of the situation. A revolution, as the Gadar people, in and out of India conceived of it, needed arms. Not many of them were going around the country. The issue of the Gadar dated January 13, 1914 had advised Indians to learn rifle-making abroad, bring the rifles to the Punjab and, "rain over the province a sweet shower of guns."¹⁴ But that was, more or less, wishful thinking.

The restricted supply of arms in the country which the revolutionaries might use had made the situation less explosive for the rulers. The revolutionaries only obtained arms enough to provide for isolated outrages. ".....There is evidence that the groups (revolutionary) were not above planning the theft of pistols from one another." In the event of an ample and separate supply of arms for every revolutionary group, "we think that the conspiracies might have produced, especially in the event of a rising in some other parts of India such as was planned for February, 1915, a calamity of a terrible character in Bengal¹⁵

The Indian revolutionists did plan, however, with the active support of the Germans to send supplies of arms and ammunition to India. One episode, in particular, deserves attention. Towards the close of 1914, Capt. Franz Von Papen, military attache of the German Embassy, asked Hans Tauscher of the Krupp Agency in New York to buy arms and ammunition for aiding revolution in India. It may be interesting to recall that Tauscher had married Madame Gadaski, the well known opera star.¹⁶ He was instructed to ship them to San Diego in California.¹⁷ Ten carloads of freight containing eight thousand rifles and four million cartridges were made ready in January 1915. The Germans financed the Gadar Party to buy two ships, the *Annie Larsen* from Martinez and Company in San Diego, and the *Maverick*, an oil tanker from one of the Standard Oil Companies at a total cost of \$ 212,853. E. H. Von Schack, the German Vice Consul in San Francisco arranged with J. Clyde Hizar, city attorney for Coronado (a little town across the bay from San Diego) for placing the cargo on the *Annie Larsen*. Hizar was paid \$14,000 for his services. "Hizar posed as a representative of the Carranza faction in the Mexican Civil War

and word was passed along the waterfront that the *Annie Larsen* was to sail for Mexico." Neither the British agents nor anybody else questioned this move because there was no embargo on shipping arms to Mexico. Loaded with arms, the *Annie Larsen* sailed ostensibly for a Mexican port on March 8, 1915. The real destination was the island of Socorro, about 300 miles to the south of California.

The deal in respect of the *Maverick* was made in Los Angeles by a German, Fred Jebson, with the help of an American attorney Ray Howard. The *Maverick* was to clear from San Pedro empty and the two ships were to meet at Socorro in the South Seas, and there the munitions were to be transferred to an empty oil tank of the *Maverick*, and kept dry. The arms were to be stored in another tank. The *Maverick* was to proceed towards India. The other vessel was to return to the American waters unless intercepted by enemy warships in which case it was to be sunk.¹⁸ The *Maverick* sailed from San Pedro on April 23, 1915 with a young American, John B. Starr-Hunt, as the super cargo and five Hindus who had been recruited by Ram Chandra. It also had on board a large bulk of revolutionary literature written by him and his colleagues. The munitions and the literature were to be delivered to fishing boats near Karachi. The account is generally supplemented by that in the Sedition Committee Report.¹⁹ The sequel to it may be gleaned from what seems reasonable to conclude from a telegram that was passed between two parties involved in the programme²⁰ and from some other documents of the San Francisco trial which will be taken up a little later.

The *Annie Larsen-Maverick* meeting did not take place. After a long wait of about four weeks the *Maverick* sailed north and the captain of the ship secretly contacted the

German Consulate of San Francisco from San Diego. He was instructed to take the tanker to Hilo, Hawaii. From there the *Maverick* was directed to proceed to the Johnston island in the mid Pacific and await the arrival of the *Annie Larsen*. Since there was no sign of the vessel, the *Maverick* proceeded under instruction to Anjer in Batavia. Theodore Hellferich, a German national, was informed of the *Maverick's* arrival without any arms. Before he could decide anything about the tanker, the Dutch seized it. The vessel was flying the American flag, and the Dutch Government did not know what to do to the people on board. Taking advantage of the situation Starr-Hunt and four of the Indians escaped in another ship. They were, however, captured by the British cruiser *Cadmus* and taken off to Singapore where the American narrated his story to the British authorities.²¹ All the five were condemned to death and the Indians were executed. On the intercession of his relations with the U.S. Department of Justice, Starr-Hunt was returned to his country and he became a Government witness at the San Francisco trial. His testimony enabled the Government to unravel much of the mystery of the *Maverick*.²² M. N. Roy puts the sailing of the tanker from the South Californian port of San Diego in 1916. Towards the end of 1915 he met this American, "living in a luxury hotel at Batavia, still in the confidence of the German Secret Service." Roy probably is not quite sure of the dates. But his hunch that Starr-Hunt was a member of the American Secret Service may not be lightly dismissed.²³ This may provide us with a cue for answering a pertinent question that has been raised:—Why did not the *Maverick* sail until 46 days after the *Annie Larsen*?²⁴

The *Annie Larsen* sailed from San Diego

on March 8, 1915. Ten days later she arrived at the Socorro Island, but the *Maverick* was not there. By the end of the month the scarcity of drinking water forced the captain of the vessel to sail to Acapulco where the Mexican officials did not prove too inquisitive. But the *Annie Larsen* now faced a new trouble in the form of a minor mutiny of some members of the crew. The situation was eased at the intervention of the commanding officer of an American Gunboat, the *Yorktown*, who was not aware that the schooner was carrying contraband. After replenishing its stock of water and other supplies the *Annie Larsen* left Acapulco. Then for another three weeks the captain tried to come back to the Socorro Island, but adverse winds stood in the way. Once again provisions ran short. Finally, the schooner sought shelter in the port of Hoquiam, Washington, where it was seized by the Customs officials. It was then that the nature of its cargo was discovered. Berustorff, German Ambassador to the United States, claimed that the arms were intended for shipment to German East Africa.²⁵

A reference has been made to M. N. Roy's role in this arms shipment to India programme (Foot notes 19 & 20). The young Bengali was not yet then the international revolutionary M. N. Roy. For, as Roy himself says, "M. N. Roy was born in the campus of Stanford University."²⁶ not far from San Francisco. That was in the summer of 1916 after he had "spent a year and a half wandering through Malay, Indonesia, Indo-China, the Philippines, Japan, Korea and China..." Although Roy makes a reference to his two visits to Java as an emissary of the Bengal revolutionaries to establish contacts with the Germans there and receive arms and money from them, he dismisses the whole episode in a few lines. He was disappointed in his mission and, decades

later, reflecting on this adventure of his youth, called it a "wild goose chase."²⁷ It may not be unrewarding, however, to try to reconstruct the story of this venture from other sources. True, the venture failed. But it was not without its excitement, and had its repercussions on the Indian revolutionists at home and abroad.

Kumud Nath Mookerjee, who was arrested at Singapore²⁸ deposed at the San Francisco trial²⁹ that he was commissioned to deliver a message at 62 Beniatola Street, Calcutta to the effect that the *Maverick* would arrive in Calcutta on the 13th of July, 1915 and that the ammunition and the rifles should be carried to places previously arranged. Then follows an account of a meeting sometime in June 1915 at Kidderpore in Calcutta at which Bohlin (Bholanath) Chatterji, the witness, Martin and Payne³⁰ were present. It was at this stage that the district attorney, Preston pointed out, "we expect to show that the one referred to as Martin is referred to in the indictment as Manabendra Nath Roy, known as Charles Martin, and several other names, who married a Stanford girl and is now in Mexico."³¹

The name of M.N. Roy, who had eluded the U.S. police after his arrest in New York quite some time before the San Francisco trial had begun, crops up again and again in the course of the trial. Mookerjee deposed that Martin had asked him to tell Helfferich that they needed about \$ 100,000. The witness was told that "this money would be needed to pay the Indian soldiers for two months' pay in advance and they would join them in the revolution in India." During his visit to Java Roy is reported to have received 25,000 guilders.³² The readers may read with interest the following description of Roy contained in the notes (dated July 12, 1916) of Joseph C. Laurent, an employee of William

A. Mundell, International Detective Agency : "6 feet 1½ inches, very slender, Van Dyke beard, medium color, wore glasses, was dressed in a slate colored suit, Panama hat, slate colored hose, low cut tan shoes, and carried a silver mounted walking stick."³³ Roy was being followed by Laurent in San Francisco.

To return to the story of the *Maverick*: Preston read out a newspaper report from the Penang "*Gazette and Straits Chronicle*" dated July 31, 1915, saying, "A *Sumatra Post*' cable from Java of 27 July says : The mysterious American ship '*Maverick*' is still lying outside Tandjong Prick, Batavia Harbour, and is under Government observation . . . Another paper states that the ship, although flying the American flag, has a German captain and a crew of Germans who affirm themselves to be naturalized Americans. This, however, they cannot prove by documentary evidence."³⁴ Thus, the *Maverick* had belied the expectations of the Indian revolutionaries. Pramatha Nath Mukherji, who was called for the United States, testified that he had left India on January 21, 1916 for Shanghai and wanted to contact Martin in Batavia only to find that the latter had left.³⁵ Martin, frustrated in his mission in the East, had departed for more distant areas and was not to return to India until some sixteen years later.

It appears that the Bengal revolutionaries had succeeded in their negotiations with the German agents in Java through their emissary Naren Bhattacharya (Martin) in persuading the Germans to agree to their suggestion, viz., to direct the *Maverick* to Bengal rather than send it to Karachi as originally planned, and then to deliver the cargo in the Sunderbans.³⁶ The conclusion may not be wrong that one group of revolutionaries in India was trying to steal a march over the other groups, although it is very likely that had the munitions been really

delivered in Bengal, the revolution would have had better prospects there than in any other area.

The Government was, however, very alert. Acting on some clues, a large number of frontranking revolutionaries were rounded up in Bengal.⁵⁷ One such clue may be mentioned. On December 27, 1915 B. Chatterton sent the following telegram from Goa to Martin in Batavia: "How doing—no news; very anxious." On enquiry two Bengalees were found in Goa, one of them being Bholanath Chatterji whom we have mentioned before. Chatterji committed suicide in the Poona jail on January 27, 1916.⁵⁸

Another schooner the *Henry S* adds to the story of unfulfilled objectives with respect to shipping of arms to India. The general intention of this schooner which had on board two German-Americans, Wehde and Boehm, seems to have been that the vessel should go to Bangkok and land some of its arms. These were to be concealed in a tunnel at Pakoh on the Siam-Burma frontier. They were to be used after Boehm had trained Indians on the frontier for the invasion of Burma. The scheme failed. Boehm was arrested in Singapore on his way from Batavia. Boehm had joined the *Henry S* at Manila under instructions received from Heramba Lal Gupta in Chicago, about whom we shall hear later.⁵⁹

FOOT NOTES

1. Spellman, op. cit, p. 31
2. Trial Records, p. 1234.
3. Spellman, pp. 32-33.
4. Sedition Committee Report, p. 150.
5. Spellman, p. 32.
6. Sedition Committee Report, p. 151.
7. Ibid., p. 149.
8. Trial Records, pp. 1263-1265.
9. Ibid., p. 1271.
10. Ibid., p. 1234 :
- Q. to Khan : You sailed on what day ?
- A. The 29th of August, 1914.
- Q. And you sailed on the Korea ?
- A. Yes.
- Q. What was the first place you touched ?
- A. Philadelphia.
- Q. What was the next place ?
- A. Yokohama.
- Q. What was the next place ? A. Kobe.
- Q. What was the next place ?
- A. Nagasaki.
- Q. What was the next place ? A. Manila.
- Q. And the next place ? A. Hongkong.
- Q. What was the next place ?

- A. Singapore.
- Q. And the next place ? A. Penang.
11. Ibid., p. 1241 :
- Q. Before you left Hongkong, did you call on the German Consul ?
- A. Yes.
- Ibid., p. 1251. Q. What next point did you touch ? (after Penang) A. Rangoon.
- Ibid., p. 1268. Roche : Didn't you testify yesterday that the German Consul whom you and your associates visited was at Hongkong ?
- A. No, not Hongkong. Q. Where was it ?
- A. Canton.
12. Ibid., pp. 1266-1268.
13. "In the middle of December, the Punjab Government reported to the Government of India that the doings of the returned Sikh emigrants had more than anything else engaged official attention, that the majority of them had returned expecting to find India in a state of acute unrest and meaning to convert this unrest into revolution." Sedition Committee Report, p. 150.

14. Ibid. p. 158.

15. Ibid. p. 92.

16. The New York Times, July 8, 1917, 1, 4 : 1

17. Sperry, *op. cit.* . pp 43-44. Tauscher's signed statement dated Feb. 8, 1916 reads :— In order to make this shipment as secretly as possible I decided to ship the arms and ammunition in the name of my forwarding agent, Walter C. Hughes, who also acted as the receiver of the shipment in San Diego, Cal... All expenses involved in this transaction were paid by me, and I was reimbursed by Captain Von Papen by check.

Later on, after the shipment had failed to reach its destination and was landed at the port of Hoquiam, Washington, Captain Von Papen informed me that he had told the State Department in Washington that this shipment of arms and ammunition was ultimately destined for German South African Colonies...

18. Giles T. Brown, The Hindu Conspiracy, 1914-1917, Pacific Historical Review, Vol. XVII, 1948 ; Spellman, *op. cit.* San Francisco Chronicle, January 19, 1918 ; San Francisco Examiner, January 24, 1918.

19. Sedition Committee Report, pp. 121-124

Jitendra Nath Lahiri brought to the Bengal revolutionaries (in March) offers of German help and invited them to send an agent to Batavia to cooperate.....Naren Bhattacharji was sent to Batavia to discuss plans with the Germans there. He started in April and adopted the pseudonym of C. Martin.....In the same month the S.S. Maverick... started on a voyage from San Pedro in California. On his arrival at Batavia Martin was told by the German Consul that a cargo of arms and ammunition was on its way to Karachi to assist the Indians in a revolution.

20. Sperry, *op. cit.*, p, 52.

Sperry does not indicate any date. The date of the telegram as known from the Trial Records (p. 1873) was Oct. 25, 1916. The identity of the receiver and the sender has not been established. The message runs as follows :—Recent information from India that our groundwork all over India of our plan in connection with Germany is thriving. Lahiri, Mukherjee, Sanya, Kirtikar have done good work. Lahiri sent Mana Ben Roy, known as Martin, and Narendra Bhattacharji, P. E. Chakrabarti, to arrange the delivery and distribution of arms. They came to Java and the German Consul at Batavia directed them to see Thomas Helfereich.

21. Sperry, *op. cit.* p. 47. When Starr-Hunt met Theodore and Emil Helfereich in Batavia the latter "said that he had waited for the Maverick for three weeks in the Sunda straits... and said that their arrangements on this side were excellent and complete and they were only awaiting the arrival of the cargo when they could have easily put their whole scheme through. They observed that the people in India were all ready and prepared and had only been waiting for the arms to turn up..."

22. San Francisco Examiner, January 31 1918.

23. M. N. Roy's *Memoirs*, pp. 25-26. "Evidently, the clandestine activities of the German propagandists and Indian revolutionaries associated with them were not unknown to the American Secret Service. Indeed, American Secret Service agents were in the 'conspiracy.' I have reason to believe that Starr-Hunt was one of them."

24. Giles, *op. cit.* p. 304.

25. Count Bernstorff, *My Three Years in America*, pp. 121-122.

"It was asserted.... that a cargo of arms and ammunition on board the small

schooner *Annie Larsen*, and destined for our forces in German East Africa, was, in reality, dispatched to India via Java and Siam ; but no proof was brought forward in support of this statement———Besides, even if it be admitted that the schooner in question was actually sent by the Indian Nationalists with her cargo of arms, it is absurd to regard the dispatch of this small supply of war materials as a crime, and gloss over the fact that whole arsenals and ammunition columns were being shipped every day to France!" It may be pointed out that Von Papen is reported to have told Washington that the shipment was ultimately destined for German South African Colonies. Foot note 17.

26. M.N. Roy's Memoirs, p. 22.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 3-4

28. Trial Records, p. 213.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 211.

30. Phani Chakravarti or Pain was arrested at Shanghai. Majumdar, op. cit., p. 408.

31. Trial Records, p. 214.

In his Memoirs Roy does not mention Evelyn, "who was not only his wife, but an important help in his work until their separation in 1925."—

Overstreet and Windmiller, Communism in India, p. 22

32. Sperry, p. 52

33. Trial Records, p. 1741

34. *Ibid.*, p. 236

35. *Ibid.*, pp. 2162-2170

36. Sedition Committee Report, p. 121

37. Trial Records, pp. 1874-1875

38. Sedition Committee Report, p. 123

39. *Ibid.*, p. 124

TODAY'S JAPAN

NANDA LAL MOOKERJEE

Having been defeated in the Second World War, Japan came under foreign domination for the first time in her history in 1945. Japan regained her sovereignty in April 1952, when the San Francisco Peace Treaty came into force.

GOVERNMENT

The present form of Japanese Government is based on the constitution of 1947. Under the new constitution, the sovereign power of the State rests with the people and the Emperor is the symbol of the State and the unity of the people.

Japan has adopted a parliamentary system of Government, under which the executive and the legislative wings are not as independent of each other as under the constitution of the U.S.A. The Prime Minister, who heads the Cabinet, is selected from the Diet by its members. At least half of the Cabinet members must be selected from the Diet, to which they are collectively responsible. If the House of Representatives adopts a resolution of no-confidence, the Cabinet must resign unless the House of Representatives is dissolved within ten days.

The Diet, the highest organ of the state power and the only law-making body, consists of two Houses—the House of Representatives and the House of Councillors. The members of the House of Representatives are elected for a four-year term, but their term may end short of the specified period with the dissolution of the House. The members of the House of Councillors are elected for a

six-year term, with one-half elected every three years. Japan has universal adult suffrage.

The Judiciary today is absolutely independent of the executive and the legislative branches. At the apex of the judicial system stands the Supreme Court which consists of a Chief Judge designated by the Cabinet and appointed by the Emperor and 14 other judges appointed by the Cabinet. The lower court judges are appointed by the Cabinet from a list of persons nominated by the Supreme Court.

POLITICAL PARTIES :

The major Japanese political parties today are the Liberal Democratic, Socialist and Democratic-Socialist parties. The Liberal Democratic party, which is now in power under the leadership of Prime Minister Mr. Sato, is Japan's only conservative party. The aim of the ruling party is to create a democratic order in Japan. The Socialist Party aims at creating a socialist society in Japan through a peaceful revolution. This party opposes the Treaty of Mutual Co-operation and Security between Japan and the U. S. A. and urges the withdrawal of U. S. military bases. The Democratic-Socialist Party stands against extreme ideologies and aims at creating a socialist society through democratic processes. Extreme parties have very little influence in the Diet. There are only three Communist members in the 467-seat House of Representatives and four in the 250-seat House of Councillors.

ECONOMY

Japan's post-war economic recovery has taken many advanced countries of the West by surprise. The Japanese economy has expanded and is continuing to expand at a faster rate than that of any other country in the world. Real growth rate reached 18% in 1959, the highest in the world. The high rate of private savings continued, reaching 30% of G. N. P. in 1960, a record for a free economy. A significant aspect of the rate of economic expansion is that the price-level has remained more stable than in any industrially advanced nation. Growth with stability is the most remarkable aspect of Japan's economic policies.

The economy of Japan is a thriving complex of industry, commerce, agriculture, finance and all other elements of a modern economic set-up. Nature is not very kind to Japan. In an area of 369,662 square kilometres live 94 million people. The Japanese islands being mountainous, (only 16% of the land is arable to support this vast population) the cultivated land per agricultural worker in Japan is 0.4 hectare. The persons engaged in agriculture accounted for 27% of the total employed persons in 1963. Japan has very limited natural resources to sustain a modern industrialised nation. This has compelled Japan to depend upon foreign trade for economic development. She has to import food, raw materials and equipments to sustain her highly industrialised economy. In order to pay for the imports, she must process raw materials into finished and semi-finished products and export them.

Despite the dearth of natural resources, Japan has developed an economy that ranks among the most productive in the world. Among the major reasons for the grand suc-

cess is the modern technology that Japan has developed. Another major reason for her success is a tremendous increase in productivity. Wages have increased but productivity has gone up at a faster pace. This had led to high rates of saving, capital formation and investment. This process of growth has resulted in changes in the country's basic economic structure. The centre of industrial gravity has been shifting from small-scale production of consumer goods to the heavy and chemical industries. The emphasis is shifting from labour-intensive to capital intensive industries.

16% of Japan's national income is earned from agriculture and fishing; 35% from manufacturing, mining and construction; and 49% from commerce, finance and services. Problem of unemployment is negligible in Japan. In November 1963, the number of unemployed stood at 330,000 or 0.7 per cent of the working population. Japan's Ten-year Economic Programme aims at doubling the national income by 1970. Per capita national income is scheduled to increase to \$579, based on a projected population of 102 millions.

TRANSPORT :

The Japan National Railways, a public Corporation, operates about 20,500 kilometres of railways and accounts for 49.9 per cent of the total land passenger transport and 36.3 per cent of the total freight transport in the country. Regional services are provided by 163 private railway companies, which together have about 7,400 kilometres of railway track. Japan today has the world's fifth biggest merchant fleet, with 8,870,000 gross tons of shipping in mid-1962. Motor vehicle transport in Japan is not well-developed, for the transport in Japan has been developed around the railway and also for the bad conditions of

roads. Population per one passenger car is 3 in the U.S., 9 in the U. K., 11 in West Germany but 165 in Japan. Civil aviation is developing at a very rapid rate. In 1962 Japanese airlines carried 2.9 million passengers more than 8 times the figure in 1955. A significant volume of goods is now being transported by Japanese airlines.

POPULATION AND FAMILY PATTERNS

The Japanese population increased at the rate of 15 per 1,000 persons during the period 1925-1930. It increased to 20 during the baby boom period immediately after the war. However, the rate began to decline in 1950. To-day it is as low as 10 per 1,000 persons. By 1970, it is calculated that Japan will have a population of about 100 million. Legal reform, emphasis upon decentralisation of authority in post-war Japan and rapid industrial growth have influenced the re-organisation of the family, especially in urban areas. Most younger couples prefer to live apart from their parents. Both husband and wife now enjoy equality under law.

Government encouraged family planning has reduced the average number of children to 2.5, one of the lowest in the world. The mode of living has also changed under the influence and widespread use of modern household appliances together with the mass production of instant food preparations, ready-made clothes and other daily necessities. These have given wider opportunity for relaxation and educational and cultural pursuits to the entire family.

RELIGION :

Buddhism, Christianity and Shintoism are the three major religions in Japan. Shintoism received special patronage of the Japanese Government during the Second World War, but under the new constitution it finds no

special encouragement. It exists side by side and sometimes overlaps in the popular mind with Buddhism. Many Japanese today follow Shinto rites when they marry and, when they die, Buddhist funeral rites are performed.

EDUCATION

In Japan illiteracy is unknown practically. The object of Japanese education today is to create self-reliant citizens of a peaceful and democratic state. In Japan co-education is permitted and education is compulsory and free for all children from the ages of six to fifteen.

ART

Japan has been described as a country of fine arts. The Japanese are highly endowed artistically. Painting and drawing are very popular spare-time pursuits. The Japanese love of art and nature is reflected in many aspects of their lives, in their architecture and in the popularity of flower arrangements and the tea ceremony.

MUSIC

Western music is very popular among the Japanese today. Many Japanese parents prefer their children to study violin or piano rather than the traditional Koto or Shamisen. The melodic and rhythmic subtleties of Japanese classical music seem to have been lost in the dynamic movement of western music's tonic and dominant chords. But thanks to some modern Japanese composers who are using traditional materials in a new context, this has not only saved the traditional music from undignified trends but also has led to the creation of a unique contemporary Japanese music rooted in its own tradition.

THEATRE

The theatrical arts in Japan are unique in their variety. The three major forms of cla-

ssical Japanese drama are Noh, Bunraku puppet drama and Kabuki. The Japanese theatre also offers modern drama in western style.

MOTION PICTURE

Motion picture industry in Japan has made remarkable progress over the past few years. Japan has produced many quality films which have bagged numerous international awards. But unfortunately the motion picture industry is facing severe competition from television. To regain its lost position the motion picture industry has devised a series of innovations, such as the production of wide-screen films in colour and emphasis on a few large-scale masterpieces with outstanding stars.

SPORTS

Every type of sport has a huge following in Japan. Judo, Baseball, Golf and Swimming are among the most popular sports in Japan. Japanese sportsmen have won great acclaim in international contests in table-tennis, amateur wrestling and gymnastics.

JAPAN AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

Japan renounces war as a sovereign right of a nation and denies the threat or use of force as a means of settling international disputes. She is eager to improve her relations

with nations having different political and social systems from her own for the sake of international peace. She is keen upon strengthening her economic ties with all countries.

Japan has not yet played any effective role in International politics since the last war. Perhaps she believes that no country can play any significant part in world affairs unless she is internally sound. That is why she has channelised all her energy to rebuild the nation. Her alliance with the U. S. A. has also limited her activity in the domain of international politics. It is, however, gratifying to note that she is showing increasing interest in Asian affairs.

CONCLUSION :

The Japanese have highly receptive minds and they evince extreme eagerness to absorb new ideas and techniques. For all their formalism they are a highly competitive people. In his book, "History of Japan", Richard Storry has rightly observed that "irrepressible vitality and an instinctive love of beauty form the basic constituents of the Japanese character and are among its most admirable traits. Possessing these this race has much to give the world".

SOME FEATURES OF THE INDIAN ADMINISTRATIVE SCENE

Prof. H. J. PANDYA

There is a high degree of formalism in our administration. By formalism what is meant is the degree of discrepancy or incongruence between the formally prescribed and the effectively practised, between norms and realities.¹ The greater the congruence, the more realistic the situation; the greater the discrepancy, the more formalistic. Some examples would make the point clear.

An administration, working within a democratic political framework, is supposed to be working according to certain assumptions or 'ground rules'. One such assumption is that the administration is politically independent and non-partisan, i.e., what is generally called politically neutral. Apparently with a view to maintaining and strengthening this characteristic of the political neutrality of our administration, we have even put a law on the statute-book prohibiting government servants from attending political meetings. However, the facts of political life in our country speak differently. There is a great amount of interplay between politics and administration², and the nature and measure of this process of interplay have adversely affected this traditional characteristic of our administration to a considerable extent. Often this interaction assumes the form of partnership between officials and politicians in enterprises, with ulterior ends; and the roles played by officials in such partnerships, are, to put it mildly, highly dubious and questionable in nature.³

One of the charges levelled against our administration is that it is characterised by extreme over-centralisation, inability to delegate authority, to decentralise. The most

frequent recommendations made in this regard are to strengthen field offices, to train intermediate and subordinate personnel, so that they can take over power, induce superiors to delegate functions to others; in general to loosen up the bottle-necks at the centre, which keep the administration in a perpetual state of crisis.⁴

Unfortunately these recommendations mistake the formal aspects of administrative behaviour for the effective. If the trends in Union-State relations and the process of decision-making at the State and district levels are examined it would be found that the peripheral forces have become strong, and more often than not, play a decisive role. Such an examination will reveal that institutions other than the prescribed office actually govern, to a considerable extent, effective administrative behaviour. This suggests that effective power is widely dispersed in our administration.

The reality would be better understood if a clear distinction is made between officially sanctioned or legitimate power, i.e., 'authority' and unofficially permitted or illegitimate power i.e., 'control'. Thus the power structure of our administration consists of a highly centralised and concentrated structure overlapping a control system that is highly localised and dispersed.

Another point often made against the Indian administration is regarding its attitude to rules, precedents, forms, procedures etc. It is a common complaint that this attitude is characterised by rigidity.⁵ On the other hand, what is found is that a great amount of liberty is taken, at almost all levels of

administration in the interpretation of rules and regulations, and with regard to the applicability or otherwise of precedents, to particular cases. It is far from uncommon to find that literal carrying out of the law is insisted upon, or the law may be disregarded utterly. Whether an official chooses to enforce a law to the letter or permits its violation depends, quite often, upon his inclination, which is generally conditioned by extraneous factors, and his advantages.

It is not difficult to see that in actual practice there is a great amount of flexibility or rather laxity and undue discretion in the administrative behaviour, and it is perhaps because of this that corruption is rampant to such a disturbing extent in our administration.

Since Independence, and particularly since the launching of the development programmes that depend significantly on the voluntary co-operation of the general public for their administration, the role of the bureaucracy in our country has undergone a revolutionary change.⁶ Formerly it was considered desirable for an official to maintain a certain amount of aloofness from the people and thereby maintain a posture of awe. Now, public officials are expected to break all barriers and go to people, persuade them to accept programmes and extend co-operation in their implementation, to 'sell' new ideas to them. This new role necessitates an entirely new and different image of bureaucracy to be projected to the people. This has been recognised, and accordingly suitable methods and modes have been emphasised. This technique of administration calls for a working arrangement in which political and administrative forces have to maintain a very delicate balance. This technique further presupposes a high degree of complementarity in the roles of bureaucracy and the political administration.

However, what is found in practice is

quite at variance with what is required. The role played by political leadership particularly at the district level and the levels below is too competitive to leave any scope for the bureaucracy to project the desired image of itself, which is so very necessary for its effectiveness. The local political leadership seems to be always keen on creating the impression in the minds of the people that whatever good is done, is done because of it, and at its instance. This competitive trend in political forces, perhaps, accounts for the widespread political interference in the working of the administration.

Formalism has also entered the realm of norms governing the professional conduct of civil servants. The implications of formalism concerning the norms may be traced in the behaviour of both officials and members of the public. An official publicly adheres to the modern norms of professional morality but when he is out of the public eye, they seem to lose all significance for him and cease to be binding. As we have observed elsewhere in this paper, the norms governing his place as a part of the instrumental apparatus under the control of the political organisation are disregarded, and he is found playing roles which are not in accord with his norm-governed place. At times he ceases to be the neutral agent that he is supposed to be, and gets very much involved in the processes of politics. The same is the case with the sources from which, according to the norms, he should seek motivation. At times the forces which he is supposed to eschew become for him the driving forces.

The same ambivalence of orientation characterises the public in its dealings with the administration. On the one hand, the enraged citizen makes unreasonable demands and censures the administration for its failure to

abide by the modern norms of professional ethics. But, on the other hand, he, without any sense of contradiction, busily works to undermine these norms by collaborating with corruption to secure special privileges for himself. Indeed, he lacks any strict sense of principle and implications of a rule of law. Rather, he takes advantage of opportunities to break the law when that serves his interest but demands rigid law enforcement when that happens to fit his convenience. Ultimately, the public becomes cynical about law and administration. The official is viewed as a leech and the accepted attitude towards the Government is normless. One abandons any attempt to 'reform' and seeks rather to cope with situations as they arise, pulling wires, paying what must be paid, hoping somehow to survive, and if possible, gain entree to some of the spoils of the system.

It is one of the pertinent points made by scholars, as a result of their examination of our administrative machinery, that it utterly lacks an efficient system of communication both within the administration, and in its relations with the public.

The ruling party has evolved a machinery of consultation and communication between the party and the administration at the State, District and Taluka levels. As an agency for the effective transmission of the interests and problems of the people to the administration and, on the other hand, to strive to create better appreciation of the problems and difficulties of the administration in the public, this arrangement would have served a very useful purpose. But presumably, the temptation of the immediate, though short-term gain proved more powerful and the entire machinery started interfering with the day-to-day working of the administration.⁷ Naturally this interference of the administration cannot possibly

be for the general and common interest of the entire clientele. The driving force behind this practice was the spreading of political influence and hence, with the weakening of the hold of the party in power on the masses, the interference will be on the increase. This phenomenon of political interference and its effects, may now be analysed.

This phenomenon has divided the whole clientele into three classes. Two of the three classes are privileged ones. One class is that of the politically influential, who have politically powerful people to put pressure for them with a view to get both quick and favourable decisions from the administration. The other is the class consisting of those who use money to pressurize the administration to get the desired results.⁸ The third is the class consisting of those who do not have resort to either of these. Paradoxically enough, it is in the name of helping this class that the whole business of interference is carried on. Thus it is obvious that bribery and other corrupt practices are resorted to, to a certain extent, as an alternative to political pressure. Undue responsiveness to these pressures on the part of the administration results in the contravention of the egalitarian principle of deciding priority—first come, first served—in the transaction of business, and this, in its turn, is partly responsible for the inordinate delays in the disposal of the bulk of the business of the administration.

From this question of political interference springs the larger question of the responsibility of the bureaucracy to political parties. The present trends and practices in the matter go against the basic working bias of a democratic administration: that an administrative agency cannot be held independently responsible to the organization and policies of political parties.⁹

The place of public administration in our scheme of Government is one of the things about which there is a great amount of misunderstanding, confusion and ambiguity. It is high time the role of bureaucracy was defined and made clear and its significance in the modern state recognised. While defining the role of administration certain 'inevitables' will have to be provided for. It will have to be recognised that administrative expansion has become one of the compulsions, as it were, of our age.¹⁰ Efficiency in administration will have to receive a special emphasis. A big bureaucracy will have to be efficient, or else it will prove a force capable of doing incalculable harm to the whole political structure, and the harm would be greater and quicker if the political structure is democratic. Indeed, bureaucracy is the very core of democracy in the sense that no modern government can long survive without an efficient administrative organization.¹¹

The rational orientation in administration will have to receive special stress—stress on careful study and testing of the adequacy of any given means to accomplish specified ends. Thus our politico-administrative value-system will have to be examined to see if it requires any adjustment to give the needed emphasis to efficiency as the goal, and rationality as the nature of the approach of our administration.

The institution of O & M can go a long way in instilling the spirit of questioning and scrutiny, and in moulding the necessary rational approach to the problems of administrative procedures and practices, forms and methods. A beginning was made in this direction in the Central Government in 1964 with the establishment of an O & M division. In the State Governments also O & M cells have been established. But unfortunately, the O & M activity has failed to make much impact on

the administrative processes.¹² Another shortcoming of the O & M work in India is its being confined, by and large, to the Secretariat administration. The field organisations, and particularly the regular establishments at the district and at the levels below, have remained outside the sphere of the working of the O & M or even outside its sphere of influence. It is very necessary to fill up this lacuna in view of the common experience that the lower echelons of our administration show much less enthusiasm, drive, initiative and vitality as compared to the higher ones.¹³ As a matter of fact, the field organizations will have to receive priority and special attention in any programme of administrative streamlining, because they are the agencies which come in direct contact with the people and work among them. These levels of administration constitute what has been aptly described¹⁴ as its 'cutting edge'.

It is in this context that the control variables of a political and social nature will have to be provided to guard against the danger and possibility of the bureaucracy becoming over-powering. For this, non-bureaucrats will have to remain powerful, and what is much more important they will have to know how to use this power effectively for the purpose. The political leadership will have to be very effective and it could be so only if it can show the capacity for hard work and a good grasp of governmental processes. Clearly laid-down policies will go a long way in helping them to provide a good leadership to the administration.

The social power will have to work as a guide to bureaucratic performance and as a pressure towards programme-objectives to keep the administration moving with desired speed and to prevent it from becoming arbitrary in its modes of working. In the prevalent

situation, this will require the transformation of the factional forces and pulls working for narrow vested interests into a cohesive power working for the common interests of the clientele. Organizations like Sadachar Samities can, perhaps, play some useful role in this direction.

An attempt has been made in this paper to focus on some features of the Indian administrative scene. These features, perhaps, provide the contextual framework for the task of administrative reforms in India.

The phenomenon of formalism and its implications for administrative reforms should also be evident. If reform is based on a change in the law, a reorganization, redefinition of positions and duties, etc., probably no effective change in the behaviour will follow the change in norms and prescriptions. For this, we will have to seek first to achieve a higher degree of realism, i. e., to bring about a closer approximation of practice to prescription.

NOTES

1. Fred W. Riggs—'An Ecological Approach'—An unpublished paper read at the 1961 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

2. C. N. Bhalerao—'Substantive Forces in Indian Administration' The Economic Weekly Vol. XVI, No. 42.

3. The role played by officials, high and low, in the Parliamentary elections in the Gonda constituency in U.P. is indicative of the extent of such partnership.

4. Paul Appleby—'Public Administration in India: Report of a Survey'. See also Rajni Kothari—'Administrative Institutions of Government', The Economic Weekly, Vol. XIII, No. 21,

5. A. D. Gorwala—'Report on Public Administration'. See also Rajni Kothari, *ibid*, and C.N. Bhalerao, *ibid*.

6. R. Dwarakadas—'Role of Higher Civil Service in India'.

7. Findings of the ad hoc studies on District Administration—K. K. Das Report in U.P., and Planning Commission Study Group Report on Sabarkantha District in Gujarat.

8. The reference here is to those who are moderately well-off, but not so wealthy as to tempt the politicians in power to have vested interest in them.

9. John M. Gaus—The Frontiers of Public Administration, Chicago, 1936 pp. 26-44.

10. "They constitute a fourth organ of the Government, along with the three traditional organs"—W.F. Willoughby, Principles of Legislative Organization and Administration.

11. "It is.....not a question of *either* democracy or bureaucracy, of *either* constitutionalism or efficient administration, but of a combination of the two, of a working balance between them, in short, of a responsible bureaucracy".—Arthur A. Maass and Laurence I. Radway, Gauging Administrative Responsibility, Public Administration Review, Vol. 9 Summer, 1949, pp. 182-192.

12. No less a person than the Director O & M Division, Cabinet Secretariat (now Ministry of Home Affairs), Shri R. N Vasudeva, has admitted, with refreshing candour, that the O & M activity had not been effective enough to leave its impact on the processes of administration. One of the principal reasons for this, according to him, was the lack of proper authoritative backing from enough number of senior people at the higher rungs of administration.—Administrative Reforms Since Independence (Report of the Seventh Annual Conference), Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi pp. 10-11.

13. See Working Paper on Administrative Reforms Since Independence prepared by the Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi, for Conference on Administrative Reforms, held on August 10 and 11, 1963.

14. Dr. A. A. Park, in a talk at the Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi.

HE GAVE US GITANJALI

Prof. R. C. MAHESHWARI

Tagore ascended the pinnacle of perfection as a mystic-poet in his masterpiece 'Gitanjali' but mysticism is not the only ground where the poet greets a farer of Gitanjali. He would see vistas after vistas of scenic grandeur of the land of Bengal unfolding themselves with kaleidoscopic rapidity before his mental eyes. The idle clouds heaping upon clouds and sailing across the sky, the rain falling in sheets, the golden streams breaking through the sky, the blooming lotus, the spring doing its flowering, the notes of the far-away song floating from the other shore, the clamorous waves, the yellow leaves falling upon the bank, the thick veil drawing over the ever-wakeful blue sky, the stormy nights after the morning has closed its eyes, the lashes of lightning startling the sky from end to end, the thunder roaring in the sky, the darkness shuddering with lightning the dim shore of the ink black river, the fiercely naked horizon, the shadow chasing light, doves cooing in the shade, withered leaves dancing and whirling in the hot air of noon, the shepherd boy drowsing and dreaming in the shadow of the banyan tree, the sky decked with stars and cunningly wrought myriad-coloured jewels, the morning wearing on to noon, the noon closing in the dusk and the dusk being embraced surreptitiously by the night ; the ghats, bazars and the temples all have been picturesquely portrayed to lend a colourful meaning to the ideal spiritualism vibrating in every lyric. The descriptions are scented with a liberal sprinkling of similes and metaphors. The spiritualism, the mysticism and the romance of

the trio-man (Chetan), Nature (Achetan) and Infinite (Ascem) pervades the very spirit of almost every lyric. At some places the spirit of the poets of European Renaissance and the fundamental ingredients of the Indian culture—Bhakti (devotion) and Atmot-sarga (dedication)—have been dexterously blended in a complete whole. Conspicuous is the poet's spirit which yearns for the nearness of the Infinite and at the same time embracing the life and everything living in loving caress. His heart longs to join the orchestra of life. (Geet 2&3). The poet loves life abundantly ; so abundantly that his love overflows every other aspect leaving its delicate layer over them. This is unique in the saintly tradition of India. Throughout the ages the Indian saints, without exception, have vehemently denounced Life and all the worldly things associated with it ; but Tagore, by speaking of Life itself, made an epoch in the Indian saintly tradition and thus gave it a refreshingly new viewpoint and a fresh lease of life. Abruptly, at some places, the poet's moving fingers would stop only to reveal the heart which constantly struggles to find its way, where the Master's feet rest among the poorest, and lowliest and lost. (Geet 10)

The Poet's Theory of Life & Death

Like Kabir, the poet's spirit also yearns to embrace the Infinite. To him death is not dreadful ; instead it is the Lord's own messenger,—a purohit—who would solemnise the marriage of the spirit with the Infinite, after

liberating the former from the cage (body). In the magic spell of the moment, the poet brooks no fear though he is aware that there are dangers on the way (Geet 94). His love for death is as profound and as complete as is his love for life.

"I have loved Life so much
Why should I not Love Death".

And how the poet feels about the whole business of Life and Death—

জীবন আমার
এতো ভালবাসি বলে পেয়েছি প্রত্যয়
মৃত্যুরে আমি ভালবাসিব নিশ্চয়
কোন হতে তুলে নিলে কাঁদে শিশু ডরে
মূহুর্তে আশ্বাস পায় গিয়ে স্তনাস্তরে।

The child cries out when from the right breast the mother takes it away, in the very next moment to find in the left one its consolation. (Geet 95)

Having tasted of the hidden honey of the lotus that expands on the ocean of light and having had his play in the play-house of infinite forms, the poet caught sight of Him that is formless and his whole body and his limbs have thrilled with His touch who is beyond touch and thus the poet is blessed.

Blessed are The Pure in Heart

But the poet is blessed in more than one way. He is meek, innocent and pure in heart like saints and children. Speaking of them in Geet 60—he seems to be speaking of himself. "They build their houses with sand and they play with empty shells. With withered leaves they weave their boats and smilingly float them on the vast deep. Children have their play on the sea-shore of Worlds. They know not how to swim, they know not how to cast nets. Pearl fishers dive for pearls, mer-

chants sail in their ships, while children gather pebbles and scatter them again. They seek not for hidden treasure, they know not how to cast nets."

Devotion to The Lord

The poet's devotion to the Lord is complete and unqualified. "Amar Sakal Ange Tomar Parash." (আমার সকল অন্তে তোমার পরশ). Like Meera he has not much faith in Tarka (Argument), Darshan (Philosophy), Vaada (ism) but unlike her, his Lord is only a formless symbol, dissipated in the minutest particle of the universe. To Meera the world beyond the visible form of her 'Giridhar Gopal' is vague, uncertain and unreal like a vision that will dissolve. But Tagore's Lord identifies himself with His creation. Though unintelligible, His presence can be felt everywhere in everything. The only contrast between the two is : while Meera worships form, Rabindra would prostrate at the door of the Infinite till his whole form is bathed in the light, the world-filling light, the eye-kissing light, the heart-sweetening light and then

ঘন শ্রাবণ মেঘের মতন...তব ভবন দ্বারে

Like a rain cloud of July hung low with its burden of unshed showers let all my mind bend down at thy door in one salutation to thee.

Further,

মানা সুরের আকুল ধারা...নীলব পারাবারে

Let all my songs gather together their diverse strains into a single current and flow to a sea of silence in one salutation to thee,

And then,

Like a flock of homesick cranes flying night and day back to their mountain nests,

let all my life take its voyage to its eternal home in one Salutation to thee. (Geet 103)

The sentiments stirring in such moments of devotional beatitude have been ventilated by Nicolson who quotes Jalaluddin Rumi in this way,

"My Spirit is mingled with thine Spirit even as the wine is mingled with pure water. When anything touches thee, it touches me. Lo ! in every case thou art I."

(The idea of personality in Sufism)

Karma Theory

Swami Ramdas says, 'Life becomes blessed and glorious when its varied activities are dedicated in their entirety to the Lord and the Master of the Worlds who is eternally seated in our hearts'. Almost in the same vein the poet sings,

নব কর্মে তব শক্তি এই জেনে সার
করিব সকল কর্মে তোয়ারি প্রচার ।

But the poet wants to go his own easy way in worldly affairs.

'I ask for a moment's indulgence to sit by thy side. The work that I have in hand I will finish afterwards.' (Geet 5).

Little wonder that the much eulogized elements of Indian Spiritualism—Tapsya and self-denial—are alien to his thinking.

'Deliverance is not for me in renunciation' (Geet 73)

"Deliverance ?" The poet asks in exasperation, "Where is this deliverance to be found ? The question does not arise since Our master himself has joyfully taken upon him the bonds of creation ; He is bound with us all for ever. Meet him and stand by him in toil and in the sweat of thy brow." (Geet 11)

And for the ostentatious imposter he has no sympathy to waste. As a matter of fact the

poet exposes his absurdities with the tenacity which even Kabir may envy. Actually, in this respect, he picked up the thread from where Kabir had left it.

"Leave this chanting and singing and telling of beads ! whom dost thou worship in this lonely dark corner of a temple with doors all shut ? Open thine eyes and see thy God is not before thee !

He is there where the tiller is tilling the hard ground and where the path-maker is breaking stones. He is with them in Sun and in shower, and his garment is covered with dust. Put off thy holy mantle and even like Him come down on the dusty soil ! (Geet 11)

Clarity of Vision

Paradoxical though it may seem, yet Tagore as a mystic is so devastatingly transparent in thought, clear in vision, straightforward in approach and so self-assured of his mission that none of his songs brook any confusion. All the time, like Francis Quarles, the poet moves about with a self-sure air to proclaim

'I have found my life, my way, my light,
in Thee.

I live, I move and by Thy beams I see."

In no uncertain terms the poet admonishes a 'self-styled Seeker'.

"Who are you to seek Him like a beggar from door to door. Come to my heart and see His face in the tears of my eyes'.

In Geet 6 the poet compares his life with a little flower with faint colour and smell and prays the Lord to accept it in His service before it withers away. The earnestness, eagerness and ecstasy with which the offering is made is remarkable and unique in style. The poet says that it may not find a place in Thy garland, but honour it with a touch of pain from Thy hand and pluck it.

Approach to the Infinite

Gitanjali is a trilogy of human approaches to the Infinite. It stands, even to this day, at the cross roads of myriad sojourns, through ages past and moments fleeting in the present of the eternal question in us. The lyrics of Gitanjali give us a definite answer. The Infinite Sublime stoops over the eastern horizon and daintily embraces the earth; we feel the glory and majesty of the stupendous spectacle and we are overwhelmed.

The trilogy of the approach of the romantic, the metaphysical and the final deliverance of the two in the culminative devotional surrender of the soul to the Infinite has a unique positive assurance for the reader of the lyrics of Gitanjali.

Tagore's Romanticism

Romanticism has in itself the dangers of dissipation. If stretched too far it may either lead us to the wilderness of vexed speculations or it may end in the narrow alleys of 'isms' of the present day feverish world. It must at all times, specially in the domains of poetry, be blended with something positive that would supersede all that is insular, or all that tends to debase the Spirit unbound with tragic evasiveness.

In the romanticism of Gitanjali we are not oppressed with the insularism of a Tennyson; of his perplexities in finding Nature; there is no battlecry of freedom or liberty of a Byron or the Shellyian anguish of lamenting over the painted veil that would not lift. The lyricism of Gitanjali is definitely positive. A comparison of the poem "Where the mind is without fear..." with that of Tennyson's *Briggadoon* 'There is no land like England... There is no hearts like English hearts' would make the difference

conspicuous. Tagore has not allowed the patriotic fervour of a nation to debase into narrow insularism but has blended it majestically with the loftiest spiritual, ethical and moral values of life. Elsewhere in the 'Bharatiratha' Tagore conceives of India as the seashore where humanity through ages merge in glorious oneness: where emperors and warriors find a meaning of life with the humblest, lowliest and lost.

The natural sequence of this romantic outlook on life, where humanity stands vindicated is to seek positivity in the metaphysical approach and herein lies the unique greatness and towering success of the lyrics of Gitanjali.

Spiritualism in Gitanjali

The spiritualism in the Gitanjali is, therefore, not mere dream pictures, mere exquisite bubbles on the yeasty waters which melt away even as we watch them. The Spiritualism here gives the readers more than mere solace. The poet is convinced of the light in the human heart and its oneness with creation. He, therefore, identifies himself with the momentous dew drop on a single blade of grass, or a torn piece of cloud, or the murmuring rivulet kissing the skirts of mother Earth.

This monastic element of life through its myriad material manifestations is just quite in keeping with the oriental tradition. But the crowning success for the poet is to cause a final deliverance of the same in a devotional surrender of the finite into the Infinite. The traditional devotion of Meera for the Lord or of Kabir for Rama finds their echo in the sweet wordings of the lyrics of Gitanjali. The finite in the poet sits listlessly awaiting the approach of the Infinite; clouds heap upon clouds; the torrential rains carry on the lamentations of his heart through the nestling

winds and he sits at the doorsteps to welcome Him in his abode.

Voice of Saints

Gitanjali easily finds its place among the other works of Indian saints and seers. It is a representative work containing much of that which is beautiful in the cultural thought-currents of India through the ages.

Tagore is no more with us but his inspiring lyrics will continue to stir our blood for ages unborn as much as they do now. Even like the verses of the Song Celestial,

the geets of Gitanjali will continue to provide a pronounced clue to the Divine Light of Truth, descending as External Wisdom from the Heart of Love. The poet has immortalised himself and has left his image in the hearts of millions of his countrymen who would cherish it more than their most valued possessions. In the words of Shelly.

"Tis death is dead not he,
The one remains, the many change
and pass,
Heaven's light for ever shines,
Earth's shadows fly."

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RESTITUTION OF CONJUGAL RIGHTS

"In the council of state Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas's motion for consideration of the Bill to amend the Civil Procedure Code of 1908 to enforce decree for restitution of conjugal rights not by putting the wife in jail, but by attaching her property was carried by 16 to 6 votes, a few Indian non-official members voted for the Bill. Eventually the Bill was passed.

"It is really hateful to try to compel a woman to live with a man she loathes under threat of imprisonment. Are men anywhere imprisoned for not living with their wives? The men consider themselves very just and generous if they give only a subsistence allowance to their deserted wives."

(Aug. 1923—Page 253)

A STUDY ON FARM PLANNING IN KALYANPUR, KANPUR

By J. S. GARG and VISHNU PRASAD

Indian Agriculture is still a way of living. It has not yet assumed the shape of a business. Land and capital are the limiting factors of production, yet their potentialities are not fully exploited. Improved technology of farming has not yet travelled down to the level of the farmers. The traditional methods of farming are still in vogue, resulting into poor economic return and very low income of the farmers. Farm Management on scientific lines is not practised, draining out available resources without commensurate achievements.

A study on Farm Planning was undertaken in the section of the Production Economist, Govt. Agricultural College, Kanpur, during 1961—63, with the following objectives :

OBJECTIVES :

(1) To plan farming in such a way as to have fuller economic utilization of existing resources by introducing improved technology for stepping up yield per acre and pushing up income per holding.

(2) To demonstrate the economic gains of the improved technology of farming to the cultivators of the locality.

Method of study : The study was undertaken in 6 villages namely Barasirohi, Shahpur, Panka Bahadur Nagar, Bhelamau, Rampur Bhimsen, and Vinaikpur, selected at random in the Development Block, Kalyanpur, Kanpur. From each village two cultivators, one of below and another above 5 acres holding, were selected purposively. Co-operation in the operation of the plan was the uppermost criterion in the selection of a cultivator. Thus, in all there were 12 farms under study.

Before coming to the actual farm planning it was considered desirable to study the existing resources and practices of the selected farms. For this purpose fixed and working capital of the farmers, their practices of farming and their economic aspects were studied and analysed during 1961-62 to serve as a bench mark, for future reference.

To encounter the structural and operational weaknesses shown by the above study, alternative farm plans for each holding was prepared in consultation with the farmer in conformity with his resources. Efforts were made to avoid as far as possible major changes, dislocation of the existing crop rotations. Since, it was the first year of the project, the changes in the alternative farm plan were limited to the introduction of green-manuring on fallow fields, transplanting in line, top dressing and interculture in paddy and line sowing of jawar and Arhar in Kharif. Application of superphosphate as a basal dose, sowing in lines with bamboo funnel and inter-culture with khurpi in wheat in Rabi, were also introduced. The alternative farm plans were executed during 1962-63.

In determining the total income, the prices were charged at prevailing market rates in Kanpur Mandi on 31st May, 1962 for both existing and alternative plans.

The alternative plans were executed under the close supervision and guidance of the Senior Research Assistant and data collected on structured schedule by the investigator himself by cost accounting method.

RESEARCH FINDING

Table I : Showing Physical Resources of Selected Cultivators

Size group (in acres)	Average size of holding of selected cultivators (in acres)	Percentage of irrigated to total area of selected cultivators	Value of resources on per acre basis*		
			Live stock (In Rs.)	Dead stock (In Rs.)	Total (In Rs.)
Below 5 acres	4.61	91.55	358.33	105.65	463.98
Above 5 acres	7.64	85.75	516.66	158.88	675.54
Average	6.12	88.65	437.49	132.26	569.76

* Do not include value of land and dwelling house.

It is clear from the table above that the physical resources of the farmers in this locality, in general, are not of high order.

Table II : Showing the average value of input, output, net income, family labour income, and farm business income per acre of holding of selected cultivators during 1961-62 (on the basis of existing farm practices.).

Size group (in acre)	Below 5 acre	Above 5 acre
Average size of holding of selected cultivators (in acres)	4.61	7.64
Input (In Rs.)	199.17	187.50
Output (In Rs.)	289.82	263.02
Net income (In Rs.)	90.65	75.52
Family labour income (In Rs.)	112.97	96.66
Farm business income (In Rs.)	114.09	98.59

The above table reveals that the net income per acre on both size groups is very low and that of input cost is sufficiently high. This can be related to the fact that the farmers in this locality in general do not follow scientific crop rotations. Paddy-Wheat is a common rotation followed by most of the farmers. The per capita consumption of fertilizer is also very low. To keep the fields fallow in kharif season for wheat in Rabi is a common practice followed by those farmers

who do not have paddy in kharif. The crops are sown by broadcasting. Hence topdressing of fertilizers and interculture are rarely done. The local unimproved seeds are still in use. The use of insecticides or pesticides is never heard of.

The introduction of labour saving implements can help in reducing the overall input cost per acre. The adoption of improved practices like application of fertilizers, sowing of crops in line, inter-culture and use of green-manuring can substantially help in increasing the yield and consequently income per acre.

In the alternative plan, therefore, practices like green-manuring in fallow fields, transplanting of paddy in lines, line sowing of jawar and arhar, top-dressing in paddy, basal dressing of superphosphate in wheat and inter-cultural operation etc., were incorporated. Efforts were also made to make minor changes in the unscientific rotations but success could not be achieved in this direction as farmers were reluctant about it. Hence the alternative farm plan was of moderate changes. Drastic changes were as far as possible avoided to convince the farmers of the benefits of improved cultural practices.

The per acre economic returns of the alternative plans are shown in the following table :

Table III : Showing the average value of input, output, net income, family labour income, and farm business income per acre of selected cultivators during 1962-63 (On the basis of alternative farm plan).

Size group (in acre)	Average size of holding of selected cultivators (in acre)	Input (in Rs.)	Output (In Rs.)	Net income (In Rs)	Family labour income (In Rs.)	Farm busi- ness income (In Rs.)
Below 5 acre	4.61	220.09	361.94	141.85	170.22	173.62
Percentage of increase over the old Plan		10.50%.	24.88 %.	56.49%.	51.30%.	52.22%.
Above 5 acre	7.64	202.85	313.57	110.92	135.89	139.34
Percentage of increase over the old plan		8.10%.	19.21%.	46.61%.	40.50%.	41.33%.

On comparing the per acre returns, it can be concluded that there is invariable increase in the input, output, net income, family labour income and farm business income in the alternative over the old farm plan. The percentage increase in the alternative over old plan in the input in below and above 5 acres is 10.50 and 8.10 respectively ; while the increase in the output in the two sizes is of 24.88%, 19.21% order in the same sequence. The net income has gone up by 36.49% in below 5 acres holding and 56.61% in the above 5 acres holding in the alternative over the old farm plan.

Table IV : Showing the value of addl. input, output, net income, family labour income and farm business income of selected cultivators on per acre basis.

Size group (in acre)	Below 5 acre	Above 5 acre
Average size of hold- ing of selected culti- vators (In acre)	4.61	7.64
Addl. input (In Rs.)	20.92	15.85
Addl. output (,,)	72.12	50.55
Addl. net income (,,)	51.20	35.20
Addl. family labour income (,,)	57.85	39.28
Addl. farm business income (,,)	59.53	40.75

The table above reveals that by adopting a moderate and partially changed alternative plan a farmer of lower size group on an average invests an addl. sum of Rs. 20.92 per acre and in return gets a gross income of Rs. 72.12, leaving a balance of addl. net income of Rs. 51.20 per acre. Similarly a large holder by addl. investment of Rs. 15.35. gets Rs. 50.55 as addl. gross income and Rs. 35.20 as addl. net income. The family labour income and farm business income have also increased simultaneously almost in the same order.

So far, the addl. investment and returns have been shown on per acre basis. The total addl. investment and returns on an average size of holding in the below and above 5 acres size group have been shown in the following table to give an overall picture of the economics of the holding by adopting alternative farm plan.

Table V : Showing the total addl. input, output, family labour income and farm business income in holding of selected cultivators, of below and above 5 acres.

Size group (in acre)	Below 5 acre	Above 5 acres
Average size of hold- ing of selected cul- tivators (in acre)	4.61	7.64
Addl. input (in Rs.)	96.44	117.27
Addl. output (in Rs.)	332.47	386.20
Addl. net income (in Rs.)	236.03	270.45
Addl. family labour income (in Rs.)	266.68	299.71
Addl. Farm business income. (in Rs.)	274.43	311.33

The ratio between addl. input and output in both the size groups is 1 : 3 approximately.

FARM PLANNING IN KALYANPUR

CASE STUDIES

To arrive at the conclusion as to how the addl. income and output have been arrived at, the case studies of two crops namely paddy & wheat, are given in the following tables. In the case of paddy, cultural changes to existing pattern were transplanting of seedlings in lines, top-dressing with Ammonium Sulphate at the rate of 20 lbs. nitrogen per acre and inter-culture by paddy weeder. In case of wheat cultivation the changes in alternative over old farm plan were introduction of green-manuring in Kharif, use of superphosphate as basal dose, sowing seeds in line by bamboo funnel, hoeing and weeding and timely irrigation.

Table VI : Showing the addl. expenses incurred and income received from paddy crop on per acre basis in the alternative over old farm plan.

Plans	Old plan	Alternative Plan	Additional
Yield in mds.	10.25	16.50	6.25
Input	89.20	109.99	20.79
Output	134.82	226.94	92.12
Net income	45.62	116.95	71.33
Ratio of Addl. input & output	—	—	1:3.11

It can be seen from the previous table that by making little changes in the existing practices of paddy cultivation, the yield, output and net income have gone up from 10.25 mds., Rs. 134.82, and Rs. 45.62 per acre respectively in the old pattern to 16.50 mds., Rs. 226.94, and Rs. 116.95 in the alternative pattern of raising paddy crop.

Table VII : Showing the addl. expenses incurred and income received from wheat crop on per acre basis in alternative over old plan.

Plans	Old plan	Alternative plan	Addl.
Yield in Mds.	9.75	14.75	5.00
Input	168.40	202.94	34.54
Output	208.98	320.29	111.31
Net income	49.58	117.35	76.77
Addl. input output ratio :			1:2.21

The above table shows that by introducing improved cultural practices in wheat cultivation, the yield, output and net income have gone up from 9.75 mds., Rs. 208.98 and Rs. 40.58 per acre respectively in the old plan to 14.75 mds., Rs. 320.29 and Rs. 117.35 per acre in the alternative farm plan.

Addl. input and output ratio in the case of paddy is 1 : 3.11 and that of wheat 1 : 2.31.

CONCLUSION :

It can be concluded from the above study that the recommended improved agricultural practices have great potential in them. The need is to make the cultivators aware of them. For this purpose extension methods like demonstration etc., are to be popularised for convincing the farmers about the economic benefits of improved practices. The above study is in progress for the year 1963—64 to confirm the findings of 1962—63.

Farm planning has great potential in stepping up food production but to achieve success great patience, endeavour, constant zeal and devotion are the pre-requisites of a planner for the planning and execution of farm plans. He should be very sound technologically also and have a basic background of agricultural economics and rural sociology. His approach should be on the principles of extension education. Since it is a very slow process, there is no short cut method to achieve spectacular results.

Planning at the micro level in the national agricultural economy of the country is the sine qua non of the successful execution of schemes aimed at increased production per unit of cultivation. A well-developed farm plan for a farm unit, used as a guide to operations and in conjunction with record keeping to measure results, helps a farmer put his resources to more profitable production.

It is an attempt to work out a complete plan for the benefit of a farmer in the direction of getting more stable and larger earnings. It is to be remembered that it is easier and safer to meet a farm problem with an imperfect plan rather than with no plan at all.

IN A DEFENSIVE MOOD

A. K. MAITRA

There is complete agreement that the Defence of India is of paramount importance. "Breathes there the man with soul so dead" as to dispute this? Politicians of all shades of opinion (and in our country politicians are also of paramount importance so much so, that confusion often arises as to what is the ultimate objective, the good of the country or the good of the politicians) have given free and frequent expression to this sentiment—sincerely by a few, vociferously by many and hypocritically by others. However, it is by no means clear as to what our defence is threatened by. Is it some outside enemy (with the passage of time, it is to be remembered as a lesson of history, friends and foes change sides with sickening rapidity), is it an emasculated philosophy of life, is it corruption, is it greed to make money even at the expense of independence, is it foreign aid with invisible strings? Or is it the combined offensive of an "axis" in which all these factors have entered into an alliance?

How are the great masses of people giving their daily verdict on this, is difficult to ascertain in the absence of any tested apparatus to measure it. However, it can be taken for granted that a vague general feeling exists that it is better to be misgoverned by one's own nationals than to be governed well by aliens.

Thus any measure that the Government in power may take to strengthen our national security should evoke our unequivocal support. The Government on the other hand, being democratic in character in theory, is

expected to take the people into confidence so that they clearly understand the methods and the purpose of the Government and the mechanism, the pattern and the working of the measures the Government is adopting to achieve the desired objective. Simply by transmitting some noble message from time to time from a raised platform, in imitation of the divine messages that the air-borne Gods were credited with in the 'Puranas', national conscience and solidarity cannot be forged now—the link with divinity having been irretrievably broken off.

The Government must take the people into confidence, in word and deed, to enlist its unstinted and unflagging co-operation and support. Taking into account the emotional make up of our people, support may be unstinted in the beginning but it may peter out in the long run. Thus every means must be employed to ensure that it does not wither under the scorching rays of governmental (bureaucratic) formalities. It is the duty of the ruling politicians, more than the executive officers, to achieve the peoples' participation in the defence efforts. It is they who must set the example and call the people to emulate them. If the action of the ruling politicians precipitates towards making inflammatory speeches only, the passions of the people will be inflamed but their energy will not be harnessed to constructive activity.

By its action, by its devotion to the cause, by upholding the truth, public relations which appear to be lamentably weak, can be strongly re-established. Unless this is done, the situa-

tion is likely to remain fraught with grave danger. The Government may not get the full co-operation of the people it so righteously expects and the people, lacking proper enlightenment as to aims and achievements of the Government may remain dubious and uncertain. Knowledge of the true state of affairs is the most important, vital and permanent link that binds the Government with the people and if this is withheld, spontaneous response from the people may not be forthcoming. There will be a few exceptional cases, where it is prudent to withhold knowledge from the people for the time being, but it must be borne in mind that such secrecy must be purely of a temporary nature and any tendency to impart to it a semblance of permanence will arouse the suspicion that motives other than those of the security of the country, are the major reasons. Such permanent concealment is clearly detrimental to the nation's larger interests and would breed tyranny and oppression, corruption and injustice, which in the process of time will recoil not only on the ruling politicians but more severely on the people as a whole. After all, Government is for the people and if the people lose and those who run the Government gain, it will be a national loss and a race towards disintegration.

Defence of India must have the unqualified support of all right thinking people and as thinking is an important ingredient of the subject, the actions taken for such defence must withstand at least a cursory scrutiny. As a matter of fact, it must be capable of bearing the most incisive test. In promulgating our theory of defence, we cannot beat a hasty retreat, we have to take the offensive and to hold our own.

How do circumstances reveal themselves in the light of what has been said above? It

has been stated that the method, purpose and the working of the measures taken, have to be made clear. Cases have come up before trying magistrates in which charges have been framed by the police under the Defence of India Rules against ordinary humdrum people who by the wildest stretch of the imagination cannot be conceived as putting the defence of India out of gear. If one is to take seriously the view that these people are capable of putting the defence of India in jeopardy, as the authorities seem to do, then surely it is in a terrible mess. A shopkeeper who had two kilograms of mustard oil without licence was alleged to have been arrested under the D. I. Rules. Another day-labourer who, to provide food to his hungry family, had bought 10 kilograms of rice from an unauthorised vendor was arrested under the D. I. Rules. The magistrate let off the accused in one such case with caustic comments against the police. People are left to wonder whether conventional criminals and anti-social activities are at such a low ebb that the police had to fritter away their energy in such a manner. If they have nothing else in their hand it may be suggested that they may be more usefully employed in checking the traffic violations by taxis, lorries, buses and particularly State Buses. If they do that, many lives may be saved. Or is it that the overall food situation has assumed such complexity that the authorities are completely out of their depth and they are in frantic search for scape-goats? Do the authorities know that in and around Calcutta, to pick up one instance, there is a large force of floating labour without any ration cards and if they know, what provisions have they made for them? If they set about procuring food they will be criminals in the eyes of the law. Many of these labourers are engaged in

house and road building projects sponsored by the Government. Is one to arrive at the conclusion that the Government has to depend on criminals to carry through its projects? Or is it that the police have found an easy way out by the application of the D. I. Rules to write up its monthly reports of activities and to keep up their statistics?

We do not know why the D. I. rules were to be invoked in such petty cases and the authorities do not seem to care whether people are properly enlightened. In the process of enlightenment, it is the truth that is of paramount importance and not party propaganda. At this critical juncture, it is time to realise that our country is much more important than the interests of any party whatever its connotation may be. The broadcasting system is a powerful instrument of disseminating information far and wide. It seems strange that the All India Radio is engaged totally in broadcasting ideas held by the Government alone so that its news items emit a stale odour. The question arises why it should be made a carrier of the Government's views to the exclusion of everything else? It smacks of totalitarianism. As a national institution, may we not legitimately expect that other points of view, though these may differ from the Government's, may find adequate expression through the broadcasting system? Such diversity of views will not only stimulate the listeners but may have the salutary effect of sharpening the wits of spokesmen on behalf of the Government. Ordinarily such spokesmen are apt to be pompous and complacent. Preventing the people from making an intelligent and realistic appraisal of the situation will not serve the purpose of our defences.

Some of the acts of commission under the

D. I. Rules may seem stranger—strange may seem some of the acts of omission.

No exemplary action under the D. I. Rules appears ever to have been taken against so-called black money. It has been openly admitted by the Government that an incredibly large amount is freely circulating, the extent of circulation is such as to upset the planned economic development of the country. Yet no systematic action has been taken against the leading operators. On the other hand these people are being coaxed and cajoled in the manner that nurses employ in making recalcitrant babies drink milk. Is there some tangible connection between black money and blackmailing, i. e., if too much fuss is made, is the Government likely to get into hot waters?

Black money implies that trade is not being run in proper channels. It means goods are being sold at prices far higher than the sellers can legitimately charge or bill for. Black money thus can flourish only in a black market. In India, Government is the biggest buyer and amongst Govt. Departments, Defence is one of the biggest. Thus the biggest blow falls on the Government and it is bearing the onslaught with an equanimity and accommodation of spirit that saints may aspire for in vain. But so much forbearance may disrupt defence, though its spiritual merits may be very great. Modern defence is built up on and around purchases of goods which consist of thousands of various items, small and big. The Government must be buying all these goods from profiteers and black marketwallahs at exorbitant 'black' prices. Defence expenses have thus connections with persons who are in their turn part and parcel of the black markets. Battles might have been lost for a horse-shoe; but wars will

definitely be lost for lack of spare parts and other goods. We have become reconciled to adulterated food (I will revert to it later) but what would happen if raw materials of munitions were adulterated ?

India was a land of magic ; the tradition is not lost. Very often we witness feats of the most astounding vanishing tricks -- tricks performed not with rabbits or pigeons but in respect of essential food stuffs e. g., rice, pulses, oils, vanaspati, etc. The magicians who have specialised in these tricks have a roaring practice, I wonder why they do not tour Europe and America to show their feats abroad. Their heads would perhaps be so much in demand there that they would have to come back without their heads. This is a contingency that comes entirely under the realm of speculation and however pleasant the dream may appear to some, no definite hopes on the subject can be held out. Such indulgence in these vanishing tricks weakens out defensive system. These are cases of scarcity amidst plenty. It results in waste of foreign exchange (food is imported) which could have been utilised in buying more effective war-equipment ; it results in frustration amongst the civil population who form the second line of defence. It may be remembered in this context that it is struggle carried on by the civil population that, more than anything else, brought freedom to India and lack of resistance on their part may have serious consequences. Again, no really sensational cases against these precious magicians under the D. I. Rules have come to light. It appears that D. I. Rules are ineffective in these spheres also. These spheres enshroud amongst others baby-food and important drugs. Reactions in the fish market are also patently fishy.

One comes to the conclusion, in the

absence of any evidence to the contrary, that the D. I. Rules are incapable of doing anything really effective and big. To use a Bengali phrase it kills moles and in so doing it creates stink.

The Defence of India is a very big thing. We must not suddenly wake up with a start to the idea of defence only when the enemy is at the door-step. The history of India has many instances of our volatileness. We start with great pomp and determination and then suddenly everything melts away. We have to fight against this historical trend as a first step in defence and this is no easy matter. We have to think of defence in peacetime. It must engage our attention all the time and all our activities in all other spheres are to be so co-ordinated that the total effect is the strengthening of defence. Even our five year plans must be subservient to it ; because if it does not make us strong in our defence, it serves a very hollow purpose. A re-orientation of our outlook must take place and it must be remembered that major anti-social activities in the long run turn out anti-defensive in nature and the more anti-defensive the more heinous such activities are. This provides us with a yardstick for measurement of anti-social activities. In the context of the tame, timorous non-interfering and amorphous character of our society, it is rather a difficult conception. Sudden eruptions of violence do not bespeak a social force ; social force is that integrated feeling which acts persistently, systematically and potently against the evils which have penetrated into our society, and this is what we patently and precisely lack.

It is the duty of leadership to inspire the whole nation not only into wooing the professed ideals but into doing what the ideals plainly call for. The leadership must not only

show the way but follow it. This, is shouldering a responsibility and holding a trust from which there is no getting away. If the leadership makes a mistake (mistakes may take place occasionally) as a result of which any section of the people suffers, but this suffering is not visibly reflected in the leaders, then it is to be concluded that between the leaders and the people there is an alien layer of separation which is dangerous.

Inflammatory speeches on the eve of any crisis inciting an easily swayed people into an emotional frenzy of a momentary nature do not serve the cause of defence. Calm judgment clear reasoning, sound knowledge, deep conviction and strong determination should be the mainsprings of our actions. Speeches will be judged not by their fireworks and rhetoric but by the deeds that follow. Our country has had enough of speeches, what is needed is action in conformity with speeches.

Another thing that has all the ingredients of a major muddle is why it is necessary to mobilise all our resources to ward off petty border skirmishes into which we are inveigled by Pakistan. International diplomacy comes into action when border incidents occur. All this noise over Nagas and Pakistanis boosts their morale and reduces our own morale.

In modern wars perhaps, the most important single force is the morale of the people. Morale is a compound of faith and confidence in future. Faith, that what one is fighting for is intrinsically just; confidence, that sacrifices made and hardship endured now will ensure a better future for the coming generation as a whole and not for a particularly small section of the people. If there is no hope that our struggles

will result in increased facilities as regards food, housing, education, medical care and employment, the spirit of fighting and resisting to the last will not survive. War brings out the real character of the people. By corrupting discipline, black marketing equipment and adulterating supplies, wars are not won. To win wars we require deadly honesty, unwavering determination and a deep sense of oneness. Modern weapons are also necessary but on the foundation of the characteristics mentioned above. If the foundation is lacking, the best weapons will not be of any avail.

Lastly on the policy of national defence, India must not be made the battle ground for other contending nations to settle their issues. France and Germany were the scenes of two of the most devastating wars in human history. Japan was the scene of the greatest crime on humanity, though the U. S. A. later have tried hard to atone for it. Indications are that the next war may flare up in the so-called backward countries of South East Asia. India is much too close to this area to maintain a complacent attitude. India must clearly guard against the possibility of war finding a lodgment on its soil. India is being tugged in two different directions—warfare and welfare—by two great Communist countries—China and Russia. Both are much too powerful for India. But affiliation of India with any of these powers will vastly strengthen the position of the successful candidate. Balance of power in the international sphere may change with dramatic unpredictability. Indian leaders must be very careful now or India may be converted into a battle-ground for the next global war with consequences far graver than anything the history of India has so far witnessed.

WHAT I SAW IN THE BORDER AREAS OF WEST BENGAL

Mrs. ILA PAL CHOWDHURY

It was a partly cloudy day, and the fleecy clouds covered a blue sky, the breeze rippled over the green paddy—the date palms waved, and the sweet note of the “Kokeel” throbbed in the air. Mango trees were heavy with fruit, the litchies in many places ripe and red and the jackfruit grew in tropical profusion.

To see this, it is difficult to visualise what happened and is happening in the Mekligunj border areas. The three points of disturbance, at Tinbigha, Karkare and Bakdogra, bear the scars yet.

Houses have been burnt and people left their homes under a sudden burst of firing.

Now they have all returned and are bravely living in this harassed area. From the Government side arrangements for C. I. Sheets to build the new houses have been made and, till the houses are ready, tents have been provided.

Some times one hears the remark that “the people of Bengal are easily frightened” and I have even heard some responsible Punjabi Special Security Branch Officers’ remark that “the people of Bengal are cowards” !!

It is indeed surprising that such remarks should be bandied about ! Such remarks are uncalled for and positively harmful at this juncture. They neither advance national integration, nor boost the morale of the people concerned.

Under sudden firing and mortar shelling there is always bound to be evacuation of the

civil population—it has happened everywhere, whether it be in Europe or in the Punjab.

If one’s house is set on fire, one will have to take shelter somewhere. This is common sense. It would be futile, surely, to stand and get burnt with the houses ! The difficulties of these areas are not fully realised sometimes when such remarks are made. The village, as we understand it in other parts of India, is not the same here. Two, three or four houses are bunched together at fairly great distances and are called “Teras”, this is the pattern of villages in these parts. Three or four male members in a small colony like this can hardly do much against sudden attack. The Government has now a scheme to rehabilitate the people of this area, in consolidated groups of at least 50 to 60 houses, thus enabling them to have confidence and solidarity. Secondly, these people were peace-loving people and did not have much truck with fire arms. Thirdly, tribal people who constitute a great deal of the population are easily confused.

In view of this, what is the picture that has ultimately emerged in these parts ? If we really see we would feel proud of our brothers in the border areas.

The police in our B.O. P’s did wonderful work and the civil population, although they had receded in the first place,—later in the face of heavy firing, dug trenches, reached amunitions and carried food to our police forces. In fact the courage and cool-

headedness of the civil population has been a matter for great admiration.

What is being done in these areas? This question naturally comes into the minds of most people. It is a joy to see what is being done. Mass rifle training is being sponsored by the Special Security Branch of the Central Government.

The civil population is enthusiastically taking training. In this area mass rifle training is being imparted by the 6th S.R.P., Gujrat Battalion.

The tea gardens have taken up this training scheme very effectively. The workers in the tea gardens now feel confident, that they can be the supporting line of defence should there be any aggression.

The women who work in the tea gardens, have turned out to be very good shots in many cases. The dark eyes of the Adibasi woman dance with joy as she gets a "bull's eye" on the target with the regular heavy army rifle. After all, skill with the bow and arrow runs in their blood!

I had the opportunity of meeting the commandant who is imparting the training in the tea gardens. He said, that "the women are really doing very well, it is beyond expectation."

The wives of the Bengalee staff in the tea gardens have also volunteered for rifle training and have developed a steady hand and a good eye. In fact sometimes they do better than the men. At the first firing, of the trained batch, as I watched them, the wife of one of the tea garden managers, got five bull's eyes, one after another, which was better than what anybody else could manage!

The Home Guard scheme is also working very well and in the whole tea area the garden

workers and staff turn out in their smart uniforms and it is pride and satisfaction that one feels when one watches them.

Screening for all rifle training is very effective in the tea gardens. The managers screen the people who volunteer for this thoroughly, as they usually know each person. When they are sent for advanced training there is again a thorough screening. Thus avoiding any chance of pro-Chinese or pro-Pakistani elements getting rifle training as far as tea gardens are concerned. This myth, that has been so much publicised of late that "thousands of anti-national elements are getting rifle training" has no factual basis.

In Dahagram, the narrow part that is India, while Pakistan is on one side and the Dahagram enclave on the other—poses difficulties. Here our B. O. P does very good work and gives adequate protection. The people go on this narrow road, overlooked by Pakistan on both sides within a stones throw, fearlessly and are going about their normal work, in circumstances that would probably be very unnerving for the average rural population anywhere in India. On the other hand, anti-national groups have been going for what would appear to be a planned programme of looting and harassment in these areas. They are dressed in the uniform of the Indian army and they stop cars and people and, perhaps, snatch minor things like fountain pens etc. The object is to make the people of the area feel dissatisfied and unsympathetic towards our army. This needs very strong action by our police, as this sort of thing takes away popular support for the army, which at such times is very necessary and vital.

In Dahagram enclave itself—1000 or more Hindu families that remain there are

being constantly harassed. I was told that a goonda type of population has been put in there and the minorities are being tortured in every way. Against acts like this, it is to be hoped that world opinion and all civilised opinion will prevail.

The Indian army, which is second to none, will surely protect the territory and borders of India; while the civil population, men and

women, will be the effective support, once they are equipped with adequate training and know how to use fire arms. It is not a question of whether there is need to protect India in Bengal or Punjab. The main question is that the people of India have that same determination and courage, whether it be in Bengal, Punjab or the South for the Indians are ready to protect India and fight for India.

IGNORANCE AND HUNGER CAUSE REVOLUTIONS

"There is plenty of Ignorance and Hunger in India : and these in France, according to Carlyle, caused the French Revolution.

"If the gods of this lower world will sit on their glittering thrones, indolent as Epicurus' gods, with the living chaos of Ignorance and Hunger weltering uncared for at their feet, and smooth parasites preaching peace, peace, when there is no peace, then the dark chaos, it would seem, will rise That there be no second Sansculottism in our earth for a thousand years, let us understand well what the first was ; and let Rich and Poor of us go and do *otherwise*."--Book III. last chapter.

Let us Indians also, Rich and Poor, go and do *otherwise* than what we have done hitherto."

Ramananda Chatterjee in *The Modern Review*, July, 1923,
Pp. 99-100)

CURRENT AFFAIRS

Consolidating The Plans

(Continued from page 104)

What has been happening ever since has been too well-known not to say too distressing to need reiteration in the present discussion. Shri Morarji Desai appeared to have placed too great a reliance on the assurances given to him by the concerned trades in the country that they would not take advantage of the situation of emergency for speculative gains for themselves and that nothing would be allowed to affect the supply and prices of essential consumables such as food grains, cloth and other essentials of existence. But by the time the next taxation budget was formulated in March next year, speculative hoarding and other pressures by the more powerful sectors of the trade had reduced the situation to such a shambles that there was no conceivable means by which either the Government or the public could contain the raging price pressures that had eventuated in the meanwhile. When, eventually, the taxation budget was, at last, presented to Parliament and which was described as the most massive-ever tax effort of the Government, the expectations of any possible deceleration in the mounting price pressures that might have been entertained in the meanwhile, were wholly dashed to the ground. The taxation budget was formulated with no regard for the well-known canons of public taxation except that of deriving the requisite volumes of revenue with the least trouble, whatever its consequences may be to the economy in general. It should be mentioned that even before the 1963-64 budget was formulated, the trends in public taxation had already been following a process of increasing proportions of indirect taxation with not a little of the burden being placed upon excise revenues to be derived from essential consumables. This had its corresponding effect upon the price structure and the trend was further substantially extended in the new budget considerably accentuat-

ing the inflationary potentials that had already been invested in the taxation structure of the country. While presenting his last year's Budget to Parliament, the present Union Finance Minister, Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, frankly admitted this evil potential of the existing taxation structure although he has done nothing effective to obviate this. As a result the country has been living continuously in the midst of a price crisis which has become endemic since the beginning of 1963 and from which no relief so far seems to be in sight. In fact, in course of a recent public pronouncement, the Vice Chairman and Chief Executive of the Planning Commission, Shri Ashoke Mehta, was reported to have stated that no substantial relief from the increasing price pressure was in sight in view of the burdens of the twin requisites of defence and development and the people must reconcile themselves to continue to live with it for an indefinite period in the future.

It would be idle, therefore, to claim, as has been done by official spokesmen from time to time, that increasing price pressures in the economy have flowed from the requirements of increasing defence appropriations in the budget from year to year since 1962-63. There are evidences to prove that neither the Government nor the Planning Commission bestowed the necessary consideration to the need for containing the raging price pressure in the economy while providing for additional defence and development appropriations. Several factors have contributed to the situation. First and foremost, not adequate attention was paid to the urgent need for the development of agricultural production as a base for over-all and ordered economic development and in the Second Plan priorities and, especially so in the Third Plan, the necessary priorities for the development of the requisite infra-structure for agricultural

development were not accorded. Alongside of this, such overwhelming emphasis was placed upon the rapid and massive development of an industrial base, that this served as a disincentive in agriculture. Other consumption industries also suffered in comparison, with the result that supplies have been only marginally adequate, making them easily amenable to heavy price pressures. Additionally, Plan implementation has consistently continued to fall short of estimated and expected performance causing a corresponding imbalance between the money supply and the supply of goods, all of which have been additionally loading the price factor.

There has also been another very important additional factor operating in the process to which deprecatory references have been made from time to time but to effectively deal with which the Government have utterly failed so far. We refer to that very large volume—the exact dimensions of which do not seem to be known to anybody—of **black money** which is being currently euphemistically referred to as **unaccounted money**. The dimensions of this money has been variously estimated at anywhere between Rs. 2,000 crores and Rs. 3,500 crores. It may, in fact, be a little less or even more. But what makes its operations so sinister is that it cannot be brought under the purview of the disciplines, fiscal and monetary, to which the organized credit sector is subject. Nor has there been made any serious attempt by successive Finance Ministers to devise necessary measures to completely freeze and immobilize it which is what should be done. Other countries, even among the under-developed nations of South-east Asia, have suffered from a like disease in their economy and some of them have been able to devise means for at least very substantially immobilizing it. Given the boldness and the honesty of purpose, one fails wholly to understand why it should not be possible to obtain like results in this

country also. Our Government appear to have been following a very curious expedient in this regard. Even in the last Union Budget (1965-66), the Finance Minister included certain special provisions to deal with this class of money-holders which, in effect, were tantamount to very substantial concessions if they would disclose their holdings and pay the taxes due on them within a certain period. The Finance Minister was asked if he had any other more effective devices in view if the concessions offered failed to evoke the necessary measure of response, to which he was reported to have very boastfully replied that he had ample and effective measures in contemplation which he would not hesitate to apply if the concessional offers given in the Budget were not taken advantage of. The time limit set was until the 31st of May last and the amount of tax money derived from this source from all over the country as reported in the press within the prescribed period was about Rs. 50 crores which means, that the gross funds against which the tax thus has been paid would be approximately Rs. 125 crores. If the volume of existing **unaccounted money** is computed at even as low a level as only Rs. 2,000 crores, the effectiveness of Mr. Krishnamachari's latest measure to bring this within the disciplines to which the credit market is subject would seem to have almost wholly failed of its purpose. The time for soft-soaping such anti-social elements as the holders of black money has long been past and drastic and deterrent measures would seem to be immediately called for to deal with them. The least they would seem to deserve is the complete freezing of their assets in this behalf and it should certainly be possible to devise effective means to do so? We have, in these columns, suggested several measures in the past towards such an end. An important one in this respect was that all hoards of food grains wherever discovered—and it should not be difficult to discover them given the

requisite honesty of purpose on the part of the investigators—should be wholly confiscated to the public pool without any compensation whatever, unless it were possible to prove by the hoarders concerned that this were being financed by legitimate sources of credit. This one measure, we feel sure, would very substantially eliminate a fairly considerable proportion of **unaccounted money** from the market.

The consciousness would now at long last appear to have been dawning that one of the principal factors leading to the present spiralling upwards of prices has, apart from the incidental causes already mentioned above, primarily been the wide disparities, first in agricultural allocations in the Plans and, secondly, the inadequate development quantum in relation to the outlays undertaken. The inescapable result of such a situation has been to generate a volume of demand on the one hand that supplies could never expect to meet even to a remote extent and, on the other, that the price position, already critical as a result of this situation, has been further aggravated beyond all reasonable measure by speculative pressures upon only marginally available supplies of food and other essential consumables.

Agricultural Priorities

The low priorities accorded to agricultural development—however vociferously the Party and the administration may seek to repudiate the fact—would be evident from the fact that the percentage of expenditure on agriculture in the First Plan was only 15, 11 in the Second Plan and 14 in the Third Plan of the total. Comparably, the allocation to industries rose from about 4 per cent in the First Plan to 20 per cent in the Second and to 25 per cent in the Third Plan. Among the infra-structure for agriculture, the allocation for irrigation, which was 16 per cent of the total in the First Plan, fell to 9 per cent in the

Second and was further reduced to about 6 per cent in the Third Plan. This low priority in agricultural allocations would appear to have been correspondingly reflected in the actual incidence of production. Food grains production, which was estimated to have been at the level of approximately 50 million tonnes in 1950-51, rose by about 30 per cent to 65 million tonnes during the First Plan period (by the end of 1955-56) and rose, further to only 77.5 million tonnes or by 18.4 per cent by the end of 1962-63, that is, throughout the Second Plan period and during the first two years of the Third Plan. It is also significant that by far the largest proportion of expenditure on irrigation was covered by expenditure on staff, largely derived from urban areas.

It is also equally significant that while the proportion of expenditure on agricultural development (including irrigation) fell, total expenditure on the Second Plan doubled compared to that of the First Plan and in the Third Plan there was a further doubling of expenditure compared to that of the Second Plan. The consequential tax burden has been more than proportionately heavier, a great deal of which the agriculturist had to bear not merely in direct and indirect taxation, but also in the increased prices. It is claimed that this last has not been an unmixed evil for the agriculturist must also have benefited from the more or less 30 per cent rise in agricultural prices that had been evinced in the meanwhile. This is a claim which would seem to disregard the especial features of our existing agricultural economy. Such a claim could have been sustained only if it were true that the agricultural community in the country as a whole generally have a substantial marketable surplus from out of what they normally produce. It has to be borne in mind in this connection that some 10.9 per cent of our rural households own no land at all, the holdings of the next 30.7 per cent of the households are less than 1 acre each

and a further 14.6 per cent own no more than about 2.5 acres of land per household. This means that approximately 56.2 per cent of the rural households have no marketable surplus—indeed their production fall far short of their own consumption requirements—and cannot, therefore, be expected to benefit from the rise in agricultural prices that has occurred in the meanwhile. On the contrary, the burden of this rising prices would be bound to fall on them as adversely as on any other community in the country who have to depend on market supplies at current prices for their basic food requirements.

Wages and Prices

It is also claimed that price rises have been more or less compensated by corresponding rises in the wage rates where the large majority of fixed wage earners are concerned and, in most cases, where industrial labour is concerned, cost of living allowances have been linked to price indices with the result that price increases are sought to be compensated by corresponding increases in the money income. This, to any one who is familiar with the mechanism of prices in an inflation-market, would appear to be indvidious reasoning of a particularly mischievous character. In the first instance, the proportion of fixed wage earners in the economy as a whole is practically infinitesimal compared to the total army of the employed or partially employed. Besides, what is even more important is that the proportion of the unemployed, visibly, is practically immeasurable in its vast magnitude. No reliable data as regards the real measure of unemployment in the country would appear to have yet been worked out by the appropriate working group of the Planning Commission nor by any of the other concerned agencies of the Government. According to a study undertaken by a young lecturer in economics published in

these columns some time ago, the incidence of unemployment in the country as a whole was computed at very nearly a 100 million persons. This may be an exaggeration. Likewise, a team of foreign experts recently worked out the figure at something like 70 millions which, again, may be an under-estimation. But even accepting this lower figure as more realistic, the burden of unemployment would seem to be colossal even after more than 14 years of development planning and when regard is had to the fact that according to the latest Census estimations, there would be an annual addition of some 10 millions to the country's unemployed personnel, the effect of price rises of the measure already experienced would seem to be completely back-breaking.

It is obvious, therefore, that however one might try to link wages to prices, the effort could cover only a very small proportion of the country's population, while the vast majority would continue to suffer from its burdens. The other inevitable consequence would be that such a situation would be bound to slow down the rate of increase in production in every sector of enterprise. It is a vicious circle, that development planning of the order and in the manner in which it is being essayed in the country to-day, would appear to have landed us into, and there does not seem to be any point in the circle at which a break-through might be possible with a view to retrieving the economy from its present dismal state. It is not necessary in this context to enter into the argument as to whether the country is really facing bankruptcy or not. When a country is unable to provide the very basic minimum of food and clothing, housing and other essential amenities, it is quite irrelevant as to whether she remains still technically solvent; it is obvious that she is unable to meet the very basic obligations, that her Government would be expected to shoulder.

Problems In The Economy

It should be pertinent, in this context, to ask a few basic questions and try to find answers to them and to analyse as to whether the answers conform to the Plan structure as it was sought to be erected by the agencies concerned.

The very first and basic question that would seem to arise in this context is what are the basic problems of the economy? The answer is obvious.

First and foremost, the feeding, clothing, housing, education, public health and other such basic requirements of a population of some 450 million people (at the stage when the country first launched into planned development). It was a commendable desire on the part of the Government of the country to seek to stimulate the economy to a process of growth by which the extremely poor standards of living of the people could be progressively raised to a more adequate and respectable standard. Our agriculture was primitive and was hardly able to produce enough to provide the very minimum food requirements of the people. Industries were even more inadequate to provide the other amenities of progress towards a more wholesome living standard. Capital was scarce and the rate of capital formation in the country, in conformity with the low rates of production in all fields of enterprise, was extremely slow.

It was envisaged that if the business of introducing a tempo of growth were left to private enterprise alone, the rate of progress would be extremely slow and would hardly be expected to cover the requirements of the annual additions to the population in the conditions then obtaining in the country. Besides, a major share of whatever progress would be evinced would continue to be appropriated by the leaders of industry and commerce and the people as a whole would continue to wallow in their miserable living conditions

for indefinite periods in the future. It was, therefore, decided that the Government would take upon themselves a progressively increasing share in developing the economy, both by way of new investments as well as control and management of the sources of production, so that the benefits of increased production may be more evenly dispersed over the entire community.

The facts, primarily, of the economy would, therefore, seem to be, first, that capital for new investments was scarce and the Government assumed the responsibility of acquiring larger proportions of capital resources than would be normally available and controlling and managing its investment. Secondly, with a view to ensuring a balanced and even rate of development, Government assumed the power to allocate investments of both public and private capital in accordance with a plan that would be formulated for over-all development under their sponsorship and control. The question as to whether it was either necessary or even wise for the Government to assume control of the sources of production and their management, having regard to the lack of both adequate experience and administrative resources in the field was only incidental, and what would appear to have been of more paramount importance was that the Plans as formulated covered the requisites of progress while, at the same time, were to be in conformity with the basic facts of the economy as it subsisted.

This is the point where planning would appear to have gone all wrong. Planning, on analysis of facts, would appear to have been undertaken to conform not to the basic facts of the residuary economy, but to those of the particular fads and fancies of the powers that were. From the very initial stages, it would appear, the heaviest emphasis would seem to have been laid upon a technology-based capital-intensive structure of development which would appear to have been a repudiation of the conditions upon which the superstructure

of development was ostensibly sought to be raised. It is conceded that there would have to be certain basic producer industries which could only be developed in accordance with the requisites of large-scale organization. But as to whether they should be overwhelmingly technology-based and, consequently capital-intensive in organisation and structure, should have been determined by the basic conditions of the economy. The use of advanced technology, as recently averred by an eminent American economic thinker, is primarily a concession to **labour scarcity** and, according to the same source, its employment in an underdeveloped economy may prove to be ruinous, presumably because such a process would seem to ignore the basic problems of such an economy, that of providing the most wide-based area of employment within the comparatively scarce amount of capital available within the economy.

That is one of the primary problems of the Indian economy in particular. Development has to have the primary objective of creating new employment opportunities for a residuary unemployed of the order of some 70 to 100 million employables while, at the same time, creating scopes for further employment opportunities for the absorption of some 10 millions every year. What was sought to have been accomplished under the Plans, it would seem, was first to create what has been described as the sinews of self-generating and self-sustaining development so that some time in the remote future employment opportunities of the order required would be automatically generated within the economy. Such a view of the matter would seem to ignore the fact that by the time such a stage could be reached, even if the tempo of development in all its various sectors could have been maintained at the estimated levels both as regards investment and production, there would be such a heavy back-log of the unemployed in the country, that the expected millenium would continue to re-

main an ever-receding goal, in every different field of enterprise in the economy.

Unfortunately, it would seem that this is one of the primary requirements of development that has been consistently ignored in formulating the successive Plans. A heavy emphasis in the development programmes would appear to have been laid upon the development of technology-based heavy basic producer industries ignoring, more or less entirely, the corresponding claims of light consumer industries as a balancing factor. A census of employment incidences in most of these industries would be bound to reveal the fact that although primarily capital-intensive in their financial implications (that is in the quantum of capital investment per unit of labour employable for obtaining optimum production), most of such industries have a labour-intensive operational organization, with the result that productivity has been largely ignored. To cite an example, in a public sector integrated steel plant at its 1 million tonne capacity level which should have been able to obtain optimum capacity production with a labour force of less than 6,000 men, the actual number of personnel employed exceeded 17,000. Productivity in a heavily over-manned industry would naturally be in the inverse proportion to the number of persons employed over the scheduled capacity, and cost of production would be higher in direct production. This may be one of the reasons among several others why public sector enterprises continue to run at a considerable loss while private sector industries show a gradual and progressive rise in their profit earning from year to year, although the production incidence remains comparatively at a low ebb.

Another equally basic fact of the economy that would appear to have been virtually ignored in the Government's anxiety to rapidly modernise society and life in the country, is that the economy was primarily agrarian and rural, agricultural occupations providing subsistence, directly

and indirectly, to well over 80 per cent of the population. The methods employed in agricultural production, moreover, were most primitive and knew hardly anything of the benefits of irrigation water and chemical manuring. It was initially well-conceived that efforts should be made to somewhat modernise the processes of agriculture by providing irrigation water to enable it to become free of the mercy of the seasons and to enable the benefits of intensive cultivation to be provided by the availability of chemical fertilizers. But this objective appears to have receded in the background with the subsequent Plans after the first, although the agricultural population was made to share the burdens of industrial development through increasing taxes, direct and indirect, and by reason of steadily increasing prices. The claim that rising agricultural prices would benefit the agricultural worker, as already demonstrated, ignored the fact that farming, for the overwhelming proportion of our agricultural workers, remains at a subsistence level and it was not, therefore, possible for them to benefit from the rising agricultural prices in the country, except to a comparatively smaller sector of the agricultural population. It is the trade that mostly benefits out of rising prices and the actual agricultural producer has to share burdens of this price pressure equally with the rest of the community.

It appears to have been recognized that agriculture was unable to sustain the heavy burden it had to bear in this country and the need to wean away a progressively increasing proportion among the agricultural workers to other occupations appreciated. The history of our medieval economy (it still remains virtually medieval in structure) would seem to point to the fact that since actual work in the field in agricultural occupations did not call for more than 100 to 120 day's labour in the year, most agricultural workers had a subsidiary occupation to fall back upon during the seasons of lean agricultural occupations. A look at the innumer-

able caste-nomenclatures in the country would seem to support such a view of the matter, for most of them have been occupational in meaning. Instead of completely weaning away a certain proportion of the agricultural workers from the fields and their rural homes and inducing them to migrate to suburban and slummy industrial complexes, it might have been a more wholesome process to provide more modernized sources of subsidiary occupation to them within their own environments. This is exactly what it has not been done with the result that the feeble efforts to develop and organize handicrafts and cottage industries under official patronage that have been in evidence have set in a process of urbanization which has been fast creating more problems than they should ever be expected to solve. For one thing, they have been multiplying the growth of miserable slums which have already become one of the most colossal social and economic problems of the day. They have, moreover, created problems of housing which the Government are patently unable to cope with. But what is even more important, this process has been responsible for occasioning a disincentive in agriculture, which is one of the heaviest stumbling blocks today on the way to agricultural development.

Put The Clock Back ?

One could enumerate the innumerable problems that the present process of development planning has been creating in the country without being able to solve any of the old subsisting ones, almost indefinitely. It would not be an exaggeration to hold that planning has been entirely wrongly conceived, ignoring as it did the basic problems in the economy. With the result that the country has now arrived at a stage of confusion and distress from which it is almost impossible to pull out. It is with some reason that a certain school of opinion in the country pleads that planning should be discarded even at this late stage and the

natural laws of economic adjustments allowed to take over to arrive at some sort of stability in the remote future, even if it may mean the continuance of the present miserable state of affairs for an indefinite period. There are others who with equally cogent reason seem to hold that all future planning should be wholly agriculture-oriented, leaving industrialization, at least for the time being, at the stage where it has arrived upto the present times. In either case, it would be virtually putting the clock back, an expedient which we could not afford to adopt with the heavy load of foreign and internal debts and other obligations that we have acquired in the process. The Prime Minister, following his recent conference with a team of World Bank representatives in New Delhi is reported to have advised a year's suspension of the initiation of the Fourth Plan and a wholesale concentration, in the meanwhile, upon the development of our agricultural potentials only. This is wise advice, on the face of it. But the question will still continue to demand an answer as to what may be done to retrieve the situation in respect of the heavy investments already incurred in other fields of enterprise?

Consolidation—The Only Way Out

The only reasonable answer to the present impasse would seem to be what the World Bank President is already reported to have advised—consolidation of the investments of the past Plans. We cannot, surely, afford to write-off our investments of the past 14 years simply because in our unwisdom we have not utilized them wisely and well? A large proportion of this capital, we must realise, is borrowed both at home and abroad and in the present stage of development we do not appear to have earned the competence of even being able to pay the due interest on them out of their yields, let alone pro-

vide for their amortization. The only thing to do in the circumstances would, we feel, be to consolidate old investments, reorganize the related management to progressively give the requisite yield and hold over any but the absolutely minimum maintenance investment to enable this consolidation to be wholesomely achieved. In the meanwhile, all new investment, except where absolutely called for for purposes of consolidation of the old investments, such as provision of power and transport and marketing facilities etc., should be held over except in the agricultural sector. There should be ample concentration of both investment and effort in the agricultural sector to enable the basis of a surplus agriculture to be created. It should be recognized, belatedly though it may be, that a surplus agriculture is a basic requirement of rapid industrial development.

At the same time both administrative and economic measures must be devised and applied with a view to ensuring a stable price regime. Prices have already vitiated,—and they may well do so again in the future,—the very processes of development. A multi-pronged attack on this problem would appear to be immediately called for. There will have to be physical controls inevitably, but for purposes of effective physical controls a reorganization and consolidation of the concerned administrative machinery will have to be undertaken. There must be fiscal measures and monetary instruments also applied to the same purpose and, above all, the entire taxation structure will have to be re-examined and reorganized to divest it of its present heavy inflationary potentials. One may wonder if the Government have the strength, power, capacity and, above all, the imagination and the willingness to assume these responsibilities? If they have not, they will have to go, perhaps, sooner than they can visualize.

TIME TO DISCARD INFLATIONARY FINANCING

In course of a detailed Memorandum submitted by Union Finance Minister, T. T. Krishnamachari to the members of the Congress Working Committee and Chief Ministers of States now in conclave in Bangalore as we write, it is reported to have set out in fairly extensive details the present (and increasing) pressures on the country's economy and to have emphatically underlined the urgent need to completely give up the present dependence upon all forms of inflationary finance in respect of future Plan schemes. The Memorandum is reported to have made the following points:

1. It examines the current food situation in the country, especially in the perspective of the zonal system, statutory rationing and an ultimate move towards monopoly procurement if the situation does not turn for the better. It is suggested that the Government must acquire a commanding position in the marketing of foodgrains and rapidly expand monopoly procurement to ensure stability of food prices. It may not be possible, the Memorandum is reported to have underlined, to eliminate the present zonal system in view of the continuing crisis, but a more realistic and long-term national food policy is an urgent need of the moment. Rice prices which had come down by very nearly 10 per cent between October and January last and wheat prices by 12 per cent between January and early May, have again been steeply rising.

2. The Memorandum details the steps that have been taken to deal with the increasing inflationary pressures in the economy, both in respect of unearthing *unaccounted* money, as also to regulate bank credits, but suggests that even more stringent measures will have to be devised with a view to successfully containing the inflationary pressures and to check the accelerating rise of prices.

3. The Memorandum further suggests that the size of the Fourth Plan should be based on a *realistic assessment* (emphasis ours) of the available resources and those which the Centre and States may jointly agree in advance to raise additionally.

4. The Memorandum points out that in view of the high monetary demand generated by the increasing defence and development expenditure,

there is no scope at all for deficit financing and the aim should be to restore *balance to the budget* (emphasis, again, our own) this year by a most stringent scrutiny of expenditures, additional resource mobilization and reinforcing the machinery for tax collection.

5. The Memorandum says that while budgetary measures are important, it is also necessary to keep the over-all credit situation under constant review. Money supply, during 1963-64 expanded by a net 13 per cent and, although it fell to some 9 per cent in the following year, it has again since been rising.

6. Referring to the foreign exchange situation, the Memorandum underlines that on account of the critical foreign exchange situation in the country a considerable part of the new capacity created in the past few years remained unutilized for lack of maintenance imports which, although it was somewhat mitigated by aid from friendly countries, it was clear that our industries could not expect to run to full progressive increase in export earnings. This aspect of the situation has been acquiring increasing importance on account of the steadily increasing burdens of debt-servicing charges. The Memorandum, therefore, suggests that the time has come when it has become extremely urgent to shape India's economic Plans in such a manner as to reduce their foreign exchange contents to an absolute and irreducible minimum. India has been facing difficulties on foreign exchange ever since the beginning of the Second Plan which has now assumed critical levels. Faced with the extremely low level of foreign exchange reserves, which leaves little scope for manouverings, rising imports and exports remaining more or less static at a moderate level, the launching of the Fourth Plan will inevitably have to be done in an environment of rigid discipline in foreign exchange spendings.

7. As far as the price situation is concerned, the general index of wholesale prices had reached the all-time peak of 161 in January this year. Although the price level fell by some fifteen points until the middle of March last, prices have again been rising at an accelerated tempo.

8. On the question of prices and wages, the Memorandum says that while steps have been

taken to control inflation, very little attempt has been made to evolve a *coordinated* wages, profits and income policy. Increase in wages without a corresponding increase in productivity inevitably pushes prices upwards to the detriment of both the producer and the consumer. If there is a case for granting an increase, it should be done in such a way that it does not impose a pressure on demand. Wherever possible, reliefs should be given in the form of better retirement benefits, or savings certificates etc., which will help a family to plan its prosperity over a period instead of adding to the current inflated demand.

9. The most important part, the Memorandum avers, of an incomes policy is to ensure that support prices for agricultural commodities do not become an *"engine of inflation."*

The Memorandum has also listed some other necessary measures which it is considered desirable and necessary for dealing with the current economic situation in the country, especially in its inflationary aspects.

Although the Memorandum does not seem to say so in so many words, the primary implications of its theses would seem to be that in the present circumstances of the national economy with, on the one side, its overwhelming emphasis on inflationary sources of finance and, on the other, on a corresponding measure of inflationary pressures on the price structure, conditions are not very propitious for the launching of the Fourth Plan in the shape and size in which it has been formulated by the Planning Commission and which, with certain reservations, have been generally accepted by the Party and the Government as the very minimum requisite for the necessary progress towards a stage of take-off in the measurable future. Coming as this Memorandum did at the present juncture, it is read by many keen observers as not merely a statement of the economic faiths of the Union Finance Minister but also an instrument of political leverage for his position in the Cabinet. Such a view of the implications of the Memorandum would be likely to bring the Finance Minister sharply in conflict with some of his Cabinet colleagues as also with other Government and Party agencies in the country.

Read together with his earlier broadcast on

the subject, the Note is regarded by some as some sort of a notice both to the World Bank and other international agencies that T.T.K. would be glad to settle for a significantly attenuated Fourth Plan size, rather than agree to the terms and conditions for a larger and more liberal Fourth Plan foreign aid.

So far as his Cabinet colleagues are concerned, Mr. Krishnamachari's Note would be likely to bring him into sharp cleavage with, first of all, the Union Food Minister who, instead of wishing to pursue his earlier scheme for monopoly procurement and increasing physical and price control devices, appears to have been increasingly reverting to a position of virtual subservience to the trade. Although Mr. Subramaniam holds that he is as anxious and as keen as Mr. Krishnamachari to stabilize prices, he seems to have been increasingly realising that compulsion is unworkable in a climate of shortage, both immediate and prospective; a matter which has recently been brought into sharp focus over the controversy arising out of the Maharashtra Government's jowar procurement scheme.

There are two obvious aspects of the matter so far as this is concerned. In the first instance, in the event of deciding for a compulsive device for stabilizing food prices and maintaining supplies—a decision which was actually taken at the height of the last year's food crisis in the country—the State Governments, except for some of the deficit states, would not be likely to conform to the Centre's wishes in this behalf. But even most of the deficit States do not seem keen on accepting such a proposition on the supposed ground that they cannot be quite sure that the Centre would be willing or able to shoulder the responsibilities of maintaining supplies to their States to uphold such a decision. Another very cogent reason for the States' unwillingness to endorse the Centre's earlier decision to enforce total procurement and impose physical and price controls may be that with the general elections barely two years away, the States who will generally have to bear the principal brunt of both organising and financing the elections, are not any too keen to create a situation which is likely to affect the interests of the trade who, by and large, contribute the major share of the election funds to the Party. Secondly, most

States feel, and it is only realistic to do so, that they simply have not the administrative machinery to work a wholesome, foolproof and efficient system of monopoly procurement and controls.

In the result, the situation as it has been developing over the past one month since the onset of the lean sason in rice, is already threatening to once again lead to a crisis in the supply and prices of foodgrains of, perhaps, an even worse magnitude than with which the country was faced in 1963-64. This is obviously due to pressures created by deliberately engineered devices by the interested parties in the process with which the Government, in spite of all their claims to the contrary are either powerless to deal or to which they prefer to remain indifferent with deliberate intent.

It must be realised that the private sector has ever been dominant in the food grains trade in the country. The Government have no means of curbing the profiteering and anti-social activities of the trade under the present system of what may be described as the introduction of a *mixed economy* in the food grains sector of the country's trade. With several hundred million sources of supply, so far as internal production of food grains is concerned, and import incidences covering barely 5 per cent of the total available supply, any kind of curb on the activities of the trade would be inconceivable so long as the Government are not able to decide and reinforce their decision by the creation of the necessary machinery for wholesale and total procurement by Government agencies or, in other words, a complete take over of the food grains trade under the public sector. Mincing measures such as the Food Grains Corporation of India would be worse than useless to deal with a situation of the overt nuances with which the Government should have been quite familiar by now. On the contrary what they actually appear to have been doing has been to surrender whatever little initiative they might have seized under pressure of a crisis last year, leaving the consumer and the country entirely at the mercy of the profiteer at all stages of distribution of food grains to the consumer.

What would appear to be rather fatuously cunning in this connection is that the present

attitudes of the Union Food Ministry—they can hardly be given the name of thinking—is being justified on the ground that since large producers of foodgrains are withholding supplies to the market with a view to reaping a larger incidence of profits, it would be inimical to the Government's agricultural policy of providing incentives to the surplus agricultural producer, to impose compulsive edicts to curb their independent initiative. This is a most specious argument for less than 10 per cent of the country's agricultural producers produce a surplus harvest, some 40 per cent are just subsistence farmers and very nearly 50 per cent can only produce enough to cover their own consumption for barely half a year. But to this question we hope to revert in a more appropriate context.

But to return to Mr. Krishnamachari's Memorandum, it is almost inevitable that apart from some of his Cabinet colleagues, his note is not likely to prove very popular also within the Party enclaves. What this note would seem to virtually amount to is that the Fourth Plan should conform to the available resources and additional taxation incidences that it might be possible for the Centre and the States together to generate without recourse to such forms of taxation as would be likely to have an inflationary impact on the price structure. So far as the foreign exchange contents of the Plan is concerned, reading between the lines what the Union Finance Minister would seem to have been advising, is that bringing to bear the maximum incidence of import substitution on the one hand and export promotion on the other, any net foreign exchange earnings that may emerge as a result should mainly condition our foreign exchange outlay on the Fourth Plan. Acceptance of such a view of the matter would certainly be bound to slow down the rate of development in the immediate future and to that extent the Party would be losing a most valuable propaganda counter at the next general elections. But from the road of *no-return* which Planning would appear to have been following, this may, perhaps, be the only way to retrieve, to whatever extent possible, an otherwise irretrievable situation. But this we have already discussed at some considerable length in the preceding note.

WILLIAM MCDUGALL'S ANALYSIS OF SCHIZOPHRENIA

PRANAB KUMAR DE, M.A.

If you visit a reputed mental hospital, you will most probably be surprised to find a peculiar class of patients who, when asked any simple question, will offer you a vacant look and a meaningless face. If your curiosity is aggravated by the sorrowful picture of these unfortunate creatures and if you approach mental doctors for further information, they will give you to understand that the disease which these patients suffer from is the most acute form of psychosis known as Dementia Praecox or Schizophrenia.

The word "Dementia" generally means acquired mental deficiency. The patients who suffer from dementia originally possessed a normal and healthy mind, but this has undergone a process of decay. The prototype of this process is to be found in the gradual failure of intelligence in ripe old age.

“Last Scene of all,
That ends this strange eventful history,
Is second childishness and mere oblivion,
Sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans
everything”.
This is known as senile Dementia.

But in the case of "Emotional Dementia", the patient loses all interest in life ; expresses no desires or ambitions and sits from day to day in the same corner, inert and lethargic.

Meaning and Symptoms of Schizophrenia

Schizophrenia is the most disastrous form of psychogenetic disorder. But it is very difficult to define schizophrenia. There is no unanimity among psychologists and medical men on the question whether it is one disease or a group of diseases, or a system of bad habits. The main features of Schizophrenia are :—

Uncooperativeness, hallucinations (especially of hearing and sight), incoherent associations, poor judgment, deterioration of feeling and emo-

tion with an apparent apathy, disorder in the process of thought, etc. All these symptoms may not be simultaneously present in every case of Schizophrenia. But one feature is generally found to be common to all Schizophrenic patients, namely, "emotional apathy and indifference." Some of the patients seem extremely apathetic, while others show much emotional excitement and even the seemingly apathetic patients sometimes break out with violent emotional outbursts.

Schizophrenia may be aptly described as a dream state, a prolonged half-waking dream. The Schizophrenic patient interprets all sense experiences in terms of the imaginative preoccupations of the moment.

Is Schizophrenia curable?

Some authorities are of the opinion that the disorder is primarily an organic, degenerative disease and is essentially incurable. W. McDougall, however, does not belong to this group.

Some others hold that some at least of the cases can be cured, if skilfully dealt with at an early stage. The great champions of the Psycho-Analytic School have lent their support to this opinion. McDougall does not accept this point of view *in toto*.

Again, some cases of Schizophrenia are found to develop in the absence of any adverse circumstances. These cases are believed to be derived from a degenerative change due to a congenital defect of constitution. But certain other cases of this disorder seem to be produced by prolonged struggle with adverse circumstances. These cases can be cured by skilful treatment.

Cases of Schizophrenia :—The following two cases of Schizophrenia arranged in order of increasing severity will help to bring out the nature of this mysterious malady.

Case—(1) Dr. Milton Harrington has reported this case:

A young man "rather suddenly" became moody and depressed, and gave up work to spend his time in bed or lounging about the house. He indulged in violent outbursts, during which he talked incoherently and behaved in an irrational manner; his condition finally becoming so serious that it was necessary to commit him to a hospital.

Close investigation of this case revealed that the young man was the youngest of a large family and was taught to avoid difficulties rather than face and overcome them. But this man was ambitious. Sometime before the breakdown, this young man was promoted from an inferior post to one of considerable responsibility demanding more ability than he possessed. Consequently the affairs of which he was in charge had fallen into disorder. His vanity prevented him from seeking help from others and he became "more anxious and depressed." Conditions gradually worsened and the young man resigned from his post and went home to hide himself. After some few weeks of this life, his condition worsened further and he began to exhibit emotional outbursts. This was just a device to convince his relatives that he was really sick and needed rest. But this made matters worse and he was admitted in a mental hospital where he gradually improved and was discharged after six weeks.

Case—(2) The second case is more severe.

A young man aged twenty-three years was admitted to a mental hospital as a case of Schizophrenia of the Katatonic type.

This young man was over-indulged by a fond widowed mother and was timid, indolent and yielding before all difficulties. He was unsuccessful in all the jobs that he took and very often indulged in drinking and self-abuse.

Two years before he became a victim of Schizophrenia, he was engaged in a prolonged flirtation with a young married woman who was a friend of the family. This affair constantly provoked his sexual impulse and made him almost mad with sexual temptations. But as he was mentally very weak, he strongly repressed his impulse for fear of consequences. He was terribly afraid that he might be accused of having raped the woman. This dread made him restless, quarrelsome and fearful. Sometime later his fear of being accused arose in connection with

other women. Three weeks before admission to mental hospital, he began to hear imaginary voices which accused him of rape, and clearly pointed out his wretched condition. Five days before admission, he refused to speak, to take food and held his urine as long as possible.

He remained in this condition for eight months. After eight months he improved a little and smiled when spoken to, but still refused to speak. Later, this young man said that while he lay in bed indifferent and dumb, he was keenly alert and noticed everything around him. During the first few months, he continued to hear voices. These voices condemned him as a wretched creature who had before him nothing but all enveloping darkness. He also said later that he was so much overpowered with fear that he was afraid even to move, eat or urinate. He suffered from the idea that he might lose control of himself and commit a sexual assault upon some woman.

W. McDougall thinks that this patient, a poor victim of "Emotional Dementia" was dominated by the conflicting impulses of sex and of fear. There was also the unsatisfactory working of the sentiment of self-regard, indicated by the habitual shame, secrecy and yielding before all difficulties.

The chief symptoms of the second patient are: lack of interest in other persons, emotional apathy, dullness and indifference, hallucinations of hearing etc. But, what are these due to? McDougall thinks that this is due to the conflict of two dominant impulses—the impulses of sex and of fear. This mental conflict gave rise to perpetual preoccupation with self and lack of interest in other persons. All the available mental energy of the patient is absorbed in the construction of pleasant phantasies. The patient has lost all interest in life and is terribly afraid. This is why the patient has refused to speak and to move. The negativism of the patient is simply a manifestation of the incapacity to take judicious decision. The Schizophrenic's sentiment of self-regard being in the deadlock of impulses, cannot take quick decisions.

"But, with the continuance month after month of this self-absorbed brooding which never finds free outward expression in effective action,

but revolves always in the circle of incomplete inward activity, the mental powers in general atrophy. the life of rich fantasy gives place to an increasing dementia, until the patient 'glimmers dimly in corner of the asylum, dull-witted as a cow' (W. McDougall).

Liability to Schizophrenia

But the question still remains what type of men are particularly liable to Schizophrenia? W. McDougall seems to accept the analysis of Kretschmer. According to Kretschmer, Schizophrenia is a disorder to which persons of the Schizotypic or schizoid type are particularly liable. persons of the schizotypic type are characterised by a tendency to a life inside self, to the construction of a narrowly defined individual tone, or an inner world of dreams against things as they really are. of an opposition of 'I' and the 'world'. A tendency to a sensitive withdrawal follows. Among these are to be found eccentrics, egoists, idlers as well as idealists hostile to the world.

The Schizoid type thus corresponds to Jung's 'introverted' type. though the two are not exactly alike. Jung believes that Schizophrenia is merely an excessive degree of introversion. But, as McDougall points out, "there are marked introverted men who are not schizoid, i.e., are not prone to Schizophrenic disorder, though they

are liable to Neurasthenia." A simple introvert may succeed in maintaining sympathetic relations with his fellow beings. But the ego-centric introvert, who is the schizoid, does not know humour and is therefore peculiarly liable to this dangerous psychogenetic disorder.

William McDougall, however, thinks that excessive introversion is not alone sufficient for explaining Schizophrenia. It involves intolerable mental conflict and complete indifference. This indifference or irresponsiveness of the Schizophrenic mind distinguishes Schizophrenia from Neurasthenia. Hysteria and Manic Depressive psychosis.

William McDougall "accepts" the distinctions drawn between Hysteria and Schizophrenia by Prof. Bleuler and Prof. Kraepelin. Prof. Bleuler, for example, thinks that hysteria involves dissociation and schizophrenia is characterised by strong repression. But 'the effective splittings, which can be comparable to those of hysteria, are more lawless, worse determined, more massive, and then again not so pure and sharp as in hysteria, so that the worst contradictions can actually exist together. The Schizophrenic psyche is infinitely more split than the hysteric'.

McDougall adds that the "splitting" are not an expression of dissociation. They are the expression of "the essential integration of the whole system of mental functions."

A NEW APPROACH TO IRRIGATION AND POWER

W. RADHAKRISHNA

In India, rivers have had a powerful influence on national and local life. Successful agriculture in most parts of the country is not possible without the use of river waters. The large land resources of India cannot be put to use to productive utilization without a simultaneous development and use of the water resources. In fact, an integrated development of the land and water resources of India is of paramount importance to the country's economy.

Under certain favourable conditions, river waters provide a cheap source of power either directly or through the generation of hydro-electric power. In India, with oil and coal deposits confined to certain parts of the country, hydro-electric power has an important part in her development.

Irrigation is the life blood of Indian agriculture : unreliable rainfall and inadequate water supply have been major causes of India's scanty harvests, crop failures and, in the past, of famine. Realising the importance of irrigation and power in our economy the Five Year Plans launched an era of project construction.

Need for Inter-State Co-operation

In the traditional conception of constitutional government the national or federal government has no direct concern with the local or regional governments. Even in a classic federal state like the U.S.A., increasing participation of Federal Government in local affairs has been recognised. This is inevitable since through the mass-media of communications the whole world

is knit together. Modern wars are very costly. The defence of the country entirely lies on the shoulders of the Federal Government. This requires increasing co-operation between the Central Government and the various State Governments.

Whether constitutionally provided or not in the interests of the nation, the Federal Government is assuming a vital role even in matters which fall directly in the state jurisdiction. This is a welcome feature but at the same time we are aware of the criticisms levelled against this move ; that it leads to over-centralisation, red-tapism and, finally, is making the States less-autonomous. It is a well-known fact that in all Federal countries the States or Regional Governments have innumerable responsibilities and limited resources, while the Federal Government has large revenues and less functions. In order to discharge the manifold functions stated in list II of our Constitution, increasing co-operation between the Central Government and State Governments are the paramount need of the hour. The Central and State Governments are not rivals but comrades sailing towards a common goal. Hence efficiently administering the country is the criterion and not who is holding more or less power.

More so in a field like Irrigation and Power, the co-operation between the Union and States has become an urgent necessity. The disputes between various State Governments can only be resolved by the timely intervention of the Central Government. Our major rivers are above linguistic and

political jurisdictions. The catchment area of a river will be in one State, irrigate another, and reach the sea through some other State. A river that flows through several states, otherwise called an inter-state river, presents a federal problem. Allocation of water and power from such a river may be determined by an inter-state pact but here also as a conciliator the Union Government steps in. This is why the National Planning Committee recommended that "as problems of governmental relations arise in negotiating agreements for the execution of the works, in apportioning costs, etc., river training must be regarded as a federal subject and not left to individual states."

The total cost of irrigation and power projects included in the First Five Year Plan was about Rs. 970 crores of which irrigation accounted for about Rs. 620 crores. Additions and revised estimates brought the figure to nearly Rs. 720 crores of which Rs. 340 crores were spent and the balance carried over to the Second and Third Plans. The total cost of new irrigation projects included in the Second Plan was about Rs. 380 crores of which 172 crores were to be spent during the Second Plan, the balance being required in the Third and subsequent Plans.

About 70 per cent of the total expenditure in the First Plan and about 65 per cent in the Second Plan relates to the matters which have been exclusively assigned to the States, like education, health, forests, agriculture, irrigation, electricity etc.

Thus expenditure on major projects is now largely met by financial assistance from the Centre. The Central Government is directly interested in the efficient and economical execution of the projects. The Second Plan says that "in view of the large programmes of Irrigation and Power development required all over the country and the urgency of special attention for backward regions, the Central and State Governments should work in close co-operation

in the execution and development of important Irrigation and Power Projects." It is essential that engineers should be recruited and trained on a common basis and that they should have uniform standards of efficiency and feeling of belonging to common and important cadres. The State-Reorganisation Commission have also recommended the need for the constitution of an All-India Service of Engineers. The Planning Commission recommended that the States should co-operate with the Central Government in establishing such an organisation as early as possible.

Integrated Development

As indicated earlier, the rivers present an inter-state problem. It is, therefore, necessary to view the development as a whole. It is necessary sometimes to develop simultaneously irrigation, power, navigation, flood control etc., to be utilised to the maximum extent. At present, the States are responsible for the development of irrigation and electricity. A river basin scheme may extend over two or more states. Electricity may be generated in one State and supplied to another. In such a case each State examines the question from its own point of view, delaying agreements because certain other States cannot agree.

Sometimes projects are given up because there is no agreement regarding allocation of costs between two States. Again, the projects are not taken up because the States cannot raise large funds. The controversy on Tungabhadra which lasted more than forty years well-illustrated the necessity of harmonious inter-State relations which the Centre should strive to bring about.

Machinery to Solve Problems

For achievement of optimum benefits, development schemes of different states

have to be closely co-ordinated. Water stored in reservoirs in one State may be used with advantage for irrigation in adjoining States. Similarly, power available in one State may be distributed to other States. In certain cases it may be useful, to divert waters from one basin to another for the benefit of the region as a whole.

Co-operation between States is essential for investigations, allocation of waters and sharing of costs. Differences often arise between states in regard to the sharing of costs and benefits of such schemes. In order to resolve such difficulties the Government of India had enacted two statutes namely, River Boards Act, 1956 and Inter-State Water Disputes Act, 1955.

The first Act would enable the Government of India to constitute Boards for different inter-State rivers in consultation with the States concerned. The Second Act provides for the constitution of tribunals with the necessary authority for the adjudication of disputes between two or more States in respect of river valley projects and their benefits.

For the successful implementation of Power development programmes it is necessary to ensure an orderly development of regional inter-State Grid which may be inter-connected to form an all-India grid. The Central Water and Power Commission have undertaken studies in regard to planning of regional grids in close co-ordination with the various State Electricity Boards.

The following inter-State grids are proposed to be established during the Third Plan Period. (i) Southern Grid—inter-linking the States of Andhra Pradesh, Mysore, Madras, and Kerala; (ii) Gujarat, Maharashtra; (iii) Punjab, Delhi, Uttar Pradesh and (iv) Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. The final aim is a systematic development of regional grids which could eventually be inter-connected to form an

all-India grid as part of the power development programme.

It is essential that when the Government launched upon gigantic programmes like Bhakra, Nagarjun Sagar, Chambal, Tungabhadra etc., proper criteria should be laid down for selecting the projects. In a welfare state the "Benefit-Cost" approach cannot be the proper criterion. The financial productivity test should be replaced by a broad, comprehensive yardstick. "When India has declared herself a welfare State, when the public sector is steadily expanding and taxes of the Government are taken with a view to establishing a socialist pattern of society, it is surprising that the narrower view point as regards investment criteria for irrigation has not been given up."¹ Decisions are being taken on ad hoc basis. A comprehensive, broad policy regarding allocation of priorities, has not so far been evolved. There is an imperative need for such a policy in view of the various developmental programmes contemplated by our Government. "The investment criteria for irrigation should, therefore, be sufficiently broad to take into account also the fact of the increase in national income, the built-in-stability of the economy and the progressiveness imparted to the economy by such projects."²

The recent Krishna-Godavari conflict between Andhra Pradesh, Mysore, and Maharashtra could have been avoided had there been a central authority contemplated by the River Boards Act, 1956. The Gulhati Commission in unmistakable terms recommended the setting up of such a Board at an early date. The State-wise approach to the inter-State rivers is a great blunder. Unless and until a basin-wise programme is drawn and the central authority is given

1. NCAER "Criteria for fixation of Water rates and selectom of Irrigation Projects". P. 29.

2. Ibid., p. 29.

the power to implement them, integrated development of the water and power resources cannot be expected.

Finally, it may be said that great advantages accrue to the nation from control over water and power resources. Investment for control over water resources imparts stability in an inherently unstable industry, namely agriculture. Seventy per cent of the Indian population, out of eighty per cent who live in villages depend on agriculture. An assured supply of water is, therefore,

essential. In fact, it is the *sine qua non* of the economic development of our country. A properly devised water and power policy would contribute to stability and expansion of our industries. Higher investment in irrigation and power amounts to top priority of the two strategic and vital industries namely agriculture and industry. Thus through a proper investment criteria the static, stagnant economy may be transformed into a dynamic, self-generating and self-sustaining economy.



Some Features of “The Modern Review”

We have said above that very few Indian newspapers notice Indian periodicals and that some of those which do, ignore the existence of ‘The Modern Reveiw’. Those, again, which notice ‘The Modern Review’ ignore two of its features, namely, its editorial notes, regularly contributed to its pages by the editor month after month during the last thirty-one years and eight months, and its illustrations.

Regarding the editorial notes it would not be proper for us to say anything. If we mention them at all, it is not because we have any exaggerated idea of their value, but because they are perhaps a distinctive feature of ‘The Modern Review’ alone among Indian monthlies.

As regards the illustrations, we are not under any delusion in relation to their quality. Nevertheless a few facts may be mentioned.

So far as our knowledge goes ‘The Modern Review’ is the only English monthly in India which publishes every month a reproduction in colours of some original painting. We say nothing as regards the quality either of the reproductions or of the printing themselves. But it is a fact that we sometimes receive requests for reprints or for the blocks of some of these from some Indian editors outside Bengal. What is of greater significance, some of the artists whose paintings we have reproduced have received requests from the office of a famous American illustrated monthly for some of their works. Our readers may also be interested to learn that one of our readers in Brazil, who is not a native of India, asked us to name some of our artists who may be able to supply him with the design for his seal with an Indian philosophical motto.

Our black and white illustrations, too, have not gone unnoticed abroad. To mention a few facts : We had to supply to a famous American illustrated monthly, at its request, photographs of Jawaharlal Nehru's reception in Barabazar, Calcutta, and of his interview with Rabindranath Tagore at Santiniketan, published in our journal. The same monthly cabled to us for a copy of Satyendranath Bisi's portrait of Mahatma Gandhi published in our journal in May. An American News Service also asked for a copy of this photograph. Rabindranath Tagore's portrait in our last June number was reproduced from a photograph by S. Saha which had been awarded the first prize in an International Photograph Competition in London.

Another fact may be mentioned here. 'The Modern Review' supplies a fairly larger quantity and a greater variety of original contributions than any other English monthly published in India. But as those very few newspapers which notice 'The Modern Review' devote to its notice generally the same amount of space as they devote to the notices of other periodicals, they thus unintentionally lead their readers to infer either that our journal contains no more reading than other monthlies, or that, except the few articles mentioned in these newspaper notices, the other contents of our monthly are entirely unworthy of notice.

(Ramananda Chatterjee in *The Modern Review*,
Sept., 1938, Pp. 289-290)

Indian Periodicals and Indian Newspapers

Indian newspapers conducted in English do not generally take any notice of Indian periodicals conducted in English. That is not because the conductors of newspapers dislike the periodicals, but perhaps because they think that notices of periodicals will not serve any useful purpose or interest their readers. Whatever the cause, as our newspapers do not generally notice periodicals, we have to place some facts about our monthly before our readers.

A very small number of our newspapers notice some Indian periodicals. Some of those very few Indian newspapers which notice some Indian periodicals ignore the existence of 'The Modern Review.'

There are some Indian newspapers which reproduce entire articles from 'The Modern Review', sometimes without any acknowledgment and sometimes with the name of our monthly printed in small type in the same line with the last sentence of the article, which readers may take to mean that that sentence alone is taken from our journal !

A certain daily of Calcutta, which sometimes reproduced, on its leader page, our articles without any acknowledgment, recently performed a remarkable feat. It reproduced on its leader page on the 31st July Professor Dr. M.N. Saha's article on "The Philosophy of Industrialization" in our last (August) number which was published on the first August. It printed the name of our monthly at the end of the article in small type. Subsequently some of its correspondents gave this daily the credit for publishing Dr. Saha's article, and the daily, of course, did not say that the credit belonged to 'The Modern Review' !

. (Ramananda Chatterjee in *The Modern Review*,
Sept., 1938, P. 289)

Students and Public Movements

“ ‘Where there is ‘Bande Mataram’ there is victory. So the Brojamohan Institution has stood first at the Entrance in the New Province and second in the whole University. It has also obtained three Senior Scholarships at the First Arts and one Honours at the B.A. The number of passes at the F.A. and Entrance are exceptionally high.’

“In August last we read in the papers the above telegram from Barisal. It is well-known that Barisal has been the centre of the Swadeshi-boycott movement. Nowhere has it been so successful as there, and students, teachers and professors have taken part in it. They have done most admirable famine relief work, too. So, according to the official theory, Barisal students ought to have fared the worst in the University examinations. But the very reverse has been the case. What is the rea-on ? Students, teachers and professors who are really patriotic, as they are at Barisal, far from neglecting their proper duties, discharge them more zealously than others, and at the same time do their duty to their country. Patriotism of a genuine character is characterised by a more rigorous self-discipline than can be produced by a thousand Risley circulars or the still-born babies of those circulars godfathered by Messrs. Jennings & Co., un-Ltd.”

(Ramananda Chatterjee in *The Modern Review*,
Oct. 1907, Pp. 387-88)

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

A Tribute

NIRAD C. CHAUDHURI

Ramananda Chatterjee lived and worked at his best in the great age of modern Bengali culture, which was roughly the epoch between 1850 and 1920. Except for national independence all that he stood and fought for had been accepted and achieved by the latter date. Had he lived only for four years more he would have seen independence too, and with it the final closing of his age.

Thus his work has to be appraised in its historical setting and for its historical importance, and it is only his personality and spirit which has a message for us today. Fortunately, his living presence is not necessary for recovering his personality. I worked for five years on the editorial staff of *Prabasi* and *The Modern Review* and had opportunities of coming into personal contact with him. But my tribute to him would not have been different if I had never known him. He was not a man who gave himself away in social relations. He was shy and ill at ease with strangers, and so no outsider could have had much share in his humanity, affection, and humour, which were reserved for the circle of his intimates, I might say for his family only. In these days, when a *l'Americaine* the stature, bulk, mannerisms, and poses of a statesman matter much more than his ideas and policies, Ramananda Chatterjee would have had no Prees at all. But he lived in an age when the vocation of a publicist mattered more than his talk, behaviour, and acting in company or public.

Thus it happened that I came to know and

admire him from his writings and work long before I saw him. My earliest magazine reading was *Fradip*, edited by him. Then it was *Prabasi*. *The Modern Review* I did not read till I was out of school, but from that time I read it regularly. So it was these magazines which provided a fair portion of my literary fare, which in its turn shaped my ideas and tastes.

In those early days I was once going along Amherst Street, near the old Alms House, and suddenly my brother who was with me nudged me and, pointing to an elderly man who was walking before us, whispered, "Ramananda Chatterjee!" I was almost hushed into awe. He walked slowly, and his progression was jerky. We overtook him, and I had a good look at him. If I had taken note only of his walking I would have called it awkward, but the expression on his face cancelled all physical impressions. I could easily see that he was walking along without much awareness of what was around him, communing even in a street with himself. That impression of a self-sufficient inner life was never effaced, or even counteracted, by my personal contact with him. It was on the contrary deepened.

RELIGION

What was that life? Religion was certainly an essential element in it. But though curious about the varieties of religious experience I never arrived at any knowledge of his.

He also did not write about religion except in its social aspect, and he did not give me the impression of being infused with mystical exultation. What he revealed most was a rational and practical preoccupation with religion. But his religious convictions and piety must have been deep, for he went to Brahmoism when to do so was to break with Hinduism and Hindu society, even though he came from a conservative Brahmin family and by embracing Brahmoism gave his mother great pain.

After religion it was his country which occupied the largest place in his thoughts and emotions. In fact, his patriotism was perhaps the only passion in his life. But this passion was neither sentimental nor effervescent in the normal Bengali manner. It was a steady and sustained motive power in his life, and not a sudden spurt of feeling which was likely to be exhausted by one participation in an agitation.

This passion kept him pinned down to his writing and ruled out all other forms of political activity. The routine of his life was monastic: *Laborare est orare*, to work is to pray, the motto of the monks was also his motto. But this unremitting labour never turned out declamation or demagoguery. His writing was not 'hot stuff' by Bengali standards. It was even cold. But that very difference made us aware of his quality. Though fond of and given to effusion, those Bengalis who had also the capacity to think, were more or less tired of froth and effusion. So we came to have immense admiration for Ramananda Chatterjee's factual manner. "He gives facts and figures," we used to say appreciatively.

His politics certainly did not pursue the Bhakti Marga, not to speak of the brand of

that Marga whose dependence was on the *khol* and *karatal*, the drum and cymbal. His manner might be called the Jnana Marga, and even the Statistics Marga.

It was Liberalism, the European Liberalism of the nineteenth century, which infused his argumentative manner with animation. The Liberalism was seen in his social doctrines and preaching, and most emphatically in his attitude to the rights of women. There was no greater well-wisher and champion of Indian womanhood. His reaction from the traditional Hindu disrespect for women was so thorough that I sometimes felt amused by his readiness to publish pictures of any Indian woman who had done something besides cooking, in the features devoted to women in *Prabasi* and *The Modern Review*.

One day, when a photograph arrived for this feature, which he kept in his hands, I found the face so unprepossessing that to prevent the publication of this embodiment of ugliness, I quietly threw it into the wastepaper basket. After a few days Ramananda Babu came to me with a very worried look, and said, "Do you know if a photograph of so and so has arrived? I expressly wired for it." It was, of course, near my feet, but unable to disclose the sin I had committed, I replied that I recollected vaguely that something like that had come, but that I would search among my papers and tell him later. After allowing time for this pretence to be convincing, I just picked out the photograph and gave it to him in his room. He smiled with pleasure, "Yes, that is the lady!" On account of this, we who no longer stood in need of the championship of Indian women, thought his zeal rather overdone. I used to say irreverently, "Do you know the constitu-

tional doctrine Ramananda Babu holds ? It is that Woman can do no wrong."

SPECIFIC SERVICE

His specific service to Bengali culture and literature must now be mentioned. He was, of course, bound as the owner and editor of magazines to draw as much talent to them as he could. But his search for it was not confined to popular and pleasant writing. He looked for significant writing, and even when such writings contained unpopular views he had the courage to publish them. I still remember the ribald comments on *Gora* that were published in the conservative magazines, and the scandal that the publication of *Achalayatana* gave rise to. Suresh Samajpati commented in *Sahitya*, "Rabi Babu is free to be Maeterlinck if he wants to be but he should leave Hinduism alone."

Not less remarkable was his readiness to give encouragement to young and unknown writers. In those days it was impossible for a young author, poet, novelist, or story-writer, to gain recognition except through the magazines. Ramananda Babu was always ready to give this opening to writers who had not established themselves. He published the stories of Prabhat Mukherji, and the novel *Dili* by Nirupama Devi. It gives me great pleasure to mention that the very first story written by my friend Bibhuti Banerji was published in *Prabasi*. I might add that my first appearance in print was in *The Modern Review*.

Another aspect of his adventurousness was seen in his conversion to and support for the new school of painting in Bengal and the older Indian paintings. Before he took up that cause he used to reproduce pictures in the European Academic style by such painters as

Ravi Verma, Dhurandhar, and others of the same school. But when convinced of the genuineness of the new style, he published the work of the Indian School continuously over decades. For a long time the only way in which the general public could form any idea of this school was by looking at the reproductions in the two magazines. He incurred much ridicule by this championship.

But, as I have said, the ideas and doctrines, even the achievements of Ramananda Chatterjee have passed into history. It may even be said that they have become time-barred for an epoch which is completely different from that in which he lived. We are passing through disturbing portents towards an age still to come, whose ideas and doctrines, if there are to be any, are still inchoate. So the thing in Ramananda Chatterjee which is of practical significance today is his personality ; the type of man who is the instrument of a social and cultural transformation.

From this point of view, a specific feature of his political and cultural outlook might be singled out for mention. It was that, except for political independence, he considered himself as a Bengali, and had very little respect for the exiguous and rarefied concept of 'Indian'. This was very realistic, for if even today a man wants to be a good Indian and a living Indian, he can be so, not by talking about being an Indian and nothing else, but by being what he really is—that is, a Bengali, Hindustani, Tamil, Maharashtrian, Gujarati, or a comparable 'national,' and superimposing his Indianness on this solid coat, which is to be the concrete base of his pan-Indian projection. To be anything else, is to be a shadow, almost spectral, on the national plane.

Ramananda Chatterjee obviously felt this, and he had no very great respect for tenuous

Indianness. He did not believe in Hindi as a possible pan-Indian language and ridiculed the Hindi crusade at times, not sparing even Mahatma Gandhi. If he felt any Indianness, that came through his consciousness of being a Hindu. That was why in later life, in spite of being a strict Brahmo and a Brahmo from the age when no Brahmo admitted that he was a Hindu, he did not hesitate to describe himself as such, and he even accepted the presidentship of the Hindu Mahasabha. He felt that true unity for India could be based only on the Hindu way of life, and not by setting up an India which had no living body.

STRENGTH AND FAITH

I come last of all to the general aspect of his personality, which to my thinking contains the most positive lesson for us today. It is his character, with its strength and faith. He never forsook his *dharma*, his vocation. In these days when everyone is ready to give it up for the sake of even paltry worldly prizes, his indifference to every activity except his journalism, and his dedication to the vocation of a publicist are examples which put us to shame.

Those who saw him in the days of his

successes might have thought that this was only adherence to the profession in which he had become prosperous. This could be assumed only by those who were completely ignorant of his early struggles. He gave up the teaching profession to devote himself to precarious journalism, left Allahabad and moved to Calcutta where he had to restart life. Those years were hard for him. He himself told me one day of his experiences. He said that as he carried on through a particular year, the burden appeared to be unbearable, and he decided in his mind that he would give it up after completing the year. But when the end of the year came, he added, he thought that after having gone through so much anxiety and privation for years he might as well hold out another year and see what happened. I thought that it was like rowing on in a life-boat from a wrecked ship in the hope of being picked up by a passing steamer. Fortunately, the steamer came. But that should not make us forget the faith and courage that kept him rowing. Only a man with a true conception of success in life could survive that struggle. For that I would forget all his writings and his opinions, to contemplate only his personality and say, *Ecce homo*.

(Now, May 28, 1965)



Indian Periodicals

Rural/Urban Income Disparity and the Tax Structure

Writing under the above Legend in the *A. I. C. C. Economic Review* in its issue dated July 1, 1965, Shri Chittapriya Mukherjee of the Visva-Bharati University has sought to demonstrate with the help of officially published statistical data that the prevailing notion, sought to be broadest by the country's ruling *coterie*, that the rural sector of the country's households have been carrying a far slenderer proportion of the gross tax burdens, is entirely erroneous. The latest tendency at the apex of the country's administration appears to have been to heap increasing burdens of taxation on the rural sectors so that corresponding measures of tax reliefs as incentives may be provided to the urban and more affluent sections of the community on the pretext of encouraging capital formation. Currently, it is being broadly hinted that with a view to bridge the Rs. 3,000 crore resources gap for the Fourth Plan, immediate interim tax budgets, even long before the beginning of the next Budget-year should be formulated by the States directed mainly at the rural sectors. Shri Mukherjee's study would appear to have been published at a time when it was becoming essential that the influence of political

considerations in formulating fiscal decisions affecting the interests of the nation and which are largely based on wrong or erroneous premises were thoroughly and courageously exposed :

Like all other popular and easy-to-digest catch-words the one that has recently gained currency is that the rural sector is not contributing enough to the state exchequer. With the increasing gap in our internal resources, the vocal section of the people which has reaped good dividends during the last decade and a half out of the huge amounts spent by the State, asserts that the rural people (is there any homogenous class like that ?) who have undoubtedly obtained some indirect benefit but have so long escaped from payment of a higher share of taxes, ought to pay more to the national exchequer.

It is true that with the rising tempo in our developmental expenditure and targets, a larger contribution must come from internal sources ; and the rural people forming about eighty per cent of the total population, should generally speaking, be prepared for further sacrifices. If the overall *per capita* income is low and income disparity is too wide to permit further extension of the net of direct taxes, recourse has necessarily to be placed on indirect taxes, whatever the theoretical objection

may be about the adverse effects of such a tax structure on the income distribution pattern at the present phase of growth.

Without going into the question of the share of indirect taxes borne by the rural sector, it can be mentioned that while indirect taxes covered about 63.3 % of the total tax revenue in 1951-52 (when the total tax revenue was Rs. 741 crores as against Rs. 1538 crore in 1961-62), these accounted for as high as 67.8 % of total tax revenue in 1961-62 (total figure in this group jumped from Rs. 469 crore to Rs. 1042 crore, i. e., an increase of 122 per cent). Even without going

into the intricacies of the incidence of such taxes in respect of different commodities, or into the pattern of consumers' expenditure as revealed from the NSS data, it can perhaps be assumed that a substantial part of this revenue came from the rural sector.

Data relating to income distribution pattern in the rural and urban households (1960), throw some light on the tax paying capacity of not only the low income group of the rural sector but also of the corresponding group in the urban sector. A summary of the data published in the Mahalanobis Committee report is quoted below.

Income per Household (1960)

Rural Sector

Urban Sector

Pre-tax Income Class (Rs)	Proportion of House- holds	Average pre-tax Income per Household	Percentage share of pre-tax aggregate income	Proportion of house- holds	Average pre-tax income per household	Percentage share of pre-tax aggregate income
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Below Rs. 3000	94.4	911	76.0	85.6	1125	49.8
Rs. 3000 and above	5.6	4367	24.0	14.4	6592	50.2
All classes	100.0	1126	100.0	100.0	1935	100.0

From the above Table we observe that, though the extent varies, income disparity both in rural and urban sectors is extremely wide and leaves little scope for extending direct taxation to the lower income groups.

Another interesting conclusion can be drawn from the report published in the March '65 issue of the Reserve Bank of India Bulletin. This relates to the volume and pattern of saving during the plan period. A summary is reproduced below in Table II.

Volume and Pattern of Saving
(at 1948-49 prices)

Sector	1950-51				1962-63			
	Amount (Rs. Crore)	P.C. of Total Saving	P.C. of National Income	P.C. of Saving of House- hold Sector	Amount (Rs. Crore)	P.C. of Total Saving	P.C. of National Income	P.C. of Saving of Household Sector
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Household Sector	381.7	75.9	4.3	—	853.9	65.6	6.4	—
(a) Rural House- hold Sector	147.6	29.3	1.7	38.7	197.2	15.2	1.5	23.1
(b) Urban House- hold Sector	234.1	46.6	2.6	61.3	656.7	50.4	4.9	76.9
Total Saving	503.2	—	5.7	—	1300.7	—	9.7	—

At the beginning of the Plan period, aggregate saving as percentage of national income was only 5.7 as against 9.7 in 1962-63; rural households (forming about fourfifths of the total households) accounted for only 1.7 p. c. in 1950-51 and 1.5 p. c. in 1962-63. Urban sector households on the other hand improved their position from 2.6 to 4.9 p. c.; columns 5 and 6 show that their relative share vis-a-vis the rural household sector increased from 61.3 to as high as 76.9 p. c.

This again, indicates the extent of tax paying capacity that has been generated in the rural sector during the period; saving as percentage of income is no doubt a fairly dependable yardstick for the purpose of assessing the paying capacity in different sectors of the economy.

A reference may in this context be made to the sector-wise income pattern as obtained from the National Income Statistics and Census reports.

Per Capita Income by Industrial Origin
(at Current prices)

Sector	1950-51			1960-61			Increase in Col. 7 over Col. 4 as per centage of Col. 4
	P.C. of working population	P.C. of National Income	Per Capita Income (Rs.)	P.C. of working population	P.C. of National Income	Per Capita Income	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Primary Sector	72.12	51.31	189	72.28	48.74	220	16.4
Secondary Sector	10.62	16.06	390	11.70	18.38	512	31.3
Tertiary Sector	17.26	32.63	506	16.02	32.88	669	32.2
Aggregate/ Average	100.00	100.00	266.5	100.00	100.00	326	22.3

It is evident that the primary sector, which corresponds largely with the rural sector, has failed to obtain the benefit of higher *per capita* income to a degree that might compare favourably with the other two sectors. The secondary and tertiary sectors have improved their position (vide columns 7 & 8) at a rate much higher than the overall

average that is pulled down due to a very small increase in the primary sector.

The analysis of pretax and post-tax household income (a summary of which is reproduced below), made by the Reserve Bank of India (vide its Bulletin of September 1962) provides us with a comprehensive clue to the question of tax paying capacity of the rural sector.

Pretax and Post-tax Household Income
(average of 1953/54-54/55 to 1955-56-56/57)

Households	PC of Total House- holds	PC of Total Income of House- holds	PC of Taxed amount paid by House- holds	Per Household			Per House- hold direct Tax paid Rs.	Col. 8 as PC of col. 5	Inde x
				Pretax Rs.	Income Index	Post-tax Income Rs.			
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Rural Sector									
(a) Farm Households									
(i) Low income group (Below Rs. 3000)									
(a) Agricultural labour	21.0	6.6	—	401	(31.5)	401	—	—	—
(b) Non labour Farm Household	43.9	34.4	35.5	1001	(78.5)	983	18	1.80	(104.0)
(ii) High income group (Rs. 3000 & above)									
farm households	2.0	5.5	7.8	3470	(272.2)	3384	86	2.48	(143.4)
(b) Non-farm Households									
(a) Low-income group	11.9	21.8	—	2333	(182.9)	2333	—	—	—
(b) High-income group	.4	3.1	10.6	10426	(817.7)	9803	623	5.97	(345.1)
Total Rural Sector	79.2	71.4	53.9	1150	(90.2)	1135	15	1.30	(75.2)
Urban Sector									
(i) Low-income group	18.5	17.6	—	1212	(95.1)	—	—	—	—
(ii) High Income group									
(a) Non Salary-earner	2.0	8.8	29.4	5133	(426.3)	5131	304	5.60	(323.7)
(b) Salary-earner	.3	2.2	16.7	10044	(787.7)	8722	1322	13.16	(760.7)
Total Urban Sector	20.8	28.6	46.1	1751	(137.3)	1701	50	2.85	(164.7)
Aggregate Households	100	100	4100	1275	(100)	1253	22	1.73	(100)

From this summary Table it is observed, among other points, that 79.2 p. c. of households in the rural sector, having a share of 71.4 p. c. of the aggregate income of the household sector, pay only 53.9 p. c. of the total taxed amount, and the per-household average income stands at Rs.1150 (i. e. 90.2 % of the overall average of Rs. 1275 for the aggregate households). Of the two groups in the rural sector which do not pay any direct tax, agricultural labourers forming 21 p. c. of households and covering only 6.6 p. c. of aggregate household income are, naturally, not liable to pay any direct tax; the other group that does not pay direct tax is low income non-farm household sector. The largest group in the rural household sector (non-labour farm household, low income group) forming about 44 p. c. of the total households, has a share of 34.4 p. c. of the aggregate income and pays an amount of tax that covers 35.5 p. c. of the aggregate tax contribution by all households.....Columns 6 and 10 show the extent of disparity, within groups, in respect of pretax income to tax-ratio.

Non-labour farm households (low-income group) having an income of about Rs. 1000 (which stands at only 78.5 p. c. when compared with the overall average income of Rs. 1275) have an income-to-tax ratio (1.80 p. c.) that is much higher than the average ratio for aggregate households. The point is further illustrated in the following table which summarises the index of columns 9 and 10 of the preceding Table in respect of the tax-paying groups only.

	Index of pretax household income (1)	Index of pretax- income to tax ratio (2)	Difference between column 1 and 2 (3)
<i>Rural Sector</i>			
Low-income Group			
non-labour farm household	78.5	104.0	(—) 25.5
High-income-farm Household	272.2	143.4	(+)128.8
High income non-farm Household	817.7	345.1	(+)472.6
<i>Urban Sector</i>			
High-income non-salary	426.3	323.7	(+)102.6
High-income salary earner	787.7	760.7	(+) 27.0
Aggregate-average	100.0	100.00	

Whatever the arguments may be in favour of capital formation and tax incentives for the same, or in respect of the difference in 'standard of living' between different social groups or income groups, this surely stands to reason that if the *nation as a whole* has to make sacrifices, the fundamentals of the canons of taxation must have to be observed in a manner that would impart a feeling of equity and of equitable sacrifice amongst different income or social groups. Problems of capital formation and equitable income distribution are no doubt conflicting at this stage of growth; but the moot point remains, to what extent the rural sector is expected to contribute so long as the present income disparity is there?

Foreign Periodicals

COUP IN ALGERIA

Writing editorially on Col. Boumedienne's **coup d'état** in Algeria of June 19 last, under the above legend, what the **New York Times** of June 20, 1965 has to say, should be interesting to our readers:

Lightning struck Algeria when Col. Boumedienne ousted President Ben Bella yesterday. There had been no inkling that this was going to happen, which shows how well the chief of the armed forces prepared his coup. The President felt so sure of himself that in recent months he was releasing his jailed opponents.

Even with hindsight there is little to help toward an understanding beyond the fact that Col. Boumedienne has been a potential threat to President Ben Bella at all times during the three years of independence. The colonel is a mystery man politically, except for activities that have proved him at least as far to the left as the ousted President. Algeria, in that respect, has not improved its position.

The retention of Mr. Ben Bella's Foreign Minister Bouteflika would seem to indicate that the Minister was on the plot and that the Afro-Asian summit meeting will open as scheduled on June 29 (*This has since been proved an incorrect prophecy*). If the coup was a personal struggle for power, as it may well have been, the timing could have been related to the Algiers conference. President Ben Bella would have been the leading figure there. Now, if the conference is held, his successor will hold the center of the stage.

Communist manipulations may have been a crucial factor in light of China's strenuous efforts to keep the Russians out of the June 29 conference. It looked as though Moscow was going to participate, despite Peking's vituperative drive. Mr. Ben Bella managed cleverly to remain neutral between China and Russia, and

he got help from both. He also, incidentally, was getting help from the United States; American food under Public Law 430 has been feeding about one Algerian out of three.

Algeria's most important links are still with France, which has great investments in Saharan Oil and Gas, and which still has to use the Sahara desert for testing atomic bombs. Since the Algerian economy is in bad shape, it would be suicidal for the new regime to sever its links with France and the United States.

It is too soon to guess what may happen but not too soon to say that this is one of the most important events of recent times in Africa, and therefore, in the world. All the original political leaders who led Algeria to freedom are now gone. A new era begins for the dominant nation of North Africa.

Colonel Boumedienne may prove to be another Nasser, another Marshal Ky or even another Fidel Castro. Therefore, while one can say good riddance to Ahmed Ben Bella, it is far from safe to welcome Col. Houari Boumedienne. In Algeria, as elsewhere in the revolutionary era, Colonel Boumedienne is first of all an Algerian nationalist. The question is: what path he will take toward his goal of a stronger and more viable Algeria—Socialist, Communist, or just military dictatorship?

A TRULY MISUNDERSTOOD WAR

The situation in Vietnam remains threateningly explosive and current American policy in this extremely fluid theatre of international power politics continues to be envisaged by varying schools of opinion all over the world—including a distinctive section of American opinion itself—as leading towards an almost certain escalation of this localized trouble into an eventual and, possibly

devastating, global conflict. C.L. Sulzberger, the well-known U.S. political columnist, writing in the *New York Times* under the above legend, seems to endeavour to clear some of the misunderstandings of current American-Vietnam policy in this regard:

The commendable desire of such American politicians as Senator Fulbright and of such allied statesmen as Prime Minister Wilson to see the Vietnamese war terminated by negotiated settlement fails to acknowledge one basic factor. Neither the Vietcong, the North Vietnamese Government, nor Communist China, has shown the slightest interest in negotiations. It takes two sides to negotiate, and what the other side makes plain is that all it wants is total victory.

The Chinese line was recently affirmed by Marshal Chen Yi, Peking's Foreign Minister who said: "In our opinion the present situation is extremely favourable to Vietnamese people (meaning the Vietcong) and extremely unfavourable to American imperialism . . . Now it is American imperialism and its lackeys which need negotiations to get their breath back and withdraw from the deadlock, . . ."

The Vietcong View

"The peace talks concocted by them (the Americans) are aimed solely at gaining at the conference table what they have not been able to get on the battlefield. It is obvious that such peace negotiations would profit only the aggressor (the United States)."

This harmonises with the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese view. The latter as stated by Hanoi's Prime Minister, Pham Ven Dong, is that peace can be discussed only when Washington and Saigon accept four preconditions: (1) withdrawal of all U.S. troops; (2) neutralization of both Vietnams pending reunification; (3) settlement in accordance "with the program of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation" (political apparatus of the Vietcong); (4) subsequent reunification of all Vietnam.

A Call To Surrender

This is tantamount to surrender by Saigon and Washington. Such preconditions cannot be accepted as a basis for negotiations. The Vietcong specially spurns President Johnson's offer of unconditional talks. It contends Johnson does indeed stipulate: that U.S. troops would not withdraw; that terms would not be discussed with the Liberation Front; that Vietnam should be permanently partitioned.

In fact only the first condition exists. Obviously, the United States cannot withdraw prior to negotiations. But Washington does not demand permanent partition and would clearly be prepared to meet Liberation Front representatives at least as members of Hanoi's delegation.

Present thought of negotiations seem wishful thinking. The Vietcong is clearly preparing a second summer monsoon offensive while both the Saigon Government and its army show new signs of rotting away. It is impossible that, under these conditions, the United States should contemplate military withdrawal.

One can understand the sincerity of Wilson's committee of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in hoping to explore possibilities of negotiation, but one cannot imagine their mission succeeding. Until the Vietcong, Hanoi and Peking have been shown that they cannot capture South Vietnam, an unbridgable gap exists. The French, who are realists even if they oppose our views, acknowledge this gap and foresee a long long war.

Against this background recent suggestions appear meaningless. Fulbright proposes we offer "a reasonable and attractive alternative to military victory." But the Communists proclaim they want no such alternative.

A Global Test

Peking sees in the Vietnam conflict a chance to prove its theories of "revolutionary warfare" as a means of establishing pro-Chinese regimes throughout underdeveloped Asia, Africa and Latin America. China indeed boasts the Vietnam war is a global test and attacks every capital favouring negotiations.

Moscow is particularly belaboured. Only

this week the New China News Agency accused the Russians of "trying to bring about peace negotiations in a painstaking effort to find a way out for the U.S. aggressors." The *Peking Review* claims Soviet leadership is "interested only in standing well with U.S. imperialism." It is not the U.S. Government that is isolated on this issue—as many well-intentioned people think—but the Vietnamese Communists and, above all, the Chinese. It is most unlikely Peking would permit Hanoi or the Vietcong to negotiate at this time, and it is even less likely the latter might wish to do so.

Quixotic Goal

Twelve years ago French Premier Rene Mayer said in a Washington speech that France was then fighting in Vietnam to prevent Communism from capturing all Southeast Asia and outflanking India. This was not really true: France was fighting to stay in Vietnam. The United States is fighting for the rather quixotic goal of eventually getting out. But Mayer did coin a phrase.

He called the 1953 conflict "the misunderstood war." That label can assuredly be applied today. One purpose the Wilson peace tour can achieve when it fails—as it almost certainly will fail—is to make more Americans and America's friends realize that what the Vietcong and Hanoi want is peace at no price, and what Peking wants is no peace whatsoever.

HOW TO WRITE WITHOUT THINKING

Editor Norman Cousins, writing editorially in his own magazine, the *Saturday Review* under the above caption discusses a matter which we feel is vital to a system of healthy educational structure, a problem which is common to most countries and most peoples, but which is especially significant in the context of the newly emancipated and developing nations. We hope our educational administrators and, especially, the community of our teachers will read carefully the following

excerpts and profit by the lessons they would seem to indicate:

Our colleague, the *New Yorker* magazine, recently sent one of its men to Princeton, New Jersey, to look in on the Educational Testing Service, an organization that periodically assembles large numbers of teachers for the grading of College Entrance Examination Board Papers. On this particular occasion 135 English teachers from all over the country were on location, and were reading 68,000 essays by high school students. The assigned subject in the essay was a quotation from George Bernard Shaw's *Man and Superman*:

The reasonable man adapts himself to the world; the unreasonable one persists in trying to adapt the world to himself. Therefore all progress depends upon the unreasonable man.

The *New Yorker* did a straightforward reportorial account of the event in typical "Talk of the Town" fashion. We confess we read the item with mounting horror, not because there was anything untoward in the way the *New Yorker* reported the story but because of the basic facts that pertained to the essay question.

We were bothered, first of all, by the nature of the assignment. Taking an aphoristic paradoxical syllogism by G.B.S. and attempting to expound or speculate on it can succeed only in spoiling it. Aphorisms, like any form of wit, are not meant to be broken down or hashed over. They derive their beauty from their economy of line and their ability to produce a collision in the mind between two separate trains of thought. There is something highly inartistic and presumptuous about opening up an aphorism, dissecting and reassembling the parts into a much larger non-aphoristic whole. You take an aphorism as it is; you do not fool with it or do dissertations on it. An aphorism is like a soufflé; once you start to poke and prod or take it out of its frame, it falls apart.

This is not all. The notion that the way to test writing ability is to assign a subject gives us the willies. Good writing is something that begins in a man's gizzard. An idea grows inside him until it is ready to pop. The process can be painful or satisfying or both, depending on the idea; but it is a process. We should suppose

that the function of the creative teacher is to encourage the student to select his own subject from among the things that are coming to life in his mind. He will never learn to write well unless he develops the ability to dream, to stew and to be possessed by all sorts of notions that are itching to be expressed.

What is most disquieting of all, however, is the fact of an arbitrary time limit of twenty minutes for writing these essays. What goes on here? A student deserves a high grade if he can think of a good title for an essay in twenty minutes—even before he writes one word. And if it takes two hours or even two days to think through the main points he wants to make in his essay, he will be developing the good habits that go into good writing. What the CEEB does, however, is to separate writing from thinking. Twenty minutes! Words are not tins of chipped beef to be assembled at so many per minute. The significant thing about a sentence is not how long it took to be written but whether it has its proper place in a sequence of ideas and conveys its message with reasonable clarity and, if possible style—difficult though it may be to define anything so amorphous as style. The surest way to destroy good writing is to have a clock ticking away in a man's mind. Thomas Mann felt he had done a good day's work if he produced a single typewritten page that said what he wanted to say—not approximately, not passably, but precisely, with the words turning just right, the weight and the accent just where he wanted them, and the colour and texture providing the desired effect.

Would we eliminate the essay, altogether, from English examinations? Certainly not. What might be done is to get the checking questions out of the way on a separate paper and then ask

the student to write an essay of an approximate length—on a subject of his own choosing or one he can choose from a fairly long list. He would be substantially free of time limitations; that is, he could spend the rest of the day on his paper if he wished. And he would be free to take time out for consulting books or other materials. Even this approach is somewhat squeezed, but it is far better than the twenty minute straitjacket.

Somewhere in this favored land there must be English teachers who not only do not commit the literary sacrilege of setting a time limit on an essay but who allow and indeed require their students to spend several days thinking about an idea before presuming to commit it on paper. These teachers are as interested in providing the proper environment for creative writing as they are in the writing itself. They encourage the widest possible reflective reading. They recognize the dangers that come from conditioning the students to deal in easy, glib answers. These teachers—and we are convinced there must be many of them—ought to go to mat with people at the CEEB. Perhaps they might even say that if CEEB persists in its twenty minute essay requirement, they will instruct their students to skip the question—not because they lack respect for the examining body but because they have too much respect for the English language.

Finally, we quarrel about neatness requirements of English examination papers, wherever such requirement exists. The more crossing out, the more reworking and transposing and inserting of second thoughts, the greater the evidence that a student is fully engaged in that painful but also infinitely rewarding exercise of the human intellect—good writing.

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Reviews and notices of books in Gujrati :

Authors and publishers of Gujrati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia : Gandevi, Dist. Surat, instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

THE BHAGAVAD GITA : A new translation by P. Lal (1965) Published by Writers Workshop Lake Gardens. Calcutta-48.

Of all the translations of the Gita this is the simplest and the best so far available. Prof. Lal is a renowned scholar of the St. Xavier's College Calcutta whence he was taken to USA to lecture on English at American Universities which he visited (1963-64) from coast to coast. his family, wife with two children—a son (Ananda) and daughter (Srimati) all participating in school and college education in USA staying as Guest Professor of English at the Hoptrat College Long Island, New York. There Prof. Lal contacted American Publishers who produced his Seven Sanskrit Plays, much appreciated and staged in different college stages of America. This encourages Prof. Lal to complete (health permitting) a lucid translation of the entire Mahabharata, the greatest book of poems in any language of the world. We welcome Prof. Lal who opens with world-famous Bhagavad Gita in simple and elegant Queen's English which shows the plan of his work with the historical Epic Mahabharata which at the beginning of the fratricidal war of Kurukshetra was supposed to be roused by the questioning of hero Arjuna and answered by Krishna himself. We wish him all success in translating the entire Mahabharata into Queen's English and thus strengthen India's cultural relations with the entire English speaking Union which embraces Australasia, Canada and the

Americas. Prof. Lal is a keen student of Comparative Literature. The Lake Gardens Press, 10292 Lake Gardens, did its best in typography and binding this important Indian classic which will do good publicity for Prof. Lal's forthcoming Mahabharata in complete English translation with Index and critical notes etc.

Kalidas Nag

VEDIC PAINTING : By O. C. Gangoly.

Prof. O. C. Gangoly has literally consecrated his life to the discovery and elucidation of all the aspects of Indian Arts and Crafts. When he edited the renowned illustrated journal, *The Rupam*, each of its copies showed originality and revealing qualities. Now in his advanced age, of eighties, he has the satisfaction of affirming that in the last half a century of his active life he has covered the entire field of Indian and Oriental Arts. He started his publication with a slender volume on *South Indian Bronzes* followed by a sister volume on Indian architecture in Java. Thus linking up the study of Arts in India with that of art and architecture of Greater India, he has encouraged all Indian scholars to pursue a path of cultural migration from India to the Indian cultural colonies of South-East Asia. Prof. Gangoly is also the only living link between the early pioneers like Abanindra Nath Tagore and his worthy disciple Nandalal Bose of the Bengal school of Painting and the present generation of artists and art-

historians. Years ago, at the time of the World War I there arose a big controversy if there could be an image-worship in Vedic India, when we were supposed to be iconoclastic.

In his latest illustrated book (1965) on *Vedic Painting* Prof. Gangoly has given two very significant illustrations: (1) *Suryodaya* and (2) A Mountain on fire, both illustrating the eternal divine symbol of the solar system and the earliest manifestation of the Vedic god, *Agni*. Prof. Gangoly is supported by Dr. Ananda Coomaraswami, who showed years ago how the tongues of fire rise up and touch the sky. (Boston Museum Bull. No. 197; June, 1935). In the present volume on Vedic Painting Prof. Gangoly has added valuable illustrations of Vedic *Rishis* like Vasistha and Angirasa etc. as illustrating the encyclopaedic dictionary of Buddhism both in Chinese and Japanese as carefully compiled by the Japanese Sanskritist J. Takakasu and French Indologists like Prof. Sylvain Levi and Paul Demieville who compiled the Sino-Japanese Encyclopaedia of Buddhism which in many places reflect the old Vedic traditions as conserved in the conventions of Sino-Japanese images.

Thus, through love and devotion has Prof. Gangoly gone step by step from the medieval and modern Indian Arts to the very Vedic dawn, and we, on behalf of all admirers of Oriental Art, congratulate Prof. Gangoly whole-heartedly and wish him ever new discoveries of Truth and Beauty.

Kalidas Nag

ENGLISH

A COMPLETE TEXT BOOK FOR N.C.C. CADETS: By Capt. B. B. Chatterjee, M.A. This book has been written for N.C.C. Cadets, infantry and rifle units in accordance with the new syllabus prescribed by the N.C.C. Directorate, Government of India, Defence Department. Published by Prakash Mandir (P) Ltd, 3 College Row, Calcutta-9. Price Rs. 8.50.

After the Chinese attack on India N.C.C. training was made compulsory for College Students. A good Text Book was required for

the guidance of the cadets and Capt. Chatterjee's book fills the bill very well. Among the important sections of this book one may mention the Chapters on (1) Organisation of Infantry BN., (2) Field Craft, (3) Section Leading, (4) Platoon Tactics, (5) Patrolling, (6) Route March, (7) Weapons Training—Rifle—Light Machine Gun—Sten Machine Gun—Grenades H, (8) Drill, (9) Map Reading, (10) Atomic Weapons. The book is well illustrated and of about 400 pages Demy Oct. paper board binding. We congratulate the Publishers and the author for this important and nationally useful publication.

A. C.

INTRODUCTION TO COMPARATIVE MYSTICISM: By Dr. Jacques De Marquette published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chowpatty: Bombay, Pp. 229 Demy Oct. Board binding with dust jacket. Price Rs. 6.50.

The book is a survey of the bearing of mysticism upon the understanding of the nature and destiny of man. It makes an analysis of the teachings of Hinduism, Buddhism, Lamaism, Zen, Hebrew mysticism, Platonists, Christian mystics and of the Sufis of Islam. Dr. Marquette is well known in India. He has been connected with youth movement in France. He is a reputed scholar and has lectured before universities of many lands.

A. C.

INDIA UNDER THE KUSHANAS: By Dr. Baij Nath Puri Cr. Qto, Pp. 268+XII, 20 art illustrations, cloth bound with artistic jacket, Rs. 20/- published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chowpatty: Bombay.

Dr. Puri is a well known scholar and has been President of the 1959 Session of the Indian History Congress (Ancient India Sec.). The Kushana period of Indian history provides opportunities to the research student which are not so profuse in the other historical periods of Indian history. Dr. Puri has made a useful survey of this period in a very scholarly manner and has dealt with the social life, economic conditions, education, religious life, literature, art and architecture of the period with a view to make its dry chronology unfold the living realities that have not been taken notice of by students of history.

A. C.

MAHABHARATA : By Sm. Kamala Subramaniam, Published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chowpatty : Bombay 7, Pp. 766+XV cr. Qto. cloth bound with illustrated jacket, Price Rs. 30. very well written book rightly says Sm. Subramaniam has brought the magic of its human interest and spiritual profundity. Besides bringing the central story into relief, she has given due place to all important conversations and episodes." Sm. Subramaniam knows how to tell a story and she has told this story of stories in a manner which has proved that she has ability to carry on a sustained effort without any loss of artistic excellence. All who cannot read the *Mahabharata* in the Sanskrit or in any of the other great literatures of India in which the *Mahabharata* in translation finds a prominent place, will find in this English rendering of the great epic literary pleasures which they have not enjoyed before.

TULASIDASA : By Chandra Kumari Handoo. Orient Longmans Ltd., 17, Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta-13. First Published in 1964. Pp. 300. Rs. 18-00.

The book is an authentic, comprehensive and beautifully written work on the life of India's one of the most eminent saint-poets. The author had to take immense pains and devote considerable time to collect available data about Tulasidasa's life, who for long has remained in the shadowy niches of popular legend. The author has presented a significant interpretation of the works of Saint-poet Tulasidasa, which also highlights the spiritual values inherent in Indian culture.

The materials, for Tulasidasa's life, which took several years to collect, remained scanty till the end, have been very carefully sifted and the facts and incidents, which came to light on the Saint-poet's life have been marshalled in their proper perspective and sequence.

The book is divided in two parts. Part one gives the life of the poet and Part two deals with his works which are impressive in bulk and in intrinsic worth as well. Materials for the book have been examined critically and in detail, before being incorporated in the work. In the chapter 'Tulasi's Ideals', the characters of Rama

and Sita, as depicted by the poet have been discussed in length. There is also an exhaustive appendix in which extracts from the poet's works have been quoted. In two smaller appendices partial horoscope of the poet is given along with important dates of his life. At the end of the book a glossary of Hindi and Sanskrit words used in the text is given. A select bibliography and detailed index have also been given.

Sm. Vijaylakshmi Pandit in her foreward to the book rightly observes : "Valkimi's epic depicted a perfect man who could walk with the gods. Tulasidas was lost in ecstasy when he thought of the benign Lord who lived among men and shared their sufferings. In pouring out his love for Sri Ramchandra in verse, Tulasidasa gave a new direction to devotional literature, particularly in Hindi."

"Srimati Chandra Kumari Handoo has drawn on many rare sources to write this work. The picture of Tulasidas and his masterpiece is presented with great sensitivity. It adds considerably to our understanding as well as our own appreciation of the man and his classic."

Srimati Handoo, it can be rightly said, has done a great service to the English reading public by writing the life of the Saint-poet Tulasidasa and rendering into English illustrative portions of his works. It is a publication worth reading and possessing.

C. K. H.

STORIES FOR THE INNOCENT : By C. Rajagopalachari. A Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan (Bombay) Publication, July, 1964. Pp. 246. Rs. 2-50.

Most of the stories by Rajaji were originally in Tamil and were published in leading Tamil Journals. A section of these stories was rendered into English and was published in the *Hindustan Standard* of Delhi in 1945 titled as "The Fatal Cart and Other Stories". The book contains 36 stories. The first sixteen were translated into English by C. R. Ramaswami, Rajaji's son, who died eighteen years ago. Excepting two stories (Nos. 30 and 36) which were written in English, by Rajaji himself—the rest were translated into English by Prof. P. Sankaranarayanan.

Translation is not an easy job and very

often it is found that transmutation is from good into bad, but the volume under notice is an exception and the innate excellence of the original stories by Rajaji, who is a born and inimitable storyteller, has been maintained and the readers, no doubt will find enough gold in the stories in English. Readers may be surprised to see that Politics do not exhaust Rajaji, who is a well versed scholar in classics and in modern literature. The stories in this volume will fascinate the reader—mainly because of their subtle humour and unobtrusive didactic motif.

C. K. H.

LIFE AND TIMES OF BIRSA BHAGWAN :

By Surendra Prosad Sinha. Published by the Bihar Tribal Research Institute, Ranchi. Pp. 179. 1964. Rs. 7-50 P.

This is the first volume in the series "Studies in Tribal Bihar" under the general editorship of Dr. Sachchidananda, M.A. (Pat. Lond.), D. Litt (Pat.) Director of Bihar Government's Bihar Tribal Research Institute, Ranchi, who in his note says : "In a world where values are changing fast, there is a tendency to deny history. But can we afford to forget the past? Before looking to the future we must look to the past. There is need to arouse among the tribals a sense of glory in their history and culture. This can most fruitfully be done by a study of the life and times of their great men", and hence this attempt to present in a limited compass an authentic life of Birsa Bhagwan, who at the turn of the last century created an unprecedented stir, almost a rebellion, against the British Raj in Chhotanagpur.

In Munda history and tradition Birsa is a name which looms large. Risa Munda is credited with placing the Mundas on a sound footing as diligent and settled agriculturists in Chhotanagpur. But there can be found no authentic history of Risa who lives in myth and legend and in the shrouds of antiquity. Birsa is the only other known Munda culture hero. Birsa shot through

the sky of Chhotanagpur like a meteor and has left an indelible impact on the minds of men, specially on the Mundas. He is of recent history.

The book vividly portrays the life of Birsa Munda the great tribal hero who shook the foundation of the British rule and left the Christian Missionaries the Jgirdars and Zemindars exasperated by organising and leading his people, the Mundas and other allied tribals, for establishing a Munda Raj, ousting the British, at the close of the last century. Birsa gave his people a religion and a code of life and was acclaimed as 'Dharti Aba', father of the earth, by the people.

Birsa used Satyagraha and non-violence as his weapons to fight the British Raj—and in spite of this British forces slaughtered hundreds of Munda men, women and children on the Dombari Hill and this is a tragedy no less inhuman and ghastly than the famous Jallianwalla Bag "killing of the innocent". This study portrays the unique tribal movement which the British Government had to face in the closing years of the last century.

Attempt has been made to describe the exploits of Birsa and his Munda followers, who may be called pioneers of our national struggle. From the records available—it can be easily realised the greatness of these fighters for freedom who rated no service too dear and fell fighting for their motherland. Birsa and his great disciples deserve to be ranked in the same gallery as Kunwar Singh, Laxmi Bai and Tantia Topi.

The Mundas created a tremendous stir which burst forth into a violent rebellion at a time when the then political leaders of India dared not even to think of such a thing.

Some interesting plates have been given enhancing the value and interest of this attempt to epitomise the valiant struggle of the Mundas under the great leader Birsa.

C. K. H.

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NOTES

The Language Question

This question of imposing a language on the people of a country is not quite so simple, even if the people accepted the language. English, for instance, had the backing of the ruling power as well as of large numbers of the educated people; but English was only the official and court language of India and in spite of its wide use among the upper classes for social intercourse, it never replaced the Indian languages and attained the position of a national language. The reason for this was what may be called emotional rejection. English was never accepted by the people of India as their own language. It was a linguistic expedient and it remained so without being admitted into the inner recesses of our mind which determined our preferences. The fact that highly educated Indians, whose knowledge of English was beyond doubt extremely good, continued to express their feelings and thoughts in Bengali or in the other Indian languages, proved that English was not accepted as the Language of India. Romesh Chandra Dutta, Satyendranath Tagore, Michael Madhusudan Dutta and many others can be mentioned as examples. The idea that Hindi will be accepted as India's national language is ridiculous for the same reason. A Bengali born in the U.P. and who spoke Hindi from his infancy, when he comes to Bengal,

studies Bengali and English, soon puts Hindi out of his mind. In Bengal no Bengalis and very few of the others speak correct Hindi. A kind of spoken language which may be called Dhobi's Hindi is spoken in the bazars and kitchens, but Hindi as a literary language is unknown in Bengal, in spite of the fact that large numbers of so-called Hindi speakers come to live and work in Bengal. The Hindiwallahs of Delhi, perhaps, thought that as the Hindi speakers would be the virtual rulers of India after the British, Hindi should automatically take the place of English. They forgot that Hindi was not a properly moulded language at all. As born socialists the Hindi speakers should have abhorred unearned gains. The hope that Hindi will be India's national language without any *mehannat* or *shram* on their part is a sneaking acceptance of a social evil, i.e., getting something without working for it. Literary Hindi is, as yet, an unknown language in India. Dhobi's Hindi cannot be a national language. English is spreading more than it did under the **British Raj**. It is a wonderful instrument of communication with the outside world and is in use as a common language in India among millions, who are the teachers, administrators, engineers, doctors, lawyers, **entrepreneurs** and important workers in various fields. Thousands of crores are locked up in our heads in the shape of knowledge which is mainly

recorded in English. We cannot jettison the knowledge and experience of generations of Indians in order to establish an underserving and undeveloped language in a high place. And that previously mentioned factors of emotional rejection will work more potently in the case of Hindi, in so far as the Non-Hindi speaking peoples of India will not only emotionally reject Hindi as an alien language but will also doubly dislike it as it will not grant them admission into any hitherto unknown intellectual or aesthetic spheres of experience.

Admittedly, Hindi may slowly develop and begin to fill a wider sphere of communicational activities in our national life. That may take two generations of concerted effort on the part of Indians of all linguistic groups. This cannot be brought into operation by a statutory imposition of Hindi as a State language. What is more, it **should not be** attempted as a psychologically and morally sound method of achieving a political objective.

It is now accepted by all Hindiphils that India cannot be coerced into giving up English and replacing that language by Hindi. Hindi may be used with English and other Indian languages without creating any linguistic blocks anywhere in any manner whatever. That is, Hindi must not be permitted to cause any inconvenience to the people of India and it must make its way into our national mind in a smooth and easy manner and without anyone ever having to ask his orderly or a salesman, postal clerks, booking clerks and passersby to translate the contents of notices, signs, forms, tickets, receipts, bills, letters and other commonly used documents because of any over eagerness on the part of politicians to force Hindi upon the Nation. There have been examples of such pressure tactics from the various Departments of the various Hindi intensive secretariats of some Governments. These underhand tactics alienate people from Hindi rather than make them

accept it. If Hindiphils want to make their language assume the position of a Necessary Evil, this sort of indirect forcing may achieve their purpose. But that is hardly the aim of any true lover of Hindi.

In order to be a proper all round vehicle of expression, a language must have suitable words to express the thoughts of modern people. These words must be sense-conveying in a precise, unambiguous and easy manner without destroying the rhythm and musical flow of the language. Coining new words anyhow and forcing them into circulation by means of painfully concocted compositions usually lead to the rejection of the words by the people. The **Rashtrabhasa** kitchen has produced numerous unpalatable tidbits which have mostly failed to sell. When "eaten" by loyal adherents of Hindi as the **prasad** of the **rashttradevata** these queer delicacies of linguistic hybridization have led to dire consequences. **Paribhasa** is not easily born. The mother language must be able to accept it as an offspring and successfully let it mix, play and grow up with her other word-children. A misfit, an alien in origin, sound, form and suggestiveness can never be accepted as a useful synonym, no matter if the Ministry of Education or Information agreed to be its foster father. Hindi requires thousands of such new words. Such as have been created are quite often very unequal in their etymological features and are unacceptable as cognates. In Bengali this game of word creation has been going on for over a hundred years and is still continuing. The most objectionable part of manufacturing words is the obviousness of patch-work translation. One has only to read a few articles or stories written by our "moderns" to discover the gruesome fact of thinking in English and translating such thoughts **anyhow** in our languages. The net result is confusion in the field of communication, not to say anything about wastage of human and other resources.

If, therefore, we desire a proper development of Hindi, or any other Indian language, the last thing we should try is compulsory introduction of the particular language into forms, notices, circulars, tickets, tokens, correspondence etc., of governmental, technical or legal origin. This will make the effort ridiculous right at the start and will make it difficult to carry through such ideas. The development of the various languages of India should be commensurate with their use as instruments of communication by the State, the educational institutions, business houses and industries. Overdoing things at any stage would be disastrous. The idea that Hindi will eventually replace English in India, is only sound to the extent that Hindi becomes a comparable language with English. As things are now, Hindi cannot be compared with English to any recognisable extent. The idea therefore should be dropped. There are other languages in India which are more developed but none of these can replace English. The Governments of India and the States should in the meantime devote their talents to increasing the supplies of food, clothing, housing, medicines, hospitals, schools, books, paper, means of transport, roads, railways, shipping, foreign exchange, general consumer goods, jobs for the unemployed and to bring India upto international standards in point of health, wealth, defence, education, social security, law and order and a general freedom from want and disabilities. Unless they achieve certain minimum standards in these, their hopes and promises in the spheres of establishing Hindi or Tamil as State language, of abolishing nuclear weapons and war, of making India totally dry, of stopping American intervention in Vietnam and of continuous Congress Raj in India, will not be realised.

Sneaking attempts at giving Hindi a push up by making its use optional, side by side with English on Central Government

Files will immediately make non-Hindi knowing Indians put in a demand for their own languages and, surely, 14 optional alternative languages cannot be permitted to be used in making remarks. Nor can Hindi be granted a special privilege without destroying the equality of rights of all Indians. It is well known that more people in India know how to read and write English than Hindi. And those who know only Hindi, Bengali or Tamil are usually half-educated. It is therefore unnecessary to allow any Indian language to be used exclusively, i.e., without English, for any administrative work of the Central Government. Those who know only Hindi or Bengali etc., should not be employed in administrative services, in Government departments.

Certain Governments have tried already to force Hindi upon non-Hindi speaking Nationals of India in different spheres of life. The Government of Bihar for instance lost no time in even Printing Cadastral Survey Maps of Bengali speaking areas of Bihar in only Hindi (including numerals). The road signs, mile posts etc., had already gone Hindi in areas where nobody belonging to the locality was Hindi speaking. We have reasons to believe that Bengali speaking people of these areas were also harassed in schools, in the matter of owning property and in other ways. Importing of Hindi speaking persons from far away districts of Bihar to do office work in Government departments also happened. Such behaviour interfered and is still interfering with the so called National Integration movement initiated by the Government.

Recently the work of forcing Hindi is taking newer shapes. Central Government files at first required "Hindi also" side by side with English. It was soon described as "Hindi with English translation" in order to give a psychological priority to this artificially cooked up dialect. It is high time that the Constitution of India got its vital amend-

ments passed in unambiguous terms to put **rashtrabhasa** type Hindi back where it belonged. The non-Hindi speaking people of India do not want this synthetic language as their State language and that must be recognised and admitted as a potent political fact. The Congress Party has now passed the highest point of its political power. Congress made expedients will now disappear one by one in so far as these expressed the desires of leading party members. The Hindi business was one of these. It will have to be wound up.

Out Sovieting The Soviets

One Sunday we felt like listening to the Children's Program broadcast by the A.I.R. Calcutta Station. We were surprised to discover that our children had so far advanced in political economic thinking that they avidly swallowed talks on the Fourth Five Year Plan. The public are no doubt fully repaid for what they give for their receiving licences to the Government of India. Some may think this sort of program is blatant propaganda in support of the Government's activities, but after all the children of India are entitled to receive full information on these various activities: for mental enlightenment may induce them to forget their growing physical wants and sorrows. In America they extol pep talk for its ability to prevent that sinking feeling.

Sandesh Again

The sandesh ban has come to the fore after a certain uneasiness among Congress addicts. We are now ready to welcome an Ordinance on this fateful subject. We had no knowledge that Calcutta Milk Supply was one of the Fundamental obligations of the Government. Nor that the Defence of India rested upon milk supply. A government which was under any statutory obligation to supply milk to all citizens of Calcutta might have thought of "milk at

any cost". But a government which possibly supplied milk to only 10% of Calcutta's population could in no justice interfere with the food habits of the greater part of that population just to prove that welfare meant the greatest inconvenience of the greatest number.

What is the Rupee Worth?

The Maharashtra Labour Gazette of June 1965 publishes an enlightening analysis of the changing value of the rupee by H. V. R. Iengar, ex-Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, Bombay. The following quotations from the account published would give a good idea of the fall in the purchasing power of the rupee during the periods 1914-1964 or 1939-1964 or 1947-1964 as one would like to look at the rupee from different base years. "Professor Agarwal, Professor of Economics in a North Indian University, started a controversy some years ago by stating that the rupee is now worth only 17 pice. There has been a question about this in Parliament and some debate has ensued. Some critics profess to be shocked by the inexactitude of the Professor, while there are others who appear to be glad that the grimness of the current situation has been brought out so clearly.....

"No analytical tool can be so dangerous when wrongly applied, as the statistical tool.....'one must therefore, choose a base year which does not lend itself to....statistical legerdemain.....

"For our discussion, it might be of some value to go back to 1939 the year before the Second World War began.....Those of us who are old enough" may even go back to 1914 before the First World War.....For a long range analysis, one might go back fifty years—which is not too long ago and happens to be just about the time when the First World War started. But such an analysis, although interesting in itself, particularly in so far as it permits an historical comparison with other countries may

not be of value in so far as our current difficulties and preoccupations are concerned. For dealing with this, it would be more appropriate to go back to 1947, when we became independent.....

"During the First World War prices in India just about doubled. Prices remained high all through 1920 and then started gradually going down. There was a continuous drop from 1920 till 1930-31 when the wholesale index was virtually the same as in 1914. After that there was a dramatic fall in line with the World recession. There was a gradual improvement thereafter, but in 1939 the index figure was very little over that of 1914.....

"During the Second World War the wholesale price index went up some two-and-a half times. On the basis of 1939=100 the general index of wholesale price in 1944-45 was 244 and in 1945-46, 245. A re-conversion to the old base, namely, 1914=100 would give the index for 1944-45 at 266 and 1945-46 at 267. But, unlike the period after World War I, when prices started steadily going down, there has been no such fall after the Second World War and, in fact, there has been virtually a continuous rise in prices since then. On the basis of 1914=100, the figure for 1946-47 was 300 and for 1947-48, 336. In other words, when we began as an independent country, the rupee was worth, in terms of its domestic purchasing power, only one-third of what it was in 1939, only eight years previously. To-day, the index figure is well over 600, in other words the rupee is somewhat less than half of what it was when we began to manage our own affairs. It would thus be correct to say that the value of the rupee is now about one-sixth of what it was before World War I; Probably slightly less; in other words, the Professor, whom I quoted at the beginning of this....was right provided the base year is accepted as 1914. And considering that the purchasing power of the rupee was very nearly the same in 1939 as

in 1914, the Professor was also very nearly right even if the base year were accepted as 1939. That is to say, in the last twenty five years in the life time of millions and millions of us, the rupee has gone down to slightly less than a sixth of its purchasing power and for half of this debasement we are ourselves responsible, not the British or the war." One may add that the debasement happened fifty per cent during a period of 33 years and the other fifty per cent in the last 17 years. As compared to the foreign government of India, her National Government has debased her currency twice as fast."

This Matter of Milk

The milk supply of Calcutta has never been good. The goalsas, as in other places, water the milk as they like and no attempt has been made by the State Government or the Municipality to put a stop to this criminal practice at any time. Dr. B. C. Roy started the Haringhatta Milk Supply organisation and succeeded in giving milk to a small percentage of the people living in Calcutta. Milk cards were often obtained through influence or luck and many who wanted milk never got any. Since the death of Dr. Roy the milk position has gone from bad to worse and no one can now say that milk supply is freely available to all citizens and one can not believe that it will be so at anytime under the present regime. It has been and will remain available to a limited few of Calcutta's citizens, is the considered opinion of most well-informed persons. That being so, can the Government in any justice interfere with the food habits of the general public in order to arrange milk supply for a selected minority of Calcutta's citizens? If the public have to make any sacrifices the advantages arising out of such sacrifices must be enjoyed by all members of the public. Not surely by only a few who have much money, influence or

a gambler's luck. Freedom has acquired a new meaning in India under the Congress. The whims and fads of amateurs with little training or qualification for managing the affairs of a nation have slowly grown to assume the proportions of a loose type of dictatorship which has the right of arbitrary action and making impositions on the people without subjecting itself to the discipline of shouldering some fundamental obligations. There are rules, regulations, controls, permits, licences, taxes and a thousand other obstructions to public freedom of action in all fields of life without any corresponding advantages in the matter of protection of life and property, supply of essential commodities, employment, education, medical aid, housing etc. etc., which people require for civilised existence. There are endless speeches, announcements, schemes and plans which lead to a state of self-hypnotism among those who indulge in them. These people cannot deliver the goods. And everybody knows that except they themselves. India has reached a giddy state of unreality. No one knows what his money will be worth next month. No one knows how far he will be deprived of what he owns or earns. And no one is certain of anything which the average civilised man wishes to be certain of. There are plans and promises which change their shapes and sizes overnight. The definition of terms like socialism, security, fundamental rights and liberty change while circulating between Ministries and what can one do about it?

Kashmir

We have said over and over again that the partition of India was the greatest blunder the Congress Party led by Pandit Nehru ever committed. They thus played into the hands of Imperial mischief mongers and weakened the political, economic and cultural health of the Indian nation for ever.

The new entente that was established between Indian folly and Western perfidy over this great betrayal grew in strength as time passed and the Congress group found opportunities for developing their foreign "policy" by inviting all kinds of foreigners to India and by sending teams of fairly useless Indians to have a good time in the great cities of the outside world. Indian politics and Indian outlook upon all spheres of life were determined by what outsiders thought of and agreed to do for India. And, naturally their Indian policy was formed by reference to their own plans and expectations of gain. The Indian nation was fed on false promises and grand unrealities; while the economy was progressively denuded of its natural vitality by bleeding out resources from the main arteries of economic life in order to sustain the growth of grafts which could not be integrated into the nation's body. Pakistan, the artificially created state, aided by Anglo-American money obtained by agreeing to whatever those powers said, developed militarily out of all proportion to her economic size. She naturally began to think like a big power, though in wealth, ability and culture she was like a couple of backward Indian States. But she was boosted in her morale, which was woven solely out of criminal design on India, by American military aid and British advice. Instead of consolidating the forces of civilisation and progress in her national body Pakistan started on a programme of territorial expansion at the cost of India. Attempts on Hyderabad and Junagad failed due to Sardar Patel's courageous action; but in Kashmir Pakistan was permitted to keep large areas under forcible occupation. Their actions were also condoned in other places and by Nehru, called an apostle of Peace by the Anglo-Americans. Pakistan, being born in treachery and nourished by banditry, soon turned against her own people as well as against Anglo-America. She formed an alliance with

Communist China and tried to blackmail Britain and America without much success. She had already set up a dictatorship and abolished all civil liberties in the country. The most recent acts of banditry indulged in by Pakistan have been the invasion of Kutch and a repetition of the old comic opera invasion of Kashmir by Pakistan soldiers in the garb of tribesmen or local Kashmiris. But this time they had no Pandit Nehru to respond to any demands for toleration of acts of aggression. Lal Bahadur Shastri did not fancy himself as anything greater than a capable Prime Minister of India. He was partially bamboozled by the British after the Kutch affair, but he had realised his mistake afterwards and was prepared for subsequent developments. If Lal Bahadur Shastri could liquidate the Pakistani menace, he would then be remembered as a truly great Prime Minister of India.

India Crosses Cease Fire Line

During the last few days Indian troops have crossed the cease fire line at a number of points and captured Pakistani posts in several places. The Pakistanis or the alleged Azad Kashmiris have not shown any remarkable fighting ability so far. Their one outstanding defensive weapon had been India's disinclination to go beyond the C.F.L. They have now had to do this owing to the fact that the Pakistanis have been using it as an impregnable "Maginot" line which was inviolate. But the Indian soldiers have now broken through this for reasons which are essentially connected with their self defence. If the Pakistanis can cross and recross the CFL in order to harass and kill Indian soldiers, the latter naturally can also emulate the Pakistanis in order to defend themselves in a sure and certain manner. In other words Pakistan has been asking for it and it has now got what it deserves. In this connection the U.N.

have been remarkably useless. They have been disobeyed by Pakistan repeatedly and they have done nothing to enforce the terms of international agreements guaranteed by their participation as mediators. Pakistan's perfidy has no limits. Pakistanis treat all documents dealing with international rights and obligations as scraps of paper. On top of that they lack common decency and any sense of national honour. Such political communities have no right to exist. They are a menace to humanity.

Punjabi Suba

The Congress not only Partitioned India internationally by agreeing to the creation of a Muslim India which the British called Pakistan; but India was also cut up internally into several pieces by the acceptance of the various provinces the British had set up in India, as States of which India was to be a Federation. These Provinces by and large had no racial, linguistic or historical back-ground and the only justification for their existence was, perhaps, the Pradesh Congress Committees which had to be appeased and induced to toe the line when Pandit Nehru accepted freedom as a conditional grant from India's Imperial overlords. With occasional adjustments the same conditions still prevail and the Provinces as modified by subsequent decisions of the Congress still form India's States. These States are all multilingual, multi-racial and historically queer conglomerates built out of bits and pieces representing pre British Indian Kingdoms of which there were many in the Seventeenth-Eighteenth centuries. Thus the State of Bihar was linguistically Maithili, Bhojpuri, Magdhi, Bengali and Tribal. But the Congress said the People of Bihar spoke Hindi. And when the Congress opened its mouth everyone had to observe silence. Maharashtra had Gujerathis, Kachhis and others whose mother language was not Marathi. Gujerat

had Marathis and all sorts of other people. Madhya Pradesh had Marathi and Hindi. In short the linguistic divisions were not based on the languages spoken by the people but on the whims of the Congress.

After a few years of Congress Raj there was a feeling among a certain body of Congressmen that Hindi as concocted by the makers of the Rashtrabhasa must be imposed upon all Indians. In order to make this imposition less unfair in appearance persistent propaganda was carried on with the help of crooked facts and figures to prove that Hindi was the mother tongue of 40% of the peoples of India. All the people of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Punjab together with the Hindi speakers in other States were added together to arrive at this highly exaggerated percentage. We are not in a position to judge whether Hindi Positive and Hindi Negative gave us the alleged statistical dimensions of Hindi. All we can say is that Hindi as the mother tongue of some of the people of India has never attained that degree of universality as the Hindi speaking Congress men would like us to believe. The true percentage of true Hindi speakers would be less than 20%. The Punjabi language is a distinctive language belonging to the first-Aryan group of languages of India. It is more like Eastern Rajasthani, Gujarathi etc., than Hindi. We have known numerous Hindu, Muslim and Sikh Punjabis and we have never known Hindi speaking Punjabis in the sense that they spoke Hindi at home. If therefore Punjabi is made the State language of Punjab, it would not be a betrayal of Hindi. Rather the suggestion even from Panjabis

that some Punjabis want Hindi as their State language is a betrayal of the facts of racial and linguistic history. The partition of the Punjab would be a great mistake and the Sikh leaders should be satisfied with the acceptance of Punjabi as the State language of Punjab. And it is high time everybody put a stop to this Hindi mania. There is nothing in Hindi for which we should create disunity in India. The subtle and sneaky ways of Hindiphils have become quite obnoxious. The Congress should avoid giving these clever touches to cut Indian history down to a size which will prove their false contentions. Punjabi is one of the languages recognised by the Indian Constitution and Punjabi cannot be called a dialect of Hindi by the linguistic experts of the Congress. In Pakistan, at the time of partition everyone was told the Muslims were a separate nation and their language was Urdu. But inspite of their dictatorship Bengali has been recognised as a Co-State language in Pakistan. In India, why one must accept Hindi as the sole Indian language to be used for state purposes is not clear to us. Hindi is one of the most backward languages of India and the Hindi speaking people are by no means high up in education, technical knowledge, income earning capacity or as contributors to the exchequer. Their average in these fields would be about half of that of the more advanced states. A lot of public money has been wasted for the propagation of Hindi with not much gain. If the amounts had been spent pro-rata for Bengali, Marathi, Tamil, Telegu, Malayalam and Gujarathi, India would have gone up spectacularly in point of education and culture.

ABIDING VALUES OF EASTERN AND WESTERN CULTURE

VIGILANTE

The advancement of knowledge in regard to the universe, society and man, the general acceptance of the theory of biological evolution and the study of comparative religion have implanted the belief that all values are relative. But we are not quite clear as to whether the relativity of values applies only to the forms in which they are expressed or is meant in an absolute sense. In other words, we are not sure whether we distinguish between an eternal essence and a changing form of values or whether we reject the idea that there is difference between essence and form. To take an obvious example. Non-violence, **Ahimsa**, was originally a purely religious belief, probably of animistic origin. It was a kind of taboo, a duty to avoid anything that would hurt living creatures, because if we hurt living creatures, they would retaliate in some unknown way, or would initiate a series of actions and reactions that would bring harm to ourselves and bind us to a long chain of cause and effect. This belief was held by Buddhists and even more strongly by Jains. It has survived through the centuries. In our own times, Gandhiji gave it a completely new form and moral significance. He associated it with the highest form of virtue, with absolute truth. He made it into a standard by which everything else was judged. It was a belief which determined his conduct throughout his public life. There was also another view, with which Gandhiji disagreed, that non-violence was the best policy, the wisest course to adopt in relation to given circumstances. Indian foreign policy has attempted to introduce

the idea of non-violence in dealing with international affairs and maintained that while it was absolutely the best principle to follow, it was also the wisest course at the moment. Here we see a value being interpreted over a very long period. Would it be correct to hold that this point to an abiding value expressed in different forms, or would we say that non-violence represents the influence of the environment on Gandhiji and his followers and has no meaning and significance outside this historical context?

If we accept the theory that all values are relative we create a kind of uncertainty in the face of the problems created by the manufacture of atomic weapons. We feel that to save ourselves from total destruction we have to mobilise ourselves for the maintenance of those values which we consider essential for the further progress of humanity. But it is a matter for consideration whether such values as truth, freedom, justice, can really be regarded as a means to an end, as gods to whom we appeal at times of danger, intending in our hearts to turn our backs on them when the danger is past and to declare that they are just like other gods whom men have worshipped and about whose existence and power we cannot be absolutely certain.

Beliefs and social practices based on beliefs have so far been the means of giving form and expression to moral and cultural values. But the advancement of knowledge has changed our attitude towards organised

belief and worship, towards religion. It appears to us that a fixed belief which prescribes the details of what is right and what is wrong, what is to be done and what is not to be done, is inconsistent with the liberal, scientific spirit. We prefer the negative attitude. We define liberty as absence of restraint, moral freedom as absence of dictation by any church or scripture. Considering the problems that have been created by church and religious orthodoxy, this attitude seems to be the only reasonable one to adopt. But the usefulness of a discussion about abiding values becomes doubtful if we avoid everything that savours of religion and fixed belief. A study of man's spiritual and moral development can, however, enable us to adopt a more positive attitude and convince us that there are abiding values in the East and the West in which men have believed in all sincerity and in whose realisation they have found peace and fulfilment.

One of the oldest human concepts is the concept of a universal order, called Ma'at in ancient Egypt and Rtu in India. It was considered man's duty to live in accordance with the laws deriving from the universal order, and wisdom ; justice and human survival were closely associated with this belief. Corollaries to the belief in the universal order were (a) the unity of God and (b) the unity of mankind. It cannot be stated definitely whether the idea of one God first found expression in Egypt or among the Jews, but even in the tribal religions which had many gods the idea of one God seems to have been present as the background of belief in the Divine. The idea of mankind being one because the universe had one Creator has been considerably obscured by tribes or tribal groups or religious communities claiming to be the chosen people, entitled to all that the Creator had given. But the idea of one God of all mankind provided a moral standard to which enlight-

ened men have appealed throughout history.

A parallel concept, which first found expression in Buddhism, was the unity of mankind, indeed, of all living creatures in the striving for *nirvana*, for release from sorrow. The corollaries to this belief were the obligation on each individual to be rightminded and to bear goodwill towards all.

The concepts of the universal order and of release from sorrow through rightmindedness and goodwill were idealistic. They were assertions of the highest values. At the opposite end we find a realistic concept of the solidarity of the tribe, the caste, the religious community or the political community and the State, and the duty of the individual to serve them. This concept, because it was based essentially on the self-interest of the group, has led to conflicts which are unfortunately regarded as the substance of the political history of mankind. Today also the conflicts we see around us are due to the all-pervasiveness of this concept. But it cannot be altogether rejected. It can only be replaced by the concept of mankind as one community and a world-state. We must also remember that these concepts led to the cultivation of such moral qualities as loyalty, dedication to prescribed duty, self-sacrifice, etc. Men have not yet at any time been fully satisfied with the idea of their intellectual and moral horizon being limited by the interest of the small or large group to which they belonged. Tolerance, a sense of justice not vitiated by discrimination between one's own people and aliens, and desire for wider knowledge and experience have been the links between the universal and the group values. These have at all times found expression in Personality.

The concept of Personality is as old as the concept of universal order. We see in the earliest time the belief that certain persons possessed supernatural powers. They were capable of interpreting the laws of nature,

the wishes of the particular tribal god, and through their intercession ensured the security of those whom they favoured in this life and the next. Later, we have the Priest-king and the Pharaoh, who are both religious and political figure-heads and believed to be possessors of that wisdom and power which was essential for human welfare and survival. Then we have personalities like the Jewish prophets, Buddha, Zoroaster, Christ and the Prophet Muhammad, who are messengers of truth and the means by which humanity obtains divine guidance. We also see at about the same time the emergence of empire-builders and statesmen who represent the type of personality which has gradually assumed the greatest importance in political and social life.

The concepts given above represent the abiding values of both the East and the West. We acknowledge them today in the form of the following ideals :

- (a) the ideal of mankind as a co-operative community ;
- (b) the ideal of states striving to maintain peace and to promote each other's welfare ;

- (c) the ideal of the welfare state (found in embryonic form in the reasons for which the ancient priest-king was worshipped and in the duties assigned to the ruler by all religions) ;

- (d) the ideals of tolerance, understanding sympathy, philanthropy ;

- (e) the ideal of the dignity and freedom of the individual, irrespective of race, religion, sex and economic status, which implies :

- (i) the ensuring of equal rights and opportunities ;

- (ii) the right to profess and practise any religion ;

- (iii) the right to have a personal religion or no religion at all ;

- (iv) the right to freedom of expression.

Democracy is only one of the forms in which these values have found expression, and it must be judged continuously on the basis of these values. World peace, which is so essential for survival, must be founded on these values to enable both the East and the West to attain fulfilment.

Current Affairs

KARUNA K. NANDI

TOWARDS A NATIONAL FOOD POLICY ?

A closer look than appears to have been bestowed in most quarters in the country, at what has now been declared as a national food policy, would appear to be no more than a non-descript mass of decisions whose principal aim would seem to be to steer clear of all areas of cleavage at almost every point where it would be inescapable if really a healthy and rational food policy for the country were to be evolved and purposively pursued. In the result, what would appear to have emerged is more in the nature of a temporary adjustment for the current year for the present only, of Government's obligations to feed the nation to what may only be vaguely described as current market forces.

Extension of Rationing

One of the major shifts from the recommendations of the Food Sub-committee which met in New Delhi only a week before under the chairmanship of the Union Food Minister, would appear to be that immediate introduction of statutory rationing in cities with a population of 300,000 and more and its gradual extension to cities with a population of upto 100,000 has been regarded as a *hazardous move* and the *venture was doomed to failure*. All that the Chief Ministers' Conference in New Delhi, held on August 6 last, would agree to for the time being—shelving in the process the earlier recommendation made only five days ago—was to introduce statutory rationing in the eight large cities in the country with a population of one million and more each. This would cover an aggregate population of approximately 17 millions.—bringing all towns with a population of 300,000 and more each would mean providing for a popula-

tion of 43 millions instead—and would correspondingly reduce Government's procurement obligations to only about 1 million tonnes of rice and 1.2 million tonnes of wheat at the level of a daily ration of 12 oz. per adult per day. It was made clear on the occasion by the Union Food Minister that if the present estimates of national food deficits when revised by the Planning Commission with the collaboration of the Agricultural Price Commission were found to be below the actual incidence of the deficit prevailing in the country, there would be no compensatory increase of imports to cover the additional deficit—the size of the ration will have to be adjusted to the actual availability of home-grown supplies together with imported food grains at their present level of imports.

Procurement Hazards

Even a child could visualize that the feasibility of extending statutory rationing to towns with a population of 300,000 and more and, eventually to those with upto 100,000 would be determined by the success with which the Government could evolve a procurement machinery to cover the basic needs of such a much larger rationed area. In the recommendations of the Food Sub-committee, the methods of procurement as well as its area and incidence was left largely open and indefinite. It was only recommended that the movement of grains from surplus to deficit states in accordance with the previously determined quotas of supplies, would have to be through the Food Corporation of India. Secondly, the method of procurement by the Food Corporation in surplus states for the purpose would have to be determined by agreement, in each case, between the Corporation and the concerned State. For the rest, the methods of procurement within each State for sustaining its machinery of

statutory rationing would have to be left to the discretion of every individual State. If any State should wish to pursue a policy of total procurement, it should be left free to do so; other States may adopt whatever policy they may consider suitable to the conditions obtaining within their respective borders. This would have the effect, it was claimed, of reducing, if not wholly eliminating the Centre's current obligations to cover the deficit States.

But in case rationing were to be introduced with effect from the New Year, as earlier recommended, in every town with a population of 300,000 and more and eventually within the next 15 months to towns with a population of upto 100,000, the success of the recommendation would, obviously, have to depend on the success with which procurement of grains could be ensured by the States concerned.—whatever the particular method for the purpose they might wish to pursue.

The initial question that would arise in this connection, naturally, is as regards the proper administrative machinery at the disposal of each concerned State Government to cover the purpose. It is notorious that the existing States administrative machinery is none too strong or even wholesome. But it might manifestly be unfair to blame the present lacks all on the permanent administration only. It is not infrequently that the permanent officials in the administration from the highest to the lowest levels are subjected to such measures of political and other pressures that they are quite unable to function with either purposiveness or even with efficiency. There have been innumerable occasions when pious and platitudinous directives have been issued from Party and Governmental political levels advising that the administration should not be interfered with in its functions, but for all the good that they might have done so far, they might not have been issued at all. It not merely becomes impossible for any administration, however honest and efficient, to properly function under such pressures, but such a situation opens up opportunities for possible unreliable pockets in the administration—no one on earth can guarantee that there will never be cases of individual lapses in any administration however well-knit, however strictly regulated and vigilantly supervised—for turning a situation none too clear or healthy to

their own advantage or to those of their political bosses and their proteges. The success of any procurement machinery that the State Governments may set up—whether a policy of total or only partial procurement is aimed at—will naturally depend on the extent to which the Government concerned are able to eliminate party political pressures on such a machinery from the highest to the lowest village levels. It is not unnatural that the Government may not be quite confident of being able to do so in the present conditions of the party organization, especially with another general elections looming only two years ahead. It is, consequently, not unnatural in turn, that the Government should wish to avoid running the risk of having to set up a massive procurement organization in the circumstances and should correspondingly wish to minimize the burden of their obligations in this behalf.

Cleavage with the Trade

But even more than the burdens of a massive procurement administration, what the State Governments and the Centre alike could not possibly view with any degree of equanimity and confidence was the need to face cleavages with the trade which would be inescapable if any very massive procurement programme were to be launched. And to successfully introduce and implement statutory rationing in cities to cover an aggregate population of 43 millions immediately and to eventually further extend its area in course of the next 15 months, this would be an inescapable obligation. It is notorious that the goodgrains trade in the country accounts for the largest concentration of economic power and commands a very substantial proportion of that large area of credit beyond the disciplines of the organized credit sector which is being euphemistically described as *unaccounted money*. For one thing, in spite of the fairly rapid and massive industrialization of the last fifteen years, agricultural produce still continues to account for well over one half of the gross national product of the country and of this foodgrains production alone is estimated to account for well over 67 per cent. Except for the below-subsistence and subsistence farmers, covering roughly 61 per cent of the total agricultural population in the country and

accounting for a gross share of 31 per cent of the national product (according to the recently released findings of the National Council of Applied Economic Research), presumably the more overwhelming proportion of the foodgrains production of the country is handled by the trade, except for the infinitesimal quantities directly handled by the Government and their statutory agencies. It is obvious, therefore, that the trade is in an overwhelmingly commanding position in this respect. Government have tried their level best over the last one decade and longer to induce an awareness in the trade of its social responsibilities and, thereby, curb its profiteering propensities, but absolutely to no effect. And yet the Government do not seem to be in any position to take effective measures to do so and this lack of confidence on their part would now seem to be quite clearly reflected in the final decisions that appear to have been arrived at the last Chief Ministers' Conference in New Delhi.

This weakness on the part of Government would seem to be primarily dictated by political rather than basic economic considerations. As a matter of fact, however, some show of plausibility is being offered in the argument that the principal brunt of continuing pressures on food grains prices is calculated to flow from the large urban areas with their heavy concentration of increasing economic power and the consequent explosion in demand. By introducing statutory rationing in these selected pockets of accelerating demand, these areas would be effectively cordoned off and the pressure on the general food price level in the country would be relieved. This may be the Government's hope, but that it is largely wishful thinking of a particularly naive kind would be all too obvious even to the most casual observer of the present price situation in the country. It is obvious that for understandable political reasons, into the details of which it is not necessary to enter in the present discussion, the Government do not wish to enter into an open cleavage with the economically and politically strong food grains trade in the country. The decisions arrived at in consequence to deal with the continuing food crises would appear to be obviously of a ramshackle and particularly clumsy character and even the most optimistic person could not hope for any improvement to flow from

it. Not to speak of reducing the present very high general food grains price levels thereby, it would even be impossible to hope for stabilizing the price level even at its very high present altitude. Truly, all this ostentatious labour of the Government mountain, so far as the food crisis is concerned would only appear to have yielded no more than the proverbial mouse.

Cause and Effect

What, after all, is the food crisis like in its barest bones? It has been repeatedly averred by accredited Government agencies and their so-called economic expertise that increase in food grains production in the country has failed to keep corresponding pace, since the end of the First Plan period, with the incidence of rise in the country's population. It is true that the tempo of food grains production appears to have suffered a considerable measure of attenuation since after the end of the First Plan. While cereals production was estimated to have risen by as much as 26 per cent over the period between 1950-51 and 1955-56, the gross increase in national cereal output throughout the Second and during the first two years of the Third Plan period is estimated to have been of the order of 18 per cent over that of the 1955-56 level. But even then, is there any basic deficit in our food grains production computed at the level of a 16 oz. daily cereal ration which the Government considered a basic need for the people (vide *Towards A Self-Reliant Economy*, issued by the Planning Commission, Government of India, December, 1961, p. 76)? We have endeavoured to demonstrate in these columns some time ago that, even at the rather low level of harvest of the year 1962-63 and assuming a 2.4 per cent annual rise in the population since the 1961 census enumerations, after providing a daily 16 oz. of the cereal output to all adults (age group 14 to 65 years) and at half that quantity for the rest (age groups 0 to 13 years and 65 years and above), a good 10 per cent of the gross produce would be left over to cover the needs of seed-grains and unavoidable wastage. This, by all standards is not at all a comfortable food situation for any country, for supplies would only appear to have been

marginal leaving no surplus at all. But then, there had been fairly substantial wheat and some rice imports to supplement the home production and the position should have been correspondingly easy if not quite comfortable. And yet, we had a raging food crisis in the country during the 1963-64 season and which did not, despite all endeavours of the Government both at the Centre and in the States to hold it, ease until late in 1964 the rice harvest, computed to have been the largest in recent memory, began to flow into the market and which was sought to have been reinforced by the promulgation of statutory price controls and the introduction of fresh legislations to deal ruthlessly with profiteers who would violate the former's provisions. At the turn of the New Year and for the two following months the situation remained fairly easy. The reason for this would appear to have been two-fold. Firstly, it appeared at the initial stages that the Government seriously intended the new emergency laws to be applied upon the violaters with a measure of purposefulness and rigour. Secondly, the Government launched a fresh programme of massive food grains imports which, together with the decision taken last year-end that the Central Government would set up the necessary procurement machinery for creating a central buffer stock in rice and wheat, appeared to indicate that the Government were endeavouring to gradually assume a dominating position over the food grains supplies in the country. Such an assumption was further reinforced by talks of eventual and large-scale introduction of statutory rationing in all major cities of the country and the removal of the food zones as soon as the position with the incoming of the impending wheat harvest became a little clearer.

But even before the onset of the normal lean season of the year, it became all too clear that the Government had no intention, firstly, to rigorously enforce their price control measures. Mr. C. Subramaniam, the Union Food Minister, recently admitted that price control measures, including the application of the provisions of the Defence of India Rules with a view to disciplining the food grains trade in the country, had utterly failed of their purpose. This statement would appear to have been a deliberate prevarica-

tion on the Union Food Minister's part for the simple reason that he should know—none better—that there was really never any serious attempt to enforce these laws inspite of the threat of dire consequences issued to the food grains trade by the Prime Minister himself.

Recurrence of the Price Crisis

As an inevitable result, even before the onset of the current lean season, food prices both at the wholesale and more so at the retail levels began to rapidly rise until in the free market today retail prices have gone up by very nearly 60 per cent over the level at which they stood at the end of January last and they continue to rise still further. This, on the face of it, would appear to be inexplicable in the background of the largest ever rice harvest of recent years; the wheat harvest has also been proportionately large and imports, after several intervening years, are reported to have been of the order of very nearly 6 million tonnes. The resultant crisis is not merely very widespread, but its depths appear to be almost bottomless. This overt pressure would appear to be flowing mainly from the known weaknesses of the Government to deal with its principal symptoms. This weakness was further exposed when, a little while ago, the Government announced an increase in the prices of rationed commodities with a view, as they said, "to more realistically relate them to open market prices." Some awareness of the recurring dangers ahead seemed to have been manifest when the Congress party discussed the food situation in Bangalore recently and when Government constituted the Food Sub-committee with the Union Food Minister at its head. Although the Sub-committee were, apparently, reluctant to go the whole logical hog in their recommendations to Government on the problem, they were nevertheless sound enough as they went, although there were minor lacks here and there in the structure conceived by them. But when the States' Chief Ministers assembled finally to ratify these recommendations, it was the Prime Minister himself, who presided over the Conference and who was reported to have persuaded the Chief Ministers to considerably water down the earlier recommendations of the Food Sub-committee and adopt a decision which, by

any method of logical reasoning, could not be expected to achieve any purpose at all except to offer protection to a favoured few urban dwellers in the country and, at the same time, leaving the most vulnerable sections of the community to the tender mercies of the profiteer with whom the Government, it appears, are wholly reluctant or unable to cope.

Realistic Assessment of Problem

Indeed, the Government's latest decisions would seem to demonstrate that they have either no realistic assessment of the problem with which they had been pretending to deal or that they were determined to deliberately evade the issues facing them and the country. Let us, for instance, take stock of the present economic classifications in the community. According to a very recently released results of a study by the National Council of Applied Economic Research, the burden of population in the rural sector of the country comprise 354 million persons. The average daily income of this sector of the population appears to work out at 68 paise per day; the lowest 10 million of them earn no more than 27 paise a day, the next 50 millions earn 32 paise and the next higher 100 millions only 42 paise per diem. The "size and distribution of income was marked by a high degree of inequality." While the lower 61 per cent of the households had only about a 31 per cent share of the aggregate rural income the top 39 per cent shared 69 per cent; the highest 1 per cent of the households appropriated 9 per cent of the total income. Of the rural households 77 per cent were engaged in farming work only, while another 10 per cent engaged in crafts, business and professions from which they derived a major share of their total income. In 1962, the gross income of rural households aggregated Rs. 8,726 crores which works out at the per capita average of Rs. 247 per annum. According to another recently published estimate, among agricultural households in the country, 10 per cent own no land at all and have to work as hired labour; 30 per cent own less than 1 acre per household and are able to produce only enough to cover their own consumption requirements for about 3 months in the year; 26 per cent own less

than 2.5 acres per household and produce enough to cover their own consumption needs for periods ranging between 3 and 9 months in the year. It is only the balance 34 per cent of agricultural households that produce enough for their own subsistence needs and a proportion produce surplus.

These findings, if correctly estimated, would reveal a situation with which the known agricultural policies of our Government would seem to be completely at variance. The policy for instance of determining a floor incentive price for farm produce, would seem to be substantially unrelated to the realities of agricultural occupations in the country. It would appear that at least 66 per cent of the rural agricultural households have to buy substantial proportions of their own consumption needs, over and above what they produce, and any floor incentive price level cannot benefit them in any way; on the contrary, such an incentive price would be bound to adversely load their cost of subsistence to at least a corresponding extent. Even among the large producers, there will be a proportion who are merely on the subsistence level of production and have no marketable surplus; for them an incentive floor price can have no meaning nor any beneficial content. At 354 millions, the rural sector of the total population of the country comprise 80 per cent. Of these 77 per cent or 61.6 per cent of the total national population are wholtime farmers; of these 66 per cent of the agricultural sector or, roughly about 52.8 per cent of the national population are below-subsistence farmers (including 10 per cent of the agricultural or 8 per cent of the national population who are wholly landless agricultural labourers); and only 34 per cent of agricultural households or, roughly 20.74 per cent of the national population are subsistence-cum-surplus agricultural producers. The agricultural incentive devised by way of a floor price for the farmer, therefore, can only benefit a proportion of this 20.74 per cent of the national population to the detriment of the rest of the country's population comprising 79.24 per cent, among whom at least 66 per cent of the agricultural population or, roughly, 52.8 per cent of the total national population

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T. S. ELIOT—A GREAT CRITIC

Prof. DEBIPRASAD BHATTACHARYYA

(1)

"By some accident (it must have been—I had not come on Mr. Eliot's name before) I bought *"The Sacred Wood"* just after it came out, in 1920. For the next few years I read it through several times a year, pencil in hand. I got from it, of course, orientations, particular illuminations and critical ideas of general instrumental value. But if I had to characterise the nature of the debt briefly I should say that it was a matter of having had incisively demonstrated, for pattern and incitement, what the disinterested and effective application of intelligence to literature looks like, what is the nature of purity of interest, and what is meant by the principle (as Mr. Eliot himself states it) that "When you judge poetry it is as poetry you must judge it, and not as another thing."

This is from Dr. F. R. Leavis's *"Approaches to T. S. Eliot"*,* a brilliant critical essay on Eliot (mainly) as a critic. The passage just quoted has a special significance in view of the fact that Dr. Leavis, apart from being one of the finest critics of our age, has been, on several occasions, a very severe critic of Eliot as critic, for whose critical genius he has, nevertheless, as the quotation above shows, repeatedly expressed the warmest and the most grateful admiration. It would be difficult to conceive of a better way of summing up in one sentence—the last sentence in the passage—and with such marvellous felicity and precision, the real achievement of Eliot as a critic.

There are several things to be noted here. First, his emphasis on what I consi-

der one of the outstanding merits of the critical writings of T. S. Eliot: his "purity of interest". This is a virtue that has got to be emphasised; for our modern intellectuals who are thrilled so often by the omnipotence of socio-economic factors not only in our material environment, but also in the realm of spiritual values, in art and religion, need to be told that "purity of interest" is a virtue; that it is an indispensable condition of the creation of a great work of art.

Now what Dr. Leavis means by "purity of interest", is, if I understand him aright, a directness, an immediacy of interest in poetry as poetry and literature as literature and "not as another thing". For a literary critic, as Eliot himself has pointed out in his distinction between the "perfect" and the imperfect critic in one of his earliest essays in *"The Sacred Wood"* this is one of the most difficult virtues to achieve. This is proved by the fact that some very good critics are to be regarded as "imperfect" because with all their unquestionable excellences in other directions they were deficient in this "purity of interest". Even a great critic like Sainte-Beuve would, if we apply this test, be found falling short of perfection. In English literature the classical example in our age of a very fine critic who yet could not be regarded as "perfect" in Eliot's sense, is A. C. Bradley. What is wrong with Bradley as a critic is his inability to judge a literary work as, first and foremost, a work of art; his analytical intellect delights too much in philosophical subtleties and thus is in danger, frequently, of losing sight of the poem or the play as a concrete object. We are only to compare

Bradley's study of *Hamlet* with Eliot's little provoking essay on *Hamlet*. As a penetrating psychological analysis of *Hamlet* the man Bradley's study of *Hamlet* is admirable; what is wrong with him is that like two of his more illustrious predecessors, Goethe and Coleridge, he forgot that "his first business was to study a work of art." The phrase quoted is from Eliot's essay on *Hamlet*; the phrase has a special relevance in this context because Eliot himself has always in mind, in his essay, *Hamlet* the play; he never for a moment, in all his critical writings, forgot that his "first business", as a critic, "was to study a work of art."

It is this determination to look a work of art full in the face as an object outside of ourselves, this absolute disinterestedness in the contemplation of art, this "purity of interest" in short, that distinguishes his first attempts at criticism in *The Sacred Wood*. In the history of English literary criticism it was something almost unknown before; it was certainly very un-English, this immediacy and purity of interest in literature as literature.

These first critical essays are distinguished by another quality, equally rare in English criticism before him, with the possible exception of Dr. Johnson; it is what Dr. Leavis has called in the passage quoted above, "particular illuminations", by which he means, I think, appreciation in detail as opposed to broad critical appraisal based on general principles. We find this technique already employed in the essays on particular authors, especially Elizabethan dramatists. Even in the little essay on *Hamlet*—which is not, however, one of his best among his earlier essays—we discover this concrete particularity of approach in the form of a keen technical interest in the versification; he compares two passages from *Hamlet* to point out the singularly unequal character of its versification. Technical preoccupation of this kind is, I believe, one of the

distinguishing characteristics of a critic who is also a practitioner; it is also a characteristic of a good critic. It is to be found everywhere in the earlier critical writings of Eliot; in his brilliant essays on Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatists this technical interest manifests itself in the form of, among other things, a poet's intense concern with versification. One of the most illuminating exhibitions of the latter is seen in his comparing parallel passages from different dramatists, a device which becomes in his great essay on Massinger—a model of literary criticism in all literature—a critical instrument of incomparable power. He compares parallel passages—the selection of these, is however, not always his own—from Massinger and Shakespeare and then points out both Massinger's talent as a dramatist and poet and the immense superiority of Shakespeare. And he traces this superiority down to the use of a particular phrase or a word; how, for example, the language in the famous passage in *Othello* beginning with "Not poppy, nor mandragora", has particular significance in contrast to the colourless, rhetorical character of Massinger's language in a parallel passage; how the adjective "drowsy" and the verb "medicine" in Shakespeare "infuse a precise vigour". It is essentially the poet's, and a highly gifted young poet's unerring feeling for words, a sharpened, highly developed sensitiveness to language.

This tendency towards concrete precision, this power to communicate "particular illuminations", characterises one of his earliest critical essays, "Christopher Marlowe", published in 1918. The intense technical interest in versification is to be seen in a sentence like this:

"Marlowe gets into blank verse the melody of Spenser, and he gets a new driving power by reinforcing the sentence period against the line period."

I quote this sentence not only because it is a characteristic utterance, both in its

tone and content, of T. S. Eliot in his thirtieth year, but also because I wish to point out what is so extraordinary about this quiet remark: that such a sentence in 1918 could be written only by a poet who at the same time was a critic of genius. An intelligent and sensitive reader of Marlowe would rather have one such sudden illumination than whole volumes on Marlowe. (Not that Eliot ever deprecated learning; no critic of our time has expressed such profound respect for genuine scholarship.) A sentence like this shows not merely technical competence—although even this is by no means as common as it is supposed to be among literary critics: it shows also a truly philosophic gift of seizing upon the **essence** of a thing and then expressing it clearly and precisely, extracting the last drop of meaning out of every word. The economy of words is astonishing.

This remark on Marlowe's versification is followed—to come back to my point, namely, Eliot's "particular illuminations"—by a series of quotations from Marlowe with brief but illuminating comments. He quotes, for example, a passage from Marlowe to show that "it is something which Shakespeare could not do", then a number of others (from **Dido**) to show that they are "pure Marlowe", and then suddenly quotes from Shakespeare's **Richard III**:

"What scourge for perjury can this dark monarchy afford false Clarence?" and remarks: "There on the other hand, is what Marlowe's style could not do; the phrase has a concision which is almost classical, certainly Dantesque". Finally, he quotes another passage (If thou wilt stay, Leap in mine arms....) that might have been written, he says, by either.

(2)

"Comparison and analysis, I have said before, and Remy de Gourmont has said before me," wrote Eliot in his "The Function

of Criticism" (published in 1923) undoubtedly the most outstanding contribution to the subject since Arnold's famous essay with the same title, "are the chief tools of the critic." To be able to compare is certainly one of the best tests of critical ability; and in this art of comparison, an extremely delicate and difficult art, T. S. Eliot is unsurpassed in critical literature. To a reader of intelligence and sensibility, how illuminating, how thrilling are Eliot's comparisons!

Now, in Eliot's criticism, this comparison may be either in the form of particular appreciation or general evaluation. One of the things that distinguish, I think, his earlier from his later essays is that in the former his comparisons are confined mainly to particulars, to technical details of style and versification, of language and imagery. In his essays on Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatists, for example, one of the most instructive ways of making particular comparisons of this kind, is the pointing out of subtle differences in the rhythms and tones of blank verse. I do not know of any other critic, old or modern, who has studied the development of blank verse in English poetry as Eliot has done; his sensitiveness to the musical subtleties of blank verse is astonishing. In his little essay on Marlowe—I return to this essay because it is widely known and also because it is one of his earliest successes in literary criticism—the blank verse of Marlowe is compared with the blank verse of Spenser, of Shakespeare, of Kyd and also, by implication, of—an unexpected name in such a context—Tennyson.

Eliot frequently confronts two poets who are not only widely distant from one another in time but have apparently nothing in common. This brings me to a very remarkable feature of his comparisons: their range. "The good critic", he says, in one of the most profound studies of the maladies of the modern literary world, his essay on **Religion and Literature**, "is the

man who, to a keen and abiding sensibility, joins wide and increasingly discriminating reading." What we are to notice in Eliot's literary comparisons, is not merely wide erudition but also the extreme fineness of perception and sharpness of critical discrimination.

In his essay on Ben Jonson, for example, we suddenly come upon a very unexpected visitor, an author who, we should have thought, had no business to be there: the author of *L'education Sentimental*. And yet the passage in which he compares Jonson with Flaubert to show how Flaubert's method of "critical fiction" was "antithetical to Johnson's" is one of the most illuminating in the essay. Who would have thought that in an essay on The Metaphysical Poets he would find quotations from Jules Laforgue and Racine and have the greatest masters of diction in the English language, Milton and Dryden, compared with the greatest masters of diction in France, Racine and Baudelaire, and yet without the slightest feeling of irrelevance? One of the most striking illustrations of such seemingly incongruous juxtaposition of authors, widely different not only in time but also in language, is afforded by Eliot's essay on *Andrew Marvell*—a marvel of its kind in literary criticism. He quotes the famous lines from Marvell's "Coy Mistress" where the poem takes a sudden, surprising turn:

But at my back I always hear
Time's winged chariot hurrying near,
And yonder all before us lie
Deserts of vast eternity

and then as suddenly and as surprisingly springs upon us two quotations in the Latin original, the first from Horace, the second from Catullus, commenting that "the verse of Marvell has not the ground reverberation ("Nox est perpetua una dormienda"—Night is one eternal sleep) of Catullus's Latin: but the image of Marvell is certainly more

comprehensive and penetrates greater depths than Horace's ("Pallida Mors oequo pulsat....")." He then goes on to quote two superb lines from Gautier to illustrate "this alliance of levity and seriousness" as a characteristic of "wit" and tells us that it is present in Baudelaire and Laforgue, in Catullus, Propertius and Ovid. He points out the "element of surprise"—which is, he rightly remarks, "one of the most important means of poetic effect since Homer"—in Marvell's verse at its best and then shows, quoting, how it is present in Villon ("Et faim saillir le loup des boys"). Even this is not all, because I have left out from this list of foreign authors the name of a French novelist, the author of *Bouvard and Pecuchet*, putting in, as always, a dramatic and unexpected appearance. (Eliot, by the way, appears to have had the profoundest admiration for Flaubert. He was as sensitive to good prose, to a highly distinguished and individual prose style, as to good verse, as an artistic medium. He is himself, as poets often are, a master, as I shall try to show later on, of English prose).

T. S. Eliot has enjoyed the reputation of being a man of wide erudition; he is certainly one of the most learned poets of our time. But to be able to perceive a quality that is common to Andrew Marvell and Catullus requires something more than learning; perception of this kind is possible only when wide knowledge is combined with a wide range of sensibility. We must remember, in other words, that Eliot was not merely a learned critic; he was a learned poet; and that makes all the difference in the world.

(3)

Commenting on a difficult, but celebrated passage in Coleridge's *Biographia Literaria*, quoted in his longest and most comprehensive single critical work, "The Use of Poetry and the Use of Criticism" (not, in my opinion, as sustained in its critical ex-

cellence as his great essay on Dante, for example, but often brilliant and stimulating and always delightful) Eliot confessed that he found it utterly incomprehensible and went on to complain, not against Coleridge, but against the fact that his mind was incorrigibly "heavy and concrete". Oddly enough, the mental deficiency which Eliot appears—with his inimitable mild and good-humoured irony—to deplore in himself is precisely what makes his critical works far more interesting, certainly far more **readable** than those of Coleridge, his most distinguished critical predecessor in English literature. This concreteness, in his attitude to a work of art and also in his style, is, so far from being regrettable, Eliot's supreme contribution to English literary criticism; but for this concreteness we would not have found in his critical writings the "particular illuminations" that Dr. Leavis so justly admires.

But this is not all. Later on in the same book he says that he is "acutely aware" of his "incapacity for abstruse thought". (This is one example, among many, of Eliot's self-criticism. His critical detachment toward his own achievement as a poet and a prose writer is amazing. The classical example of this detachment, this calm, impersonal outlook, is his famous essay on "Poetry and Drama". No critic, not even the most implacably hostile, has criticised his verse plays so severely, so unsparingly, so mercilessly as the author himself; indeed the very purpose of the essay is to point out his partial successes and his failures in solving the problem of using verse as the medium in modern drama.)

Now, unlike his good-humoured, half-ironical, half-indulgent complaint against his mental deficiency alluded to above, this self-criticism must be taken seriously, because he means it; and his regret is sincere. The question, then, is: is it true? Does he really suffer from this mental incapacity?

To be more explicit: is Eliot really incapable of "abstruse thinking"?

Before attempting to investigate this serious allegation against himself I must ask another question of a more general nature. It is this: for a literary critic, is a certain capacity for "abstruse thinking" an indispensable requirement? Does the absence of this capacity disqualify him as a critic? The answer is: certainly, it does. If it does, Eliot's damaging admission, **if true**, must prove fatal to his position as a critic.

We must remember that Eliot himself has emphasised the necessity of "philosophical training" for a literary critic; and it is the want of "philosophical training" that he regrets so much in Matthew Arnold. Eliot himself had had a sound "philosophical training." He studied philosophy at Harvard; he even prepared a Doctorate thesis on Bradley whose philosophy and whose prose style he so profoundly admired. (His thesis has been published recently). It is impossible to believe that a man who had chosen philosophy as his special subject of study, who delighted in so difficult a philosopher as F. H. Bradley, who could warmly appreciate as a "work of art" Bertrand Russell's famous essay, "On Denoting", was incapable of "abstruse thinking". We can only conclude that with his usual modesty, Eliot had exaggerated his failing in this respect; here as elsewhere, it was his passion for perfection that led to dissatisfaction with himself.

For his own critical writings patently contradict his verdict upon himself; and these are distinguished by virtues that we should expect to find only in a philosophical intellect of a very high order: clarity and almost mathematical precision, power of grasping the essence of a thing, of distinguishing the essential from the accidental; a gift for analysis; respect for words and the utmost caution in the use of them. Some of these virtues, notably the last, I propose to discuss when we come to

consider Eliot's prose style. I shall now discuss and illustrate from his critical writings, (1) his power of grasping the essence of something, of distinguishing the essential from what is accidental, (2) his gift of analysis and (3) his precision.

(4)

As for the first, I have already called the reader's attention to it in connection with Eliot's remark on Marlowe's metrical accomplishment. I shall give here only one more example. In his essay, "The Function of Criticism", Eliot raises the question: "If so large a part of creation is really criticism (this, by the way, is what Eliot himself believes to be true), is not a large part of what is called 'critical writing' really creative"? In answering this important question Eliot gives us what is to my knowledge the most satisfactory explanation of the difference between "creation" and "criticism". "A creation, a work of art, is autotelic; and that criticism, by definition, is **about** something other than itself. Hence you cannot fuse creation with criticism as you can fuse criticism with creation." The first sentence, hard and clear, comes to us with the force of a sudden revelation, illuminating for us whole regions in the realm of aesthetics that had remained in darkness; and the explanation is clear and final. Only a great critic can do this, a critic, besides, who possesses the true philosopher's quick eye for the essence of a thing, for the fundamental and the really significant.

This ability to perceive the essence of a thing, the real point at issue, demands not only intelligence, but what we vaguely term intuition, the kind of sudden illumination that makes possible great discoveries in science. The next quality which I have singled out as an essentially philosophical virtue is more purely intellectual: power of analysis. And analysis, as we have seen, is, along with comparison, one of the two chief critical tools in the hands

of a critic. Now a gift for analysis can be demonstrated in two ways: in dealing with a fact, and in dealing with an idea. In literary criticism the former takes the form of what Dr. Leavis has called "particular appreciation", which in Eliot's criticism (as also in Dr. Leavis's) consists mainly in pointing out, as I have tried to show, the peculiar quality of a particular 'work of art', a poem, a passage, a line, even a phrase or a word; the latter manifests itself in the elucidation of, in the words of Dr. Leavis again, "critical ideas of general instrumental value". It is this aspect of critical analysis that I propose now to discuss.

An admirable example of analysis of this kind is the discussion of the "nature of Belief" in his famous essay on Dante. His brief thesis does not pretend to be full and exhaustive; it is tentative, as he himself admits; but what he has to say on this difficult subject, he says clearly, and—as is so often the case with him—suggests more than he says; and I consider his remarks on the relation between belief and understanding in poetic appreciation, in a brief note appended to his essay, a valuable contribution to the subject.

This is only one example. A still more remarkable example of Eliot's analytical ability is to be found in a later essay, "The Music of Poetry". The way in which he marshals his facts and arguments, so that all converge to his central point "that the sound of a poem is as much an abstraction from the poem as is the sense", is masterly; it makes us see what "disinterested and effective application of intelligence to literature", in the striking sentence of Dr. Leavis which I have quoted at the beginning as my text, "looks like". It is amazing how much he has said, what a wide range of subjects he has touched upon, in so small a space; and yet everything is so clear, so luminous; the essay has itself the musical pattern of a beautiful poem.

But this essay, has, for me, another point of considerable interest: it affords us a typical example of the way in which Eliot **approaches** his subject. He begins his essay as if he is caught in the midst of a conversation; he is pointing out the limitations and the dangers, of a poet talking about poetry. Then suddenly we are told about his poor knowledge of "rules of scansion". After this personal note we come to know some very interesting points concerning the metrical structure of classical and English poetry. And then when we are beginning to wonder—although already held by a keen interest in the speaker—what all this has to do with his subject, "the music of poetry", we find that we are approaching the very heart of it: the vital relation between the "music" of poetry and contemporary colloquial speech. We immediately find ourselves confronted with his central thesis that "the music of poetry is not something which exists apart from the meaning".

But we are not told as yet what he means by "the music of poetry"; instead, he tells us what it is not; he tells us, for instance, that it is not the same thing as the melody of sound, that melody is no more than "one of the components of the music of words"; further, that there is no such thing as a beautiful word; that "from the point of view of **sound** alone", any word, within its own language, is as beautiful (or as ugly) as any other. His point, in short, is that from the point of view of "the music of poetry", what matters is the **whole** poem and not melodious words or even lines and passages. This leads to his conclusion that "a musical poem" is a poem "which has a musical pattern of sound and a musical pattern of the secondary meanings of the words which compose it, and that these two patterns are indissoluble and one".

To pursue this essay further is unnecessary to my purpose. My point is that

Eliot has not yet given us a **definition** of "the music of poetry"; and he will not do so either in the pages that follow. I have dwelt so long on this point because this is very characteristic of the author. Eliot never gives us a definition in the usual sense of the term. I say "in the usual sense of the term", because I want to distinguish this usual sense of the word from its original sense in Latin. I hope I am not being pedantic in making this distinction, for Eliot himself has done this on the title-page of his "Notes towards the Definition of Culture", where he gives us a quotation and the quotation is from The Oxford English Dictionary. "DEFINITION: The setting of bounds; limitation (rare)—1483".

When I said that Eliot never defines, what I meant was that he never gives us a formulation in **one sentence**; and the reason is simple: his **whole** essay is an attempt at definition; it is a continual attempt at "the setting of bounds", at "settling the limits", (C.O.D.) of a concept. It is thus always an **approximation**, because the end is, like the mathematical concept of a limit, an ideal, and therefore, in the final analysis, unattainable. Consequently, **elimination** plays a large part in his analysis of a concept. In other words, as I have tried to illustrate from the essay I have been discussing, before attempting to tell us, what it (the concept) is, he tells us what it is **not**, what he does **not** mean by the term. His analytical method consists essentially in a closer and closer approximation, a fencing in, so to speak.

This brings me to my third quality, namely, precision, and to something that will, I suspect, sound like a paradox. The point I want to make is that—and this is the paradox—T.S. Eliot's precision and clarity of thought are due, to a very large extent, to the fact that he never defines anything. I might put the matter in another form: Eliot is so chary of definitions precisely because he has a precise mind.

His analysis of "wit" in his essay on Andrew Marvell furnishes another interesting example of what I have in mind. It is true that he gives us something like a definition of "wit" when he describes it briefly as "a tough reasonableness beneath the slight lyric grace". But this is, as he himself calls it, a "tentative designation"; he does not offer it as a definition. After warning us against employing so "fluid" a term uncritically, "with too wide a comprehension", he goes on, characteristically, to tell us where we do **not** find this quality; we do **not** find it, for example, in any of the romantic or Victorian poets. Two pages farther on he tells us that he is still "trying to identify" the "sort of wit" he has in mind. All that he has been able to do so far is to elicit one important characteristic of "wit": the "alliance of levity and seriousness", and this characteristic, he affirms, is present in Gautier, Baudelaire and Laforgue; in Catullus, Propertius and Ovid. He mentions certain other characteristics of wit like "internal equilibrium" with, as always, appropriate illustrations; and then after he has told us so many things about the nature of wit and with such brilliance, he suddenly, just before ending his essay, declares that he has "patently failed to define" this quality in Marvell, the quality we call "wit". And yet this "patent failure" is unquestionably one of the best analysis in English literary criticism of one of the most baffling concepts in literature.

A remarkable example of Eliot's characteristic manner of approaching a particularly elusive literary concept is afforded by one of the most comprehensive critical essays of his later period which is itself one of the classics on the subject, "What is a Classic"? This essay has a peculiar relevance to my point because the very purpose here, as the title itself indicates, is to define a term. Every passage, every sentence in this long essay contributes to this aim but we cannot put our finger

on any one sentence as containing a definition of a classic; we are to look for this definition in the essay as a whole. What he does in effect is first to make it clear what he does **not** mean by a classic and then to try to define not what he **does** mean by the term, but its constituent elements, one by one, with the utmost vigilance in choosing his expressions, always taking care to make his point as clear as possible by illustrative references.

This last point is important, because without it—it is impossible to appreciate a very important fact about the nature of Eliot's precision: it is **concrete** precision. It is this concrete precision that characterises his best poetry; it is also what distinguishes his best criticism. It is not the precision of the great speculative philosophers who delight in the subtleties of thought for their own sake; it is essentially the precision of a true poet. This point needs to be emphasised, for Eliot, with all his indubitably philosophical qualities as a critic—and one of my main purpose in this essay has been to point them out—is not a philosopher. He is first and foremost a **literary** critic. All I meant was that he is a literary critic with a sound philosophical training and that this mental discipline has been all to the good.

That Eliot was not a philosopher but above all an artist whose primary concern as a critic was not ideas but works of art is proved by the fact that his important critical pronouncements involving "radical and comprehensive value-judgments" (the phrase is Dr. Leavis's) are always suggested by reflections on a particular author, a particular book, a poem, or even a particular passage. His celebrated remarks on the nature of poetic belief to which I have drawn the attention of the reader above were provoked by "a specifically philosophical passage of the **Purgatorio**". His generalisations are never **a priori**, they are invariably either preceded, or followed by criticism of a line, a pass-

age, a book or an author; they are always supported by the concrete and the particular.

It is, I think, significant that in his only essay on a philosopher, "Francis Herbert Bradley" he devotes several pages to a close analysis of Bradley's prose style, and these pages form certainly the most interesting part of this admirable study. It is quite natural that Eliot should have warmly—and with perfect justice—admired the prose style of this great philosopher; his own prose style is distinguished by the same virtues that distinguish Bradley's philosophical writings. And these virtues, as we shall presently see, are eminently Latin virtue; they are more French than English.

(5)

The prose of T. S. Eliot is, as an instrument of literary criticism, perfect. It may be noted here that Herbert Read in his "English Prose Style", which is perhaps the best book on the subject so far written, quotes a passage from "The Sacred Wood" as a model of English expository prose. Although it is the prose written by a poet it is the very antithesis of what is called "poetic" prose; its virtues are more scientific than poetic. To read Eliot's critical prose is to realise, for the first time perhaps—in English literature, certainly—that literary criticism is an intellectual discipline, and a very difficult one. A distinguished critic of our time, F. L. Lucas, finds him unduly "severe and austere". The epithets were patently meant to be condemnatory, yet Eliot himself, I am sure, would have been only too glad to have them attributed to his style, verse or prose. And F. L. Lucas is right; for Eliot's critical prose is severe, it is austere; but it is the austerity of the classical mind, a mind consumed by a passion for perfection of form in art, as in life.

And yet this classical austerity of style is very far from being a cold perfection. I do not know of any other English critic whose critical writings are so immensely, so splendidly readable; any other English critic who is so utterly incapable of being, even for a moment, dull, who is so continually interesting in every sentence. Eliot knew the secret, a secret known to very few critics (and these few are all French, except Walter Pater) of making perfection, a severely disciplined perfection of form, delightful; of combining hard, ruthless precision with the excitement of tense drama.

I shall take as illustrations of Eliot's style three essays on closely related themes written at different periods of his life: **Tradition and the Individual Talent** (1917), **The Function of Criticism** (1923), and **The Frontiers of Criticism** (1956). For a young man of twenty-nine the first essay was a remarkable achievement: the maturity of mind is astonishing; the prose style is already fully developed and exhibits almost all its peculiar virtues. What is most remarkable about the style is its economy of words, its compression; every word he uses is charged with meaning and not one is superfluous. One can describe this essay as what he himself had said once about Russell's famous essay, "On Denoting": "clear and beautifully formed thought".

But with all its great merits it does not, I think, represent Eliot's criticism at its best. For this we must turn to the next essay, "The Function of Criticism", which he wrote six years later. In the first essay Eliot simply states; he does not argue his point, or try to establish it against possible objections.

In this essay, the "pontifical solemnity", which Eliot himself had condemned and ridiculed in his earlier essays, has disappeared. The compression is there, but also something else: Eliot's irony. It is the polemical irony of Matthew Arnold: in-

cisive and sharp as razor's edge, yet good-humoured and amused, with plenty of fun. It is this irony, intelligent and smiling like Arnold's, enlivened by a keen, highly refined sense of humour that makes this very serious essay such great fun to read.

The contrast between the first essay in my list with the third, *The Frontiers of Criticism*, which he wrote about forty years later, is still more striking. ("The Frontiers of Criticism" is, I think, Eliot's last great contribution to literary criticism.) The style, the tone, the temperament, the very atmosphere has changed; they have so little in common, (except the writer's characteristic disinterested and impersonal attitude to art), that they hardly appear to have been written by the same man. This last essay has it is true, much more in common with "The Function of Criticism", but there is more humour and pure fun than polemical irony. But the most important difference is that a new element has entered into it: the personality of the writer, and a personality of immense charm and inexhaustible interest. A large part of this essay is concerned with the author himself, his personal experiences both as a poet and as a reader of poetry. Eliot, of course, had the rare advantage of being a major poet of his time (though he always referred to himself as a minor poet of England); and when a major poet of one's own time speaks about himself he cannot fail to be interesting. But that alone, I am sure, cannot account wholly for the peculiar charm of the man himself whom we meet so often, in the later critical essays (written, that is, during or after the War). And when I speak of the man himself I do not mean merely his intelligence and sensibility, which are certainly of a rare order; what I have in mind is an essential moral quality. T. S. Eliot is among those very few writers of distinction of our time who can speak about themselves as much as they like—he does it frequently in his later essays—without being, even for

a moment, egotistic. I would go so far as to say that in these later critical essays, not only the most interesting but the most valuable passages are those in which he is engaged in the most difficult of all critical activities: self-criticism; and the self that is examined, analysed and criticised has supreme intrinsic interest.

I have dwelt at some length on Eliot's later essays because they seem to me to be underestimated and considered inferior to his earlier ones by some people; the most distinguished among them being Dr. Leavis himself. Dr. Leavis obviously thinks that Eliot is at his best when his "approach" is "restricted", when the technical interest, that is, is dominant; and this is what we find in his earlier criticism. When, on the other hand, this technical preoccupation, inevitable and natural for a critic like Eliot who is also a practitioner, tends to be replaced more and more by "comprehensive and radical value-judgments", the result is much less satisfactory; and this is precisely what happens (so Dr. Leavis tells us) in Eliot's "later criticism".

Dr. Leavis (a dangerous critic to disagree with) seems here to be unduly severe on Eliot's later critical essays; they are not, it appears, as incisive and challenging as the best essays of his earlier period (or, I might add, as those of Dr. Leavis himself); they are also not committed enough. But there is I think, a more fundamental reason for his unmistakable preference for Eliot's earlier criticism. Dr. Leavis has pointed out, emphatically, the central importance of "particular appreciation" in literary criticism: he is himself, I must record here, the most distinguished successor of Eliot in this very difficult art of "minute criticism"; and minute criticism of this kind is what we often miss in Eliot's later criticism.

And yet it must be admitted that even in his later criticism, the best essays are those in which the technical preoccupation of the practitioner is most in evidence; no one, I

think, would deny, for instance, that his two essays on Milton (or his essay on Johnson), are, as literary criticism, on a higher level than his essay on Kipling. At the same time it must also be admitted that in some of the finest essays of his later period—in *What is a Classic*, for instance,—this technical element is not dominant. "The essential function of literary criticism", Eliot declared in his *"The Function of Criticism"*, is "the elucidation of works of art and the correction of taste". In his earlier essays, I believe, he is primarily concerned with the first of these two functions of a critic; it is the second function that assumes greater importance in his later essays in which in place of "elucidation of works of art" we find more often elucidation of some fundamental literary concepts. The trenchancy and compression of his best earlier essays may be missed; what we find instead is greater analytical elaboration and an intense, ever-increasing concern for clarity and precision.

In his essay on *Arnold and Pater* Eliot had said, "Arnold taught English expository and critical prose a restraint and urbanity it needed". It is natural that Eliot should have greatly admired these two virtues, virtues which are so conspicuous in his own writings. However much his own critical method might have differed from that of Arnold, it is Arnold, among all English critics, whom he resembles most in his style, in his serene, even voice, in his catholicity of taste and his broad European outlook. It is here that we notice the difference between Eliot and another brilliant poet-critic of his generation, a man to whom he owed so much both as a poet and a critic: Ezra Pound. Ezra Pound's mind is, I believe, as distinguished as Eliot's and his critical genius as original; yet with all his outstanding merits as a critic, he appears, when we compare his style and tone with those of his younger fellow-critic-poet, uncultured, almost ill-bred; because "restraint" and "urbanity"

are certainly not among Pound's virtues as a critic.

I would like, before closing this discussion on Eliot's style, to call the reader's attention to a quality in Eliot's critical prose that I consider of the utmost importance, because it is rarely to be found in a great deal of modern literary criticism. It is this: T. S. Eliot's prose, although highly individual as all good prose, is essentially the perfection of what he has called the "common style"; it is in other words, in its vocabulary and grammatical construction, identical with the standard English of his generation. It is, according to his own definition, a "classical" style. No reader of Eliot's critical, prose writings can fail to notice a remarkable fact: how singularly free his language is from critical jargon. It is worth-noticing how rarely he uses terms like "romantic" and "classic", "objective" and "subjective"; when he does use one, he is very careful to make clear what exactly he means by it, and in what context. He is, although one of the most learned, the least pedantic of critics; on those rare occasions when he uses a learned term like "autotelic" it is simply because there is no familiar equivalent in the language. It is because of this essential simplicity of his language that Eliot seems (his criticism, I mean, of course,) to unintelligent and superficial reader, easier to understand than in fact he is; his profundity is too real to need the pseudo-profundity of literary, sociological or psychological gibberish that fills the learned column of critical journalism.

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In the end, after re-reading the critical essays of Eliot—and his essays, whatever the author himself, who could never bear to re-read his earlier prose writings, might say to the contrary, bear reperusal wonderfully—I find myself exclaiming, repeating what Remy de Gourmont, the only modern critic whom even Eliot could call a great critic,

said about Edmond de Goncourt: "Et surtout quel memorable desinteressement"! (And above all, what memorable disinterestedness). And this "desinteressement" is essentially the same thing as what Dr. Leavis has called "purity of interest", and "purity of interest" in the case of a literary critic means, in the words of Eliot himself, the determination to judge literature "simply and naturally as literature and not another thing". "A critic accordingly is a **literary critic**" he affirms in "The Frontiers of Criticism", "if his primary interest, in writing criticism, is to help his readers to **understand and enjoy**". And this is exactly what Eliot has done for us: he is a true **literary critic** if ever there was one. In the essay I have just mentioned his central contention is that the modern tendency to concentrate on the biographical, psychological and, above all, sociological origins of a work of art is, from the point of view of literary criticism, a disturbing, even dangerous phenomenon; for "explanation by origins", interesting and valuable as it unquestionably is, is totally irrelevant to our understanding and enjoyment—these two are, according to Eliot, inseparable—of a work of art. "The influence of psychology and of sociology upon literary criticism", he says in his essay on **Johnson as Critic and Poet**, has been both an "enrichment" and an "impoverishment". It has enriched literary criticism by enlarging the field of the critic, by emphasising "the relations of literature and life". It has also been an impoverishment, "for the purely literary values, the appreciation of good writing for its own sake, have become submerged when literature is judged in the light of other considerations".

We must remember, however, that this "purity of interest" is a very different thing from "aestheticism". His attitude towards the doctrine "Art for Art's sake" is characteristic. "Art for Art's sake", he says, is sound doctrine if "it can be taken as an exhortation to the artist to stick to his job"; if it means, for instance, "the devotion of Flaubert or Henry James". But if the theory means that Art is all that matters in life, it is unacceptable; it is even pernicious. One of the fundamental convictions in T.S. Eliot's philosophy of life is that nothing on earth or in heaven can be a substitute for anything else. Poetry, this great poet is never tired of repeating, can never be a substitute for religion. Even if we read literature merely for pleasure, for pure "aesthetic enjoyment", our reading "never affects simply a sort of special sense: it affects us as entire human beings; it affects our moral and religious existence". When Eliot says that artistic creation is "autotelic" he has in mind, I have no doubt, not the **function** of art, but the **nature** of artistic creation.

The function of art, we must remember, cannot be expressed in terms of art alone. "For it is ultimately the function of art", Eliot declares, in the magnificent sentence with which he concludes his great essay on "**Poetry and Drama**", "in imposing a credible order upon ordinary reality, and thereby eliciting some perception of an order in reality, to bring us to a condition of serenity, stillness, and reconciliation; and then leave us, as Virgil left Dante, to proceed toward a region where that guide can avail us no further".

WHITHER INDONESIA ?

Prof. SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI

THE largest Muslim country in the world—the fifth largest in point of area in the world—Indonesia has become in recent weeks a major headache to all peace loving nations. She launched on her career as a full-fledged nation fifteen years ago as a stout champion of non-alignment and parliamentary democracy. She bade good-bye to the latter a decade ago when she shelved her parliamentary democratic constitution and replaced it with Guided Democracy, which is democracy only in name. To all intents and purposes it is a thinly disguised military dictatorship with Dr. Soekarno as the President. (He has since been made the Life-President of the Republic of Indonesia.) Whatever its merits and demerits, Guided Democracy has helped President Soekarno in maintaining the integrity of his country by playing off the rival forces of opposition one against another.

Non-alignment now goes the way of parliamentary democracy. Non-alignment of Indonesian conception, it must be remembered, was never based on any noble idealism. It was rather a policy of expediency designed to obtain aid from the East as well as from the West. The gradual shift in Indonesian policy of non-alignment has been noticed for a long time by observing students of current international affairs. The wheel of history now goes full circle with the Indonesian withdrawal from the United Nations and by Sino-Indonesian entente.

President Soekarno declared on January 7 last that Indonesia had resigned her membership of the United Nations. She has gained thereby the dubious distinction of being the first member-state to resign from that world body. Soekarno is not satisfied with resignation from the United Nations. He goes farther and threatens to set up a parallel world-organisation outside the United Nations. He has obtained the blessings of Peoples' China. None else, so far as we know, favours the move. The U.S.S.R., among others, tried in vain to dissuade Indonesia from quitting the

United Nations. Soekarno perhaps banks on the support of the Afro-Asian countries. But they have got in the past—they get at present and expect to get in future—substantial aid from the United Nations. They are not, therefore, happy with Indonesia's decision. Nor are they likely to respond to President Soekarno's call. His bid for the leadership of Asia had its Waterloo at Bandung in 1955. He may renew the bid. But the odds are against him and a rude disappointment seems to be in store for him. Red China may, however, use him to build up an anti-Soviet, anti-U.S.A. third power.

What has led to the withdrawal of Indonesia from the United Nations? Indonesian spokesmen say that it is in protest against Malayasia's election to the Security Council of the United Nations. The Federation of Malayasia composed of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak and former British North Borneo came into existence in September 1963. With a 1,300-mile common frontier with Indonesia, Malayasia has a total population of about ten million made up of Chinese, Malays, Dayaks and various other indigenous tribes as against Indonesia's one hundred million. Indonesia is determined to crush Malayasia and in pursuance of her policy of 'konfrontasi' (confrontation) has been waging an undeclared war against the latter since its inception less than one and a half years ago. Not that Indonesia really fears any aggression from Malayasia. The four hundred thousand-strong Indonesian army with its up-to-date Russian arms and ammunition is one of the largest and strongest in Asia. Malayasia's fifteen thousand-strong army is no match for its Indonesian counterpart. What Soekarno objects to and dislikes is Great Britain's presence in Malayasia. He contends that Great Britain will use Malayasia as a base for dominating South-East Asia and for obstructing the development of Indonesia. He pretends to see the logey of neo-colonialism in the British base at Singapore—the

largest in the Far East and the British promise of help to Malayasia in case of external aggression.

But who is guilty of neo-colonialism—Great Britain or Indonesia? The boot seems to be on the Indonesian foot. The Associated Press reports from Washington under date line February 7, 1965 that by a secret military pact with Red China, Indonesia has agreed to the division of Malayasia between herself and China. The Indonesian Foreign Minister Dr. Soebandrio is reported to have told this to a closed door meeting in the office of the Indonesian mission at the United Nations on December 9, 1964. The meeting was attended by Indonesian Ambassadors in Canada, Mexico, Belgium, Holland and the U.S.A., among others. The *New York Herald Tribune*, which gave out the news, says that Dr. Soebandrio hinted that before the end of 1965 Red China and Indonesia would mount simultaneous assaults on Malayasia from two different directions. He is reported to have told the meeting that according to a pact between China and Indonesia, the immense manpower of the former would come to the aid of the latter in case of an all-out attack from any quarter. Dr. Soebandrio is reported to have said further that while Singapore and North Borneo would be incorporated in Indonesia the whole of Malayasia north of Singapore would be annexed to China. He believes that a major push against Singapore and North Borneo will lead to their easy annexation by Indonesia. According to the blueprint of the offensive, 10,000 Indonesian guerillas from across the Strait of Malacca are to advance on Southern and Central Malayasia while Chinese guerillas from the Thai border are to converge on the same area simultaneously. Dr. Soebandrio believes that the U.S.A. Seventh Fleet will not interfere and that the Commonwealth troops in Malayasia cannot resist a joint Sino-Indonesian onslaught.

The joint communique at the end of Dr. Soebandrio's subsequent visit to Peking in January-February (1965) and the grand reception accorded to him at the Chinese capital are straws in the wind. They indirectly corroborate the A.P. news. Five thousand Pekingese—Chou En-lai and other top Chinese leaders, among them—were present at the airport to see the Soebandrio mission off on the conclusion of their tour. This

alone shows how much seriousness and importance are attached to the mission by the Chinese authorities. The joint communique at the end of the tour leaves no room for doubt that Indonesia has walked into the Chinese parlour. China has promised a hundred million-dollar aid to Indonesia. There is, however, nothing unusual or unnatural in economic collaboration among communist and non-communist countries. What are unusual are the size of the Soebandrio mission—forty-one members including four Cabinet Ministers—the way in which it was received by its Chinese hosts and its composition. The joint Sino-Indonesian statement at the end of the visit gives out why such a large mission including so many important members of the Indonesian Government was sent out to China and why China gave it a right royal reception. The statement in question declares, among others, that Malayasia, an imperialist base, is a handy weapon to crush the revolutionary movement of the peoples of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak and former British North Borneo. Indonesia's withdrawal from the United Nations has been hailed lending weight thereby to the suspicion that Indonesia acted in the matter under Chinese influence. The statement further asserts that the United Nations, dominated and controlled by the Big Powers that it is, need be changed lock, stock and barrel and cast in a new mould. Indonesia is assured by the Big Brother that if a war is thrust upon her by the British and American imperialists, he will not remain a passive spectator. The threat, a serious one, may be the hint of a military pact between China and Indonesia. It is not unreasonable to infer that Indonesia has obtained the guarantee of Chinese help in return for an Indonesian promise to side with China if the latter is involved in a war over the Formosan issue. The communique further declares that Sino-Indonesian military collaboration will grow in future. If the statement means what it says—there is no reason to think that it does not—a new era in South-East Asia is about to dawn.

Red China is no believer in co-existence. Peking is committed to a policy of fight to the finish against its rivals. Dr. Soekarno now ties the fate of his country and people to the chariot wheels of Chinese intransigence. His action is fraught with ominous possibilities not for his

country and people alone but for the whole of South-East Asia and perhaps for the world at large. Great Britain will side with Malayasia in case of a full-scale attack on her. Australia and New Zealand cannot remain neutral in such a contingency. The former is the United Nations Trustee for Eastern New Guinea, which borders on Western New Guinea (Irian Barat) in Indonesia. The U.S.A., pre-occupied with Vietnam as it is, cannot remain a passive spectator in case of a major show-down between Indonesia on the one hand and Malayasia, Great Britain, Australia and New Zealand on the other. Indonesia will surely find Red China on her side in such a war. With all the powers named above involved, South-East Asia will be the theatre of a major shooting war with four major

powers ranged on opposite sides. What the outcome will be is anybody's guess.

The Indonesian Communist Party (Partai Komunis Indonesia), the strongest communist party in the non-communist world, is fanatically pro-Peking. Though the officers in the army are anti-communist, there are reports of communist infiltration into the other ranks. Dr. Soekarno, an adept in the game of balance and counterpoise, has so far maintained the balance between his communist and non-communist supporters. But how far and how long can he maintain it after he has agreed to play the second fiddle to China? His decision will either finish Indonesia as an independent political entity or his political career or both.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL STATUS OF THE INDIAN PARLIAMENT

PROF. SATYABRATA RAI CHOWDHURI

THE Constitution of India, a formidable document of 395 original Articles and 9 Schedules, embodies the parliamentary system of government. The structure of this system has been reared on the foundation of British constitutional law. But a careful perusal of our constitution will lead one to the conclusion that though the Parliament represents the kernel of democratic government, unlike the British Parliament our Parliament is not a sovereign body free "to do everything that is not naturally impossible" (Blackstone). But this point has often been missed by political leaders who seem to believe that the constitution had armed our Parliament with such powers as are enjoyed by its British counterpart. It may be recalled that a few months ago, Prime Minister Shastri, obviously exacerbated by the Supreme Court's opinion on the question of jurisdictional conflict between Allahabad High Court and the U.P. Legislative Assembly, opined at the Congress Parliamentary Party meeting that "Supreme Court functions under certain limitations whereas Parliament has no limitations". A similar idea was expressed by late Prime Minister Nehru in course of his Presidential Address at the Third Annual Meeting of the General Body of the Indian Institute of Public Administration held at New Delhi on April 6, 1957, when he remarked: "We have a sovereign Parliament which is elected every five years, normally speaking"¹. In the light of these statements the students now need to take stock afresh of the constitutional status of the Indian Parliament in general and the relation between the Legislature and the Judiciary in particular.

Though we have adopted the parliamentary form of government of the British model, the

well-known dictum of De Lolme that "the Parliament can do everything but make a woman a man and a man a woman" does not hold good in regard to the powers of the Indian Parliament. As the most important principle of English constitutional practice is that "the judges do not comment on the policy of Parliament, but administer the law good or bad as they find it",² the British Parliament is a perfectly sovereign body. In the words of Dicey, "the principle of Parliamentary Sovereignty means neither more nor less than this, namely, that Parliament has, under the English Constitution, the right to make or unmake any law whatever; and further, that no person or body is recognised by the law of England as having the right to override or set aside the legislation of Parliament".³ But in this sense the sovereignty of the Indian Parliament is nowhere near its British counterpart. According to Justice Kania of the Supreme Court, "The principal point of distinction between the British Parliament and the Indian Parliament remains and that is that the Indian Parliament is the creature of the constitution of India and its powers, rights, privileges and obligations have to be found in the relevant Articles of the Constitution of India. It is not a sovereign body uncontrolled with unlimited powers. The Constitution of India has conferred on the Indian Parliament powers to make laws in respect of matters specified in the appropriate place and schedules, and curtailed its rights and powers under certain other Articles and in particular by the Articles found in Chapter III dealing with Fundamental Rights".⁴

In regard to the question of the supremacy of the British Parliament it is sometimes argued that its sovereignty is limited by the will of the

1. See Report of the Proceedings of the Third Annual Meeting of the General Body, Indian Institute of Public Administration, p. 8.

2. *Hansard*, May 3, 1950.

3. Dicey, *The Law of the Constitution*.

4. *Supreme Court Reports*, 747 (1951).

people. But as *Finer* has pointed out, the British Constitution knows nothing about the people because once a person is elected to the House of Commons, he is virtually free to act as his own mind dictates and is entitled to reject the demands made by the people.⁵ Again, in 1910 Justice *Coke*, in the celebrated *Bonham's* case, propounded the doctrine that the Common Law is above the Parliament. When the Parliament enacts a law in unmistakable and indubitable terms, the judges have nothing to do but to apply it to the case before them. But if the terms of the statute are ambiguous, how will the judges interpret it? The basic principles of common law guiding the British judiciary in regard to this question have been indicated by *Keir* and *Lawson*⁶ as follows :

- (i) The state is not liable to suit unless by express legislative provisions.
- (ii) Fundamental Rights are not to be withdrawn by other than direct legislation ; thus there is to be no deprivation of the common law rights of individual freedom or property without compensation, unless expressly stated, and penal and taxing legislation is to be strictly construed.
- (iii) Any change in the process of government which is the unintentional result of legislation on other matters will not be permitted.
- (iv) Wide latitude will be granted to the executive in questions on the extent of its power during periods of national emergency.

In this connection the observation of Justice *Wilkes* in the case of *Lee vs. Bude & Torrington Junction Railway Company* deserves mention : "It was once said, I think in *Hobart*, that if an Act of Parliament were to create a man judge in his own case, the Court might disregard it. That dictum, however, stands as a warning rather than an authority to be followed. We sit here as

servants of the Queen and the legislature. Are we to act as regents over what is done by the Parliament with the consent of the Queen, Lords and Commons? I deny that any such authority exists. If an Act of Parliament has been obtained improperly, it is for the legislature to correct it by repealing it ; but so long as it exists as law, the courts are bound to obey it".⁷ In Britain, therefore, nobody has any legal authority to declare an Act of Parliament ultra vires, whereas in India, as in the United States, any act passed by the legislature, upon challenge by an interested party, is compared with the constitution and if in conflict therewith, is declared unconstitutional.⁸ In the *Gopalan vs. the state of Madras* (1950) Justice *Mukherjee* has rightly observed that "the Constitution of India is a written constitution and though it has adopted many of the principles of the English Parliamentary system, it has not accepted the English doctrine of the absolute supremacy of the Parliament in matters of legislation. In India a statute to be valid must in all cases be in conformity with the constitutional requirements, and it is for the judiciary to decide whether any enactment is constitutional or not".

In India, the powers of the Parliament is limited by the written constitution on the one hand and the judiciary on the other. Like the American Congress the Indian Parliament must respect the limits set by the constitution ; the relevant articles giving it power and prescribing the limitations thereof. It is, therefore, not what the Parliament desires, but "what the Courts regard as judicially permissible that in the end becomes law".⁹ In England, the constitutional struggle for many centuries resulted in the establishment of Parliamentary Sovereignty. But in India, as in the United States, the constitution has been created by the people in whom ultimate sovereignty inheres. The Parliament being a creature of this sovereignty must be subject to the terms of the supreme instrument which created

5. *Herman Finer, Theory and Practice of Modern Government*, p. 371.

6. *Keir and Lawson, Cases on Constitutional Law*, Chap. 1.

7. *Law Reports 6, "Common Pleas" 1871*, p. 582.

8. See *Oliver Field, The Effects of an Unconstitutional Statute*.

9. *Dean Roscoe Pound, Law in Books and Law in Practice*.

it. It seems logical, therefore, that in a state where there is a written constitution, its sanctity and binding force must be safeguarded by some institution—the judiciary; and “if there is to be a binding force at all in a constitution, it ought to bind the legislature as well as other organs”.¹⁰ But it should be pointed out here that no written constitution, however comprehensive in scope, can perpetually meet the requirements of the complexities that arise in a dynamic society. In the United States it is the Supreme Court’s power of judicial review that has provided the most effective way of making the rigid and written constitution flexible enough to work. In the words of Finer, “the rigid constitution has lived only by judicial respiration”.

Although the Fundamental Rights as enumerated in Part III of our constitution are in some way subject to parliamentary regulations, the Supreme Court of India, like that of the United States, enjoys exclusive power of judicial review in regard to those under Article 19. In this connection the Supreme Court observed that “the determination by the Legislature of what constitutes a reasonable restriction is not final or conclusive; it is subject to the supervision of the Court”.¹¹

Another issue in the controversy over the Supreme Court’s power of judicial review is whether the Court should be permitted to review ‘political questions’ concerning which the decision of the political branches of government is often claimed to be final. This question was first posed by Thomas Jefferson who wrote in 1819 that “each department is truly independent of the others, and has an equal right to decide for itself what is the meaning of the constitution in the case submitted to its action; and especially where it is to act ultimately and without appeal”. In the United States it has been resolved that the Court has the power to decide what subjects are ‘political questions’. “The doctrine of political questions does not, therefore, infringe the basic

doctrine of judicial supremacy”.¹² But in India although the constitution endows the judiciary with the power of judicial review almost in the same way as in the United States, the Courts have no power to question the validity of any proclamation of Emergency made by the President. Such proclamations may also remain valid without the sanction of the Parliament for a period of two months and the constitution makes special provision by which proclamation may be made during dissolution of the House of the People.

It is sometimes argued that our Parliament is supreme in so far as the power of amending the constitution is concerned. But even on that score the powers of the Parliament are not unlimited. There are some provisions in our constitution which may be amended not only by a special majority in Parliament but also after ratification by at least half of the state legislatures. As the Supreme Court has observed: “That power (of amendment) though it has been entrusted to Parliament, has been hedged about with such restrictions that its exercise must be difficult and rare”.¹³ In fact, it is impossible to envisage a sovereign Parliament in a federal state because, in the words of Acton, “the federal system limits and restrains the sovereign power by dividing it and assigning to Government only certain defined rights”.¹⁴

In view of the above arguments, Prof. D. N. Banerjee’s observation that “our Parliament is both a sovereign and a non-sovereign law making body—sovereign in some respects and non-sovereign in some others” does not seem to be tenable because as Lieber aptly puts it, “Sovereignty can no more be alienated than a tree can alienate its right to sprout or a man can transfer his life and personality without self-destruction”.¹⁵

12. Allen Potter, *American Government and Politics*, p. 259.

13. Sankari Prasad vs. Union of India.

14. Acton, *Essays on Freedom and Power*.

15. D. N. Banerjee, *Our Fundamental Rights*, p. 413.

10. Herman Finer, *The Theory and Practice of Modern Government*, p. 140.

11. Chintamon Rao vs. State of M.P.

MAKHANLAL AND KEDARNATH—A TRIBUTE

SUNIT KUMAR MUKHERJEE

MAKHANLAL Sen and Kedarnath Chatterjee ! Two glittering luminaries in the firmament of the Indian press. Both lived long enough to observe the many vicissitudes through which the Indian press had had to pass. To both, newspaper publication was a mission and not just a craft which both used with remarkable ability. Idealism above everything, mattered most to both and there was no possible scope to sacrifice it or room for compromise. Alike in many ways, it is interesting to note that they passed away in the same week too.

Makhan Sen was a born rebel. For a graduate of the Presidency College in the early part of this century, a secured job with the government was well within his grip. But the bug that went inside the heads of many young revolutionaries of that age did not allow him to go for an easy, comfortable life. Instead, he went to his native village to teach history at the local school, trying to erase from the minds of his young pupils, the wrong impressions and misgivings gained by learning the distorted facts and versions of Indian history written by English historians. Side by side went the inspired lectures dealing with the colourful and exciting stories of the revolutionary movement of our country since the days of the mutiny as well as how revolution had swept the freedom movement of other countries. This crusading spirit to expose the truth and dispel the myth of falsehood remained a passion with him all his life and, however high-dosed the dope of temptation, threat or provocation might be, Makhanlal refused to wilt under any circumstance.

His 'finest hour' was however, when he became a part, an indispensable part of *Ananda Bazar Patrika*. It was there that his creative genius blossomed in all its beauty. His dedication and energy along with honesty and integrity coupled with high journalistic skill soon placed *Ananda Bazar Patrika* in a position that caused

headache to the rulers, opposed to nationalistic aspirations and those familiar with the romantic history and fascinating struggle of the vernacular press in Bengal against the pernicious and repressive measures of the authorities to smash it once for all, will recall that Makhan Sen's determined and bold attempts to uphold the dignity and maintain the purity of the press had made him almost an institution. Later, his difference with others in *Ananda Bazar Patrika* led him to leave the paper—an organ for which he had given his blood, sweat and toil. Restless and undaunted, he soon founded "*Bharat*", a Bengali daily amidst great difficulties and odds and here he got sound support from Kedarnath. It once more offered him the forum from whence he could launch his uncompromising campaign for the independence movement along with his other important mission in life—moulding, shaping and guiding public opinion with the spirit of service at the core of everything. It did not take long for him to realise that he was up against an uphill task and that "*Bharat*" could only continue if the ideals and principles that had been his life-long associates were forsaken which naturally he refused to do. No wonder, "*Bharat*" had to die its inevitable death despite the gallant efforts made by Makhan Sen and Kedarnath who contemptuously threw away the several baits that came pouring in to lure them to deviate from the paper's ideal and freedom. But even within its brief period of publication, it had gained a reputation as being one of the more fearless, independent and conscientious papers of the day without ever succumbing to the wiles and pressures of the interested advertisers.

That was practically the end of his eventful career although he was associated with the Calcutta University's department of Journalism ever since its inception and continued till he was stricken with bad health forcing him to bed

and retire. As a teacher he had won the love and esteem of his numerous students and understood their problems and sympathised with their lot. He often advised his students not to rush for metropolitan dailies but to go to small towns and villages and start small community papers as were to be found in the West. Big dailies, even if they willed, could hardly absorb the growing number of journalism graduates every year and Makhanlal advised them to avoid big papers and thus be saved from frustration and disillusionment. Why shouldn't, he reasoned with his students, the new and young generation face and accept the challenge of going into small towns and start small papers reflecting thus the hopes, dreams, aspirations and problems of the dumb millions of this country? Utopian! Possibly, yes; but should not, he argued, there be even a few who could lead the way and inspire others? After all, what better service, Makhanlal used to say, was there than public service and was there a better tool to do it than through the medium of the press? Post-independence India does badly need the service of dedicated youth to educate, guide and channelise the unlimited potentialities of our neglected masses and, being a life-long fighter, he knew that the problems of the newly-freed country's became much more pronounced and complex after independence was gained by them.

Kedarnath, though a long-associate of Makhanlal and a strong idealist like him was, however, different in certain ways. While Makhan Sen was bed-ridden for the last four years, Kedarnath was a picture of sound health and none even among those who were close to him knew that the end was so near. Remarkably fit, agile and strong for his age, well-built and handsome. Kedarnath was a misfit amongst the dyspeptic, hunchbacked and weak-kneed members of his community, the Bengalees. While Makhan Sen had to start from scratch, Kedarnath had the unique advantage of being the son of a prince amongst journalists whose reputation and sagacity had reached legendary heights even during his life time. Rarely has a journalist won so much of acclaim and esteem during his life time as Ramananda Chatterjee did. To many who are today India's established journalists,

Ramananda Babu's forceful writings coupled with hard, cold logic and indisputable facts without any bitterness or rancour, served as the beacon light. Kedarnath was not only born to such an atmosphere and environment but he had the added advantage to learn, grasp and imbibe the teachings and style of his illustrious father which was to play so significant a part in his later life.

A science graduate, he went to U.K. for further studies and saw and experienced the horrors of the First World War. He noticed the changes and devastations that war brought on the social and economic planes of England and how the basic, fundamental values of life were in the process of being changed gripped his imagination. Both as a student of London's Imperial College of Science as well as the Manager of a munitions factory in Kent, he was fortunate to see life in all its aspects. May be this variegated panorama helped him to assess and judge matters coolly and objectively in later years and his apparent detachment placed him in an enviable position to study men and matters dispassionately.

Those who had seen him knew how faithfully he represented his age. His mannerism, his dignity, sobriety and even his gait betrayed an aura that is fast becoming a subject of history. A lot took him to be too serious and grave to be dragged from his own shell and some even thought he was too indifferent, proud and discriminating. But those who succeeded to get over the crust or layer that otherwise hid his exterior where pride never raised its ugly head, but a strong personality, yes, will testify how amiable and friendly he could be. A journalist, it is said, must know something of everything but Kedarnath knew not only something but a lot of everything. One had only to know how to tap him at the right moment and in came the flow of Niagara unceremoniously satisfying the queries and doubts of many. Whether it was politics or gold smuggling or the new scientific discoveries or the latest trend in art or cinema movement, Kedarnath was well at home in everything. How about sports or music, if one wanted to catch him off-guard? Well, he could surprise one with the names of sporting personalities in

different arenas of games along with the statistics and records established in all fields of sports while a long and animated discussion with him on music helped one to understand what the different 'gharanas' or schools of music were there in India and why despite having the same notes or 'pardas', *Goud Sarang* and *Behag* sounded so different. But there was no bragging about all these; he would rather sit and listen quietly to others but once the ice started melting it was such a pleasure to be near him. A widely travelled person, it was worth listening to his experiences. A fine conversationalist, he could keep his audience spell-bound with serious and light talks. He was equally at home with stories of wrestling or how he took cold showers all through his stay in England or how influenza took a heavy toll of lives in Europe, particularly England. Side by side in the same delightful vein, he would tell of his trip to Persia with Tagore and many such interesting high-lights. Far above meanness, he never spoke ill of others and neither allowed nor relished others indulging in this.

Politics, he never did in the accepted sense yet how many of us know that he maintained an intimate liaison with the revolutionaries in India helping them whenever they needed any. His house was the meeting place of not only scholars and intellectuals but social workers and even those connected actively with the extremist groups. True, he was not seen making fiery speeches on the maidan or leading a procession on the streets. What he did was sound, constructive work without any fanfare or cheap publicity. Neither temptation nor threat could cow him down. Like his compatriot, Makhan Sen, he too, refused to be bought, no matter how high the price was. It was no fun to keep *Prabasi* and *Modern Review* going in these

days of mounting costs of production and fluctuating tastes. Yet he refused to surrender to pressures threatening his bold and independent approach to run the papers. He realised that to maintain such an attitude spelt a difficult proposition but initiated as he was under his father's guidance and strong moral sense, he never gave up the chase and decided to fight to the end. His position in society and his access to its higher strata, placed him in a position from where he could, if he willed, manipulate a lot of things and exploiting the situation could have easily indulged in group politics or form some sort of an alliance, so much in vogue these days. But he was above all this and never allowed his sublimity and broadness to be tarnished. Adaptability he had though as a worthy representative of the Victorian era it must have been distressing for him to accept anything and everything that goes in the name of culture and progress today. The gradual decline and fall of the essential values of life bothered him much and he sincerely believed that restoration of basic decency in the daily conduct of man could go a long way in curing some of the ills of the present day.

After Hemendra Prasad Ghosh, Makhanlal and Kedarnath were possibly some of the few surviving sentinels of the vanishing age who too would be fast receding into oblivion unless the history of the Press of our country is written in its proper perspective. It is rather unfortunate though, that neither of these two great Titans wrote much about the period which they saw, lived and epitomized with so much of gusto, zeal and conviction. Persons fortunate enough to have come across these two all-time greats will echo the feelings of the Bard of Avon: "Here was a Caesar, when comes such another?"

THE CONQUERING CONFEDERACY The Maratha Confederacy

FR. MICHAEL R. VAZ, S.J.

Perhaps the most pertinent and succinctly expressive feature of the rich annals of Maratha Sovereignty is the ironic division of its State Politics and Administration into two schools, which incidentally happened to be two distinct periods: the school of the *Ashtapradhan* or eight-member administrative cabinet which we owe directly to the genius of Shivaji and the school of the *Maratha Confederacy* which was the brain-child of the originator of a Brahman dynasty, Balaji Vishwanath Bhat.

Only the administrative insight of a Shivaji could have given birth to the *Ashtapradhan* Cabinet and it would be no less true to say that only a man of his calibre could keep it in an effective state, for this Cabinet presupposed a well-ordered and strongly centralized Government. However, during the Great Mughal Offensive of Aurangzeb during Rajaram's regime the central authority was dissolved in Maharashtra. Nevertheless in order to maintain his sovereignty Rajaram distributed from Jinji, the different segments of Maharashtra, now under Mughal occupation among his lieutenants who consequently had to reconquer every mile of land and retain it in the face of overwhelming odds; thus a legitimate pride was born in these seasoned warriors and every kind of controlling authority was galling to them. Thus the grandson of Shivaji inherited a war-torn Maharashtra distributed evenly among seasoned war-lords. Shahu lacked the military and administrative qualities of Shivaji¹ and so he began his "laissez-faire" policy by which he not only allowed the war-lords to retain their Jagirs but also distributed new Jagirs. In this respect his behaviour was formulated on a conservative principle: "Don't destroy anything old nor create anything new". This policy of the Chhatrapati received the heartiest backing from Balaji Vishwanath

Bhat his Peshwa, since as a powerful feudatory himself he "was the worst defaulter, for he had not only huge Jagirs but nearly all the power of the state".² Thus almost imperceptibly due to the incompetency of Shahu and the active connivance of Balaji, Shivaji's watchwords—no Jagirs and no hereditary office—which were the pillars of the *Ashtapradhan* system were relegated and though the *Ashtapradhan* members retained their nominal positions at Shahu's Darbar they lacked even the very vestiges of power.

Balaji Vishwanath Bhat who had risen from the ranks to the supreme office witnessed this turn of affairs and concluded that the safety of the Maratha nation lay in "the formation of a confederacy of the great leaders held together by the traditions of Shivaji for purposes of common action against foreign powers, but in other respects, a confederacy of co-ordinate and equal authorities in respect of internal management and control. In this way and this way only, was it possible to hold together the great leaders who had established themselves by their own resources in the different parts of the country beyond their natural and territorial limits".³ When Balaji gave concrete form to these aspirations after his diplomatic triumph over *Kanhoji Angre*, the *Ashtapradhan* was given an honourable burial and with the establishment of the Maratha Confederacy a new period of Maratha Imperialism commenced which would dominate the politics of India for an eventful century.⁴

In spite of the innately flexible character of the Maratha confederacy some of its salient features were quite evident. As far back as 1883, Sir Richard Temple had not failed to observe a chief feature of the Maratha Confederacy when

2. H. N. Sinha: *The Rise of the Peshwas*, p. 46.

3. M. G. Ranade: *Rise of the Maratha Power*, p. 93.

1. Cfr. Kincaid and Parasnis: *A History of the Maratha people*, p. 222.

he wrote : "these (Shinde, Holkar, Gaikwad etc.) principalities, though really independent respecting internal administration, and making war or peace with their neighbours according to opportunity, yet owed allegiance to the Peshwa at Poona as Head of the Maratha body. On state occasions, heads of principalities would visit Poona by way of acknowledging the superior position of the Peshwa. On the other hand the Peshwa was careful to obtain the sanction of his nominal sovereign at Satara to every important act of state".⁴ However, ultimately the most compelling reason for unscrupulous and independent war-lords to come together would be nothing else than self-interest : the Maratha Confederacy was thus effectively ordained with true psychological insight by Balaji to make "their material interests centre in the common discharge of their duties.....and the division of power was so arranged as to make the interests of all a common concern".⁵ Like true Marathas, the war-chiefs who held their fiefs far away in Hindustan almost without exception held hereditary patilships or lands in Maharashtra : this fact was, therefore, a not too insignificant material bond of unity. Moreover most of the Maratha Confederates held Shivaji and his successors in profound esteem and reverence : so it was almost taken for granted that "a balance of power (would be) kept up among the different members of the Confederacy by a judicious exercise of Shahu's intermediation".⁶ In the long run this striking of a balance of power by the central authority between the various Confederates was a leading factor which maintained the solidarity of the Maratha Confederacy for a long time. Besides all this, the Central Authority appointed its own representatives to offer advice and correction in internal administration and also to assure the regular submit-

tance of Administrative accounts into the State Treasury. It is needless to add that often hardly more than one or two of these features were expressly delineated in the mutual relationship fabric of the Maratha Confederacy.

All in all, it is a matter of historical fact that the Maratha Confederacy succeeded remarkably well where "the old *Ashtapradhan* arrangement would never have succeeded in securing this remarkable development".⁸ Before the century was out the soldiers of the Maratha Confederacy had invaded Malwa, Bundelkhand, Rajputana, Gujerat, Bengal, Orissa, Punjab, and almost all the Mughal subhas in the triumphant corteges of their chieftains ; it was the glory of a Maratha Confederate, the indomitable Shinde⁹ to earn the name of Emperor-maker when he seated Shah Alam II on the throne of Delhi ; most legitimately "they could truly boast of having watered their horses in every Indian river from the Kaveri to the Indus".¹⁰ Ten generations of Maratha generals, schooled in the tradition of the Maratha Confederacy and eager to surpass each other in the quest for greatness and empire succeeded each other and through the passage of the violent years "the Confederacy not only outlived opposition but derived greater strength from the reverses it sustained from time to time, rising Phoenix-like in greater splendour from the very ashes of its apparent ruin".¹¹

Nevertheless the Maratha Confederacy bore within itself the seeds of its own dissolution and in the words of Ranade it "was a rope of sand, if it was not held together by a common tradition and a common patriotism". As with new conquests wealth and prestige accumulated at the courts of the Confederated leaders ; egoism and self-aggrandizement got the better of their common sense. Naturally this self-interest

4. Kincaid & Parasnis : *A History of the Maratha People*, p. 207.

"Thereafter Angre released Bahiro Pingle and became an allied confederate of the king. In this way the Maratha confederacy was born".

5. Sir Richard Temple : *Oriental Experience*, p. 347-8.

6. M. G. Ranade : *Rise of the Maratha Power*, p. 95.

7. *Ibid*, p. 94.

8. M. G. Ranade : *Rise of the Maratha Power*, p. 94.

9. Sir Richard Temple : *Oriental Experience*, p. 348.

10. M. G. Ranade : *Rise of the Maratha Power*, p. 2.

11. Shinde is 'the original form of a Marathi surname, corrupted by the English to Scindia.

played them into the hands of the British colonists and then it was too late for them to see their blunder, as the Maratha Confederacy had already dissolved into a phantom. Due to the ups and downs of the Maratha polity another weakness of the Maratha Confederacy became evident; especially "since the rights, duties and responsibilities of the feudatories had never been clearly defined or rigidly enforced.....(and thus) the Jagirdars either openly defied the central authority or joined the enemies of the state". Without a strong central and controlling authority the Maratha Confederacy had the potentiality of degenerating into a faction of envious, jealous and covetous war-lords for ever fighting among themselves and even against the Central Government: this was proved by the later distressing history of this truly unique organization.

In the ultimate analysis of the Maratha Confederacy it will have to be admitted, that it

was an apt instrument for carving an Empire in the hands of the Maratha master-guerrillas but whose leaders were fanatically touchy about their own autonomy. The creation of this acceptable organization—the Maratha Confederacy—has emblazoned the name of the 1st Peshwa, Balaji Vishwanath Bhat across the pages of Maratha history as the Statesman of Compromise. It was this uncommon talent for gauging the tempo of the times and accommodating oneself to it accordingly by a suppleness of disposition which found its expression in a mature policy of compromise, that was responsible for the initial fillip, the nascent power of the Marathas. Not long after Balaji had closed his eyes in death, the fabulous Maratha cavalry of his shrewd creation—the Maratha Confederacy—swept across the Indian continent bringing nations and people into subjugation and consequently assuring for another hundred years the stability and permanence of the Chitpavan House.

THE 'HINDU PATRIOT' AND THE REVOLT OF 1857-58

SUDHIR CHANDRA

In view of the plethora of European accounts of the events of 1857-58, it is relatively easy to analyse the reactions of the ruling race to this movement. It is, however, equally difficult to get even an approximate idea of how Indians reacted to an event which continued to influence British Indian political development more or less throughout the British rule over this country. This is so for obvious reasons. The English having emerged victorious, Indians could not give vent to their innermost thoughts and sentiments. Even when the fate of the rebellion was hanging in the balance, Canning's Press Act had imposed certain limitations beyond which expression of opinion was not possible. It is this paucity of material and the unreliability of that scanty testimony which seem to be available that enhances the importance of the writings in the *Hindu Patriot* on different aspects of the movement of 1857-58.

These writings are characterised by a deep insight into human psychology and a boldness of expression. Others, too, at this time, might have possessed similar, even greater, insight. But what distinguishes the *Hindu Patriot* is the editor's courage in expressing views and establishing facts which were bound to enrage the majority of resident Europeans. This readiness to write what he thought was right, appears all the more marvellous when we recollect the frenzied atmosphere in which Europeans were living in Calcutta and the suburbs. These were the days when impossible stories of massacres of Europeans, of violation of their women and mutilation of their children were assiduously exaggerated or invented, industriously circulated and avidly swallowed; when, reason having been bidden adieu, cries of indiscriminate retribution suppressed the voices of sanity; when respect for the authorities was at such a low ebb as to make possible a petition by resident Europeans for the recall of the Governor-General.

It was in such a dangerously disturbed atmosphere that the *Hindu Patriot* undertook

the task of putting before the public the real facts of the situation. While doing this the editor did not hesitate to indict Europeans of the gravest crimes and the most sordid motives.

The editor, Harish Chandra Mukherjee, began by pointing out that it was not without cause that the sepoys had mutinied and the civil population in many places had joined them. There were, he wrote, two sides of the case, and it was not only just but also politic that the case of the rebels be studied. He referred to the widespread sympathy felt by the Indians for the rebels. He pointed out the misapprehension entertained by many Indians, especially the sepoys, that their religion was in danger. He agreed that this was a delusion, but emphasised that founded or unfounded, it was there and had to be removed. In this connection he welcomed the declaration of the Governor-General-in-Council disclaiming any intention of proselytising the natives.

The next and the most important thing that attracted his attention was the cry raised by Europeans for indiscriminate retribution against Indians. He began by showing that the crimes alleged to have been perpetrated by the rebels were either exaggerated out of all proportion to their actual extent, or mere figments of the fertile imagination of Europeans. Displaying a flair for sarcasm, he wrote that the Orientals were known for their fertile imagination. But the performance of a large section of atrocity-mongers among Europeans had deprived the Asiatics of their only consolation of being superior to the Europeans in the art of story-telling. He quoted reliable authorities to prove that "while the 'atrocities' were in most instances unreal creations of morbid imaginations, the retributive excesses were sad realities."

Describing the pattern on which the army of retribution worked, the *Hindu Patriot* wrote that villages were first burned, the males trying to escape were either shot down or sabred and

the women were then ravished. The following account may be quoted as a revelation of the boldness with which the *Patriot* broadcast the bloody acts of the Army of Retribution: "For some time every law of nature and man was set aside by the army of retribution. Indiscriminate slaughter, violation of women, the burning of whole tracts of inhabited country, the hanging and blowing away of men by hundreds, the infliction of skilfully wrought bodily and mental torture, were the daily acts of civilized administrators and commanders. More than this was done by men in lower grades of life." (emphasis mine.) It lamented the fact that some of the most important organs of European opinion in India, though at this stage disclaiming any hand in this retribution, had been lauding these atrocities. Any man who had the patience and inclination to wade through the Anglo-Indian journals for the preceding thirteen months could see "a mass of profligacy and brutality the sight of which would sicken the sturdiest nature."

The writer drew special attention to the fact that European women took a leading role in demanding retributive atrocities. Among others, he referred to a lady "being certain that yonder nigger with the shawl turban was an emissary of Kooer Sing the gentleman that would shoot him on the spot shall have her hand." And he was "not imagining romances but relating genuine facts." What he lamented still more was the approval lent to these cruel demands by the missionaries and clergymen. His only consolation was that a minority consisting of men like the new Bishop of Cotton (sic) and Rev. R. Bland, Chaplain of Gauhati, was opposed to such an unchristian act.

The editor did not fail to observe that the struggle had taken the form of a war of races. Though doing his utmost to remove the misconception, he saw how Europeans had begun, as a result of the events of 1857, to attribute to the entire Indian race the characteristics they noticed among the rebels. The hatred against Indian colour, he was pained to find on Rev. Lal Behari De's testimony, had permeated even the ministers of the Gospel.

The *Hindu Patriot* alleged that all this was the outcome of the machinations of a "cabal"

of resident Europeans. Comprising some of the most intelligent and distinguished members of their community, these men possessed considerable social influence and perverted it to sinister ends. Prepossessed with their own interests they sacrificed public duties for the advancement of private ends. These persons wanted to "create for themselves a position they were by no means entitled to." As such they took advantage of the situation offered by the rebellion to advance their own claims, not by exhibiting their absolute worth, but by "finding fault with the authorities and abusing the natives of the soil." But the triumph of the sinner being shortlived, these men succeeded only for a while in inducing the British mob to raise the cry of "vengeance." The voice of justice coupled with mercy soon became dominant. Canning and his colleagues were exculpated and the *Hindu Patriot* hoped that the natives would also be soon viewed in their true colour by Englishmen.

The campaign thus conducted by the *Hindu Patriot* was not altogether in vain. Fortunately, Canning had from the outset resolved on a policy to which the description of 'clemency' was derogatorily applied at that time, and which soon came to be recognised as a well-deserved compliment. To this extent the *Hindu Patriot* had the blessing of the highest British Indian functionary in the country. This, however, does not detract from the great achievement of the editor which lay in his persistent exposition of the charges levelled by Europeans against Indians as a whole, and his successful vindication of Indian character. At a time when Indians were being unreservedly reviled, and when they seemed to submit to the obloquy without even the semblance of a defence, the *Hindu Patriot* protested in a sober, dignified and yet telling manner. This protest, apart from providing a corrective to many Europeans, could not but have sustained the drooping spirits of Indians then and thereafter. Apart from this he turned the tables upon that cabal of ambitious resident Europeans by censuring in unmistakable terms those traducers of Indian character.

The editor had the good fortune of seeing his ideas vindicated by the authorities in India and Europe. He could report that after initial

surprise and horror occasioned by the reports of the mutinies, moderation and coolness did not take long to appear in Europe. Apart from the sobering influence of British successes in India, especially the fall of Delhi and the relief of Lucknow, this attitude was generated by the exertions of the Tories, the only thinking men in England at that time. He wrote how while even John Bright and his Peace Society had accepted the cry of revenge and had been joined by Lord Shaftesbury, it was these Tories who laboured against popular prejudices and made it possible for people to judge. And for this Indians ought to be grateful to them. The debate in the English Parliament further showed how this calm attitude had prevailed in Europe; for speakers, irrespective of party affiliations, vied with each other in demanding justice and mercy for India. This confirmed the editor's conviction that whatever a 'cabal' might do and say for furthering its sordid private ends, the majority of Europeans were just and truth-loving. The despatches of Russel, the correspondent of the 'Times' in India also had a similar effect.

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THE HOPE OF MANKIND

Note, by Ramananda Chatterjee

But, however gloomy the prospect, hope is indestructible. There is a still small voice which tells us all to resist the lust of power and pelf.

There is struggle for existence, no doubt, but there is also the higher law of Mutual Aid, which is to be found even among some lower animals. If struggle for existence alone has its way, the human race cannot but be extinct. But if all peoples and nations be convinced that the way for all mankind to survive in the struggle lies along the path of world-wide mutual aid, then a despairing world will see light in the encircling gloom and the future will appear bright with hope.

Truly did Stopford A. Brooke observe :

"Divine and dreadful is the great story of humanity, which, beginning in remotest antiquity and in struggle out of the animal, has continued to this day, and may continue yet a million years. But always it has been a progress : and morality, of imagination and art, of reverence and worship, of the idea of God and the idea of perfection : of strife towards a lofty destiny, in which none have perished utterly, none have sinned beyond forgiveness, none have forfeited immortality.

"A Drama so immense that only He in whom it is all contained can read its pages from end to end, and see its last scene unroll itself—its characters all harmonized to that completed conclusion which shall be before the perfected Humanity begins its Sinless, great and sacred Scripture of the race ; we can read but little of it yet."

A CASE FOR REGIONAL PLANNING

A. G. PRASAD

INDIA is a country with vast natural resources scattered unevenly throughout. Any plan for economic development of such a country like India must consider these regional imbalances in resources; otherwise the aim of planning to utilise resources to the maximum will be thwarted. In fact the aim of economic development is to correct imbalances between regions, countries and between regions in any one country. These are anachronisms due to the long period of working of market forces. This co-existence of affluence and poverty is the basic cause of local misunderstandings.¹ In this paper an attempt is made to point out the disparities in the economic development among the different states, the causes for and suggested remedies to them.

I

Standard of living as indicated by income payments, consumption patterns and employment opportunities is the best index to assess a country's or a region's economic well-being. The following table gives the incomes of the different states of the Indian Union according to the available 1960-'61 year figures at 1955-'56 prices.²

States	Gross Income (in Rs. crores)	Per capita income (in rupees)
Andhra	862.81	241.82
Assam	296.57	254.57
Bihar	767.16	166.96
Gujarat	681.07	334.35
Kerala	487.07	292.36
M.P.	751.53	234.41
Mysore	477.40	203.84
Maharashtra	1296.70	332.57
Oriassa	324.46	186.90
Rajashtan	450.62	224.90
Punjab	709.92	354.61
U.P.	1650.85	226.67
West Bengal	1322.45	383.21
All India (average)	11319.18	264.20

Of all the states West Bengal, Punjab, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Kerala and Madras appear to be well developed as their per capita figure is above the Indian average. Uttarpradesh, though it has the highest gross income occupies the 10th position in terms of per capita income. Andhra Pradesh which is double the size of Madras has a lesser total income than that of Madras.

The distribution pattern of income between the primary, secondary and tertiary sectors among the different states is not even. West Bengal, Gujarat and Maharashtra have equal distribution between the three sectors whereas the other states draw their income heavily from the agricultural sector. But even the agricultural incomes, with due allowances, is not the same in all the states. The regional per capita income is highest in Punjab (Rs. 182.74) followed by Assam (Rs. 169.49), Kerala (Rs. 151.09), West Bengal (Rs. 132.87), Madras (Rs. 122.50) and Madya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh (Rs. 118.50). The other states are well below the National average per capita income which is Rs. 113.39.³

West Bengal had the highest gross industrial income (Rs. 443.81 crores) in the year 1960-'61 at that year's prices. Assam (Rs. 11.63 crores), Orissa (Rs. 74.94 crores), Andhra Pradesh (Rs. 86.05 crores) if compared with Gujarat (Rs. 257.33 crores) and Maharashtra (Rs. 346.63 crores) present disturbing industrial disparities.

The per capita consumption of electricity can also be taken as an indicator of the well-being of the people. Here also the disparities deserve consideration. West Bengal with its 68.7 units, Maharashtra 57.2 units and Madras 43.2 units stand above the average per capita consumption of the Indian Union which is 28.94 units. The states of Andhra Pradesh (14.4 units), U.P. (12.8 units), Assam (2.2 units) are very much below the average.⁴

The number of persons employed in industries throw some light on the opportunities available in the states. Bombay snatches the first place by taking 28.9 per cent of the total working force engaged in factories while 27.1 per cent is the share of West Bengal. U.P. has only 9.8 per cent; Madras 9.4 per cent, Bihar 6.9 per cent, Mysore 4.2 per cent. Andhra Pradesh's share is only 3.2 per cent of the factory labour.⁶

Thus on all counts, as is evident from the above statistics, there are wide and disturbing differences in the development of the various states which deserve more than ordinary consideration.

II

The causes for these disparities in the standards of living of the various states can be traced to their degree of industrialisation. Before independence there was nothing like any systematic economic planning for the whole country. Location and industrialisation were in the hands of private enterprisers who were guided by the profit motive. Industrialisation, left in the hands of capital and entrepreneurs went to those areas where both were concentrated. Thus Bengal and Bombay states were benefited. Moreover, industrialisation creates external economies and social and economic overheads, which helps further concentration of industries to the disadvantage of other areas. Added to this, British policy motivated by the considerations of strategy did not permit industrialists to tap and use the natural resources of the country.

Another reason for lopsided development was the lack of social overheads like transport systems, power projects and health facilities.

Even after Independence no sufficient thought has been devoted to the disparities as the national and regional goals are mutually contradictory. The national goal requires concentration of scarce resources at certain places for rapid and quick development whereas the other favours the dispersal of resources for an even but slow development. Caught in this dilemma the First and Second Five Year Plans gave a passing glimpse while the Third Plan devoted a special chapter to regional problems without giving cons-

tructive suggestions. Thus the degree of intra-regional disparities remained as they were before planning even though there is an overall rise in development.

India is largely an agricultural country with nearly 78 per cent of the population depending on it. But the facilities offered to agriculture also point to these regional disparities as indicated by the agricultural incomes and by the wide gaps between availability of cultivable land and irrigation facilities.

The per capita availability of land is highest in Rajasthan (3.4 acres) but the per capita net irrigated area is only 0.166 acres. M. P. and Bombay with their per capita cultivable lands of 1.93 and 1.42 acres have irrigation facilities to the extent of 0.063 acres and 0.060 acres respectively. These figures show how much land is under-utilised.⁷ But a point of much greater importance is that nearly 30 per cent of the total agricultural labor force is concentrated in those areas where there is a shortage either in the availability of land or irrigation facilities: Bihar, Orissa, Andhra and Madras.

The balance aspect of development has been completely neglected in the industrial policies of the Government. One can reasonably say that "the location theory has seldom been seriously practised in its true perspective in our country. As a result undue and heavy concentration of industries both by private industrialists and by the Government still continues unabatedly". The Biblical saying "for unto every-one that hath shall be given and he shall have abundance, but from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he has" illustrates the paradox of our economic policies which tend to intensify rather than alleviate the backwardness of certain areas.

III

Just as the proper development of all limbs is necessary for a healthy body so also the proper development of all parts of the country is essential for a smooth and sustained well-being of the people. Welfare of the people means welfare of all people. This point is implicit in the directive principles of the Constitution. Though the overall development is beneficial to the country the individual states "need(s) to be watched

carefully so that the people of India do not seriously get out of line with each other".⁷

How to achieve an even development in all the States? A uniform increase of purchasing power requires the utilisation of all resources in every region to the maximum extent without giving scope to rival claims of different areas to achieve their own aims and ambitions. The Central plan by its nature and scope takes into consideration the overall picture of the country and accepts wider goals of an increase in national wealth and expansion of employment opportunities. The regional plans are concerned with "transmitting the forces impelling economic growth by its nature and scope takes into concretizing for the individual units the fruits of development".⁸ Thus the two are complementary to each other in their means of development and objectives.

At present there is no clear cut demarcation between the central and states' plans. The states must plan their resources within the limits set by the central plan. But the development and initiation must come from below, i.e., the state and local levels. The central plan in addition to its wider goals must be such as to embrace all these states' plans and then only all the resources can be given their due share in economic development.

Industrialisation is accepted by all as a necessary prerequisite for raising the purchasing power of the people. Industrialisation depends, among other things, on the spending policy of the government. So far, as already indicated, central policy appears to be geared towards the 'polarisation' of economic forces by "creating more infra-structure where bottlenecks are more obvious by distributing scarce resources like foreign exchange where demand for this is higher". What is now needed is a sound basis for allocation of investment between regions. There are various suggestions. Anisur Rahman suggested that investment must be channelled to those regions where the internal ratio of growth is higher.⁹ Considering from this point of view, almost all the states, except U.P. and Assam showed an increase in per capita incomes in the Second Five Year Plan. This shows that all the states have potentialities to rise above the average level but for their lack of capital.

Dr. Lokanathan is of the opinion that a certain portion of total planned investment should be allocated on purely economic considerations and the remainder with the aim of reducing regional inequalities. He suggested 75% for economic considerations and 25 per cent of the total investment for regional considerations.¹⁰

An initial investment in a large scale basic industry in an underdeveloped area attracts further investments and "external economies of interdependence promote locational concentration". The increased incomes of the people offer effective demand as well as savings potential which furthers industrial activity in the regions.

The division of responsibility for large scale industries to the Central Government and small scale and medium industries to the State Governments is to some extent hindering the development of proper locational matrices. In a big country like India a Central expenditure programme may not fully develop the industrial complexes as it has to satisfy various regions. So it is necessary to encourage private industrialists to come forward to reap the advantages of the basic industries. This requires the liberalisation of the industrial policy and an offer of proper facilities to them.

Lastly, but not least in importance, is the provision of social overheads, priority on supply of raw materials and fiscal incentives which may prove a helping hand in eliminating regional disparities.

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OODUNT MARTUND

The First Hindi Newspaper of India

B. M. SANKHDHER

The birth and development of the Press in India is a curious phenomenon. It is an account **ab origine** of an intermittent tug of war between the forces of imperialism and liberty; coercion and relaxation; autonomy and direction. The autocratic British Government showed apathy and antipathy, **ad nauseum**, towards this free and frank mode of expression of ideas. Guided as these 'white bureaucrats' were, by the expediency and exigencies of colonial rule they were hardly interested in the evolution of liberal democratic ideas through the vehicle of the Press in this alien land. They had no consistent, coherent and compact policy for the development of the press on right lines. But at the same time, it cannot be overlooked, there were individuals both in and outside the service of the East India Company, such as John Malcolm, Thomas Munro, Mountstuart Elphinstone, Charles Metcalfe and Lord Ripon who at least to use T. H. Green's expression in a different context, '**hindered hindrances**' in the establishment of the **Fourth Estate** on this sub-continent, as vast as Europe minus Russia.

It is a strange fact that before 1826 A.D. there was no Hindi Press in India. On February 9, 1826, Jugul Kishore Shukla applied to the Chief Secretary to Government, Charles Lushington, for permission to start a weekly newspaper in Devanagari Hindi entitled the '**Oodunt Martund**' which translated into English means '**the Sun of Intelligence**'. Among the unpublished records of the Government of India in the custody of the National Archives, New Delhi, can be traced an interesting declaration,¹ assuring

the Government to abide by the rules and regulations laid down for the conduct of the Journalists, signed jointly in the presence of J. B. Birch, the Calcutta Magistrate, by Jugul Kishore Shukla and Munnoo Thakur, the publisher and the printer of the '**Oodunt Martund**' respectively. The newspaper was to be published at 37 Amratullah Lane in Calcutta.

By a letter of the 16th February 1826, the Chief Secretary authorised Jugul Kishore and Munnoo Thakur to start their Hindi paper.² A copy of the licence granted to them was also forwarded to the Calcutta Magistrate for his information. Although permission to publish this paper was granted, the attitude of the Government towards the vernacular press may be clearly visualised through the Chief Secretary's reply to some assistant who in utter innocence wrote about the futility of informing the Magistrate about the licence and got a retort that the same was essential for the exercise of "supervision over the Native Press".³ The chimerical apprehension about the journals owned and conducted by Indians is clearly reflected through this brief rebuke of the Chief Secretary.

Although the sight of the vernacular press to the British Government was as unbearable as a "skeleton in a closet" and as dreadful as a 'mad bull in a China shop', nevertheless under the camouflage of Briton's love for liberal democratic institutions,⁴ the Company granted certain facilities to newspapers with Government predilection. The **Samachar Durpan**, a Bengali newspaper was allowed to circulate free of

postal charges among the Government officials. The editor of the *Oodunt Martund* desirous of getting his weekly circulated "as widely as possible and to the utmost extent in the British Dominions in the East", "for the purpose of conveying valuable and useful knowledge" wrote to the Secretary in the Judicial Department, H. Shakespeare, that the first eight issues of the periodical be allowed to pass from the General Post Office free of charge into the mofussil towns.⁵ He so desired, in order to make known to his countrymen, who in his opinion resided mostly outside the Presidencies, the existence of his paper. It would be unjust to accuse the editor of the '*Oodunt Martund*' as anti-national, selfish or opportunist on the ground that he started his journal with the declared object of 'instilling into the minds of the readers a reverence for the reigning power in India!' On the contrary, it demonstrates the dreadfully suspicious climate in which the journalists had to work during the East India Company's rule. The Press, specially owned by the Indians, was considered as 'mischievous', 'scandalous' and 'irresponsible' by the administrators.⁶ Naturally, therefore, even for ordinary acts of favour, the journalists had to make it explicit that they would not indulge in any sort of propaganda against the Government. Jugul Kishore Shukla did the same, when he declared:

"I will scrupulously attend to the regulations of Government regarding the better conduct of the papers in Calcutta and it will be my prime object to instill into the minds of my readers a reverence for the reigning power in India"⁷

In spite of all assurances, Jugul Kishore Shukla's appeals for favour melted into thin air and his request proved to be a mere wild goose chase, when he received the following discouraging letter from the Chief Secretary.

To
Joogul Kishore Sookul

Your letter addressed to the Secretary to Government in the Judicial Department having been laid before the Vice President in Council, I am directed to inform you that you cannot be permitted to circulate so many as eight numbers of your newspaper to the several stations in the interior free of postage, but the Post Master General will be authorized to permit the first or any single number of the publication to pass free of charge to the stations in question.

Council Chamber
29th of June 1826.⁸

(Signature)
Chief Secretary.

It is not known whether Jugul Kishore Shukla availed of this opportunity of circulating a single number of his publication free of charge. A most benevolent favour!

Jugul Kishore Shukla, it seems, was too brave a man to lose his heart and had greater hopes of receiving Government assistance for the preservation of his publication. With enthusiasm redoubled, in spite of acute financial crisis faced on account of limited circulation of the *Oodunt Martund*, he sent another petition to Charles Lushington on 27th February 1827. It may be stated that although his paper received a warm reception at the hands of the public, nevertheless, the editor could not even cover the expenses of its establishment, which in the words of Jugul Kishore Shukla himself, was on the most "economical scale". There were three main factors responsible for the poor financial condition of the journal. Firstly, the number of its subscribers in Calcutta was painfully small on account of the language barrier. The employees of the East India Company were interested in newspapers and periodicals published in English and the people of Calcutta, Bengali being their mother-tongue,

patronized papers like Marshman's **Samachar Durpan**, and Tara Chandra Dutt's **Sungbad Kaumudi**.

Another significant factor was its poor circulation outside the Calcutta Presidency. It is doubtful if many people were aware of its existence outside. And finally the apathetic attitude of the British Administration which did not concede even ordinary favours such as the circulation of the **Oodunt Martund** free of charge for about two months.

Jugul Kishore Shukla, at last, pleaded with the Chief Secretary, for the facilities which were being provided to the Bengali counterpart, the **Samachar Durpan**. The sole concession which he wanted to get from the Government was that his publication be allowed to be 'distributed throughout the country free of postage excepting to private subscribers to whom he trusted the Government would allow the papers to be sent at quarter postage as was the case with the other paper'. In return he promised to publish government regulations and other similar orders. He assured :

".....I am ready to publish in the newspaper in question the translations of the Regulations that may in future from time to time be enacted by Government as also of the requisite General Orders, and weekly forward copies of them to the several Adawluts, Government Officers and the military stations in the Western Provinces stated in the annexed list as also any other of them in addition thereto which may be ordered by Government on its being paid for the same at the subscribed rate, viz., Rupees Two per month for each of these stations, offices and Adawluts and allowed to forward them free of postage.⁹ A long list of two hundred and three government officers to whom, Jugul Kishore Shukla, desired the paper to be forwarded is available among the original consultations of the Home Department.¹⁰

Again a brief reply from C. Lushington

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was received. It proved to be the last straw on the camel's back. The letter runs as follows :—

Joogul Kishore Sookool,
Editor of the **Oodunt Martund**,

Your letter of the 27th ultimo having been laid before the Rt. Hon'ble the Vice President in Council, I am directed to inform you that the request perferred by you therein cannot be complied with.

By command of the Rt. Hon'ble
the Vice President in Council.

C. LUSHINGTON

Chief Secretary to the Government.
Council Chamber,
the 8th March, 1827.¹¹

It is not known why Jugul Kishore could not be given those facilities which other journalists enjoyed. Why a discriminatory policy was followed when it did not serve either the interests of the Company, or of the newspapermen or of the people? Why the Europeans in India with the so-called passion for liberal, democratic ideas did not raise their voice against the callousness of the Company as they did for similar acts of injustice in England and other parts of Europe?

The British Administration in India under the Company and later on, to an extent, under the Crown, followed a wicked, double-arrowed policy of suppression towards the Indian Press. Mischievously, its **desideratum** was to nip all patriotic, liberal and democratic ideas, in the bud. It ruthlessly suppressed the journals owned and conducted by the Europeans, on the pretext that the same were libellous 'mischievous', 'scandalous' and 'irresponsible'. The newspapermen were humiliated, arrested and tortured and were deported to Europe at the earliest opportunity.¹²

In regard to the newspapers owned by the Indians, with the exception of those with a government bias, the Government, it is obvious, deliberately created such irksome conditions in regard to publication and cir-

culuation that it became virtually impossible for these journalists to preserve not only their papers and periodicals but also their poor souls.

The unimaginative policy and wooden indifference of the British Government, thus compelled the editor of the first Hindi newspaper to stop its publication. And before it could complete two years¹³ of its existence the *Oodunt Martund* collapsed leaving its editor in the throes of tremendous financial strain and mental frustration. This was, it may be made clear, not a solitary instance of such criminal indifference. Many more English and vernacular newspapers breathed their last because of such policy of the British regime

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3. G.O.I. Home (Public) Department Original Consultations. February 16, 1826, No. 61.

4. See : The Letters of Junius : Dedication to the English Nation : *The liberty of the Press is the palladium of all the civil, political and religious rights of an Englishman !*

5. G.O.I. Home (Public) Department Original Consultation, June 29, 1826, No. 64 C.

6. To quote only one example : The Earl of Mornington writes in a private letter to Sir Alfred Clarke, the Commander-in-Chief, in 1799, on reaching Fort. St. George. from Calcutta :

"I shall take an early opportunity of transmitting rules for the conduct of the whole tribe of editors ; in the meantime if you cannot tranquilise this or other mischievous publications, be so good as to suppress their papers by force and send their persons to Europe."

7. G.O.I. Home (Public) Department Original Consultation. June 29, 1826 No. 64 C.

8. G.O.I. Home (Public) Department Original Consultation. June 29, 1826, No. 65 C.

9. G.O.I. Home (Public) Department Original Consultation, March 8, 1827. No. 75.

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Ibid.*

12. For example : James Augustus Flicky. William Duane. Dr. Charles Maclean, James Silk Buckingham and others.

13. To believe Dr. R. R. Bhatnagar, author of the Rise and Growth of Hindi Journalism 1826-1945, Kitab Mahal, Allahabad, 1947, p. 66, the *Oodunt Martund* was started on May 21, 1826 and it had to be stopped in December, 1827.

THE ART OF THE TEACHER

G. VENKATESAN

Makers of Mankind

It is not mere rhetoric but a reality when we say that teaching is an art and the teacher an artist. However, the term "Teacher" instead of connoting distinction, honour and prestige now denotes insignificance, ridicule and dependence and the present day teacher instead of using his mind in valuable subjects has to be resigned to a life of genteel poverty!

Even History has been prejudiced and cruelly partial against teachers for History has chosen to honour and eulogise Kings and Emperors, Caliphs and Sultans, Dictators and Grand Viziers but not teachers who really "care for and instruct us when we are young; they enlighten our ignorance; help to form our characters and give us the rudiments of manners; they turn us, in fact, from little animals into human beings".¹ This is indeed deplorable.

The teacher occupies a pivotal position in the society. It is he who mends the minds, moulds the manners, makes the morals and shapes the senses of the student community at their most impressionable age. He is the key-stone of the magnificent educational arch. The teacher is a true guide, able interpreter and the sublime spiritual maker of citizens. Indeed he is the one who makes up the discipline and tone of the institution. In short, "the quality of any educational system depends to a large measure on securing well-educated and well-equipped teachers steeped in learning, strong in character, with high ideals, and devoted to the spread of knowledge".² Honest, humble and hardworking teachers and not the generals, admirals, commanders, strategists and statesmen are, therefore, "the builders and makers of mankind".

Some Basic Qualities

To be the Maker of Mankind and designer of the destinies of the students, every teacher,

worth the name, should be a leader of acknowledged excellence, whom the students ~~could~~ respect, revere and venerate. To inculcate, instruct and inspire the young student generation with the sublime thoughts and thought-provoking ideas the teacher should live up to and radiate some of the noble qualities in his day-to-day life for the simple reason that the teachers' movements, methods and even mannerisms are exposed to the observant and critical eyes of their students. The following are some such qualities that a good teacher must possess: (1) Self-Confidence; (2) Ability to inspire Confidence; (3) Commonsense and good judgment; (4) Ability to communicate; (5) Tact; (6) Flexibility of mind; (7) Social Sensitivity; (8) Enduring Toughness; (9) Decisiveness; (10) Patience; and (11) Humility.³ Besides these, "a good teacher must have good memory, personality, determination, will power, persuasive ability . . . and understanding of the ways of the young".⁴

Personality of the Teacher

Swami Vivekananda attached greatest importance to the personality and personal example of the teacher. In the words of Swamiji ". . . the personality of the man is two thirds, and his intellect, his words, are but one third".⁵ In another place Swamiji says that "the man who influences, who throws his magic, as it were, upon his fellow-beings, is a dynamo of power, and when that man is ready, he can do anything and everything he likes; that personality put upon anything will make it work".⁶ Swamiji enjoins, therefore, that the student should live from his very boyhood with one whose character is a blazing fire and should have before him a living example of the highest teaching. In the words of Gandhiji "A cowardly teacher can never succeed in making his boys valiant and a stranger to self-restraint can never

teach his pupils the value of restraint".⁷ Light alone can light life.

The pupils' confidence, faith and trust in his teacher are to be earned and won. They are not taught but caught. It largely depends on the personality and personal example set by the teacher himself. To earn the respect and obedience of the taught, the teacher should be a master of the subject to be taught. He must know what he teaches and know how to teach it. For, students resorting to cheap notes and short-cuts to pass examinations is a sad commentary on the ability and quality of the teacher. The teacher should, therefore, be a student of his subject so that he can be learning continuously and keep himself abreast in his field of knowledge. Every good teacher must, therefore, be a good learner. He will learn more about his subject every year—every month, every week, every day, if possible. A teacher must believe in the value and interest of his subject as a doctor believes in health.

But his acquisition of knowledge should not make him arrogant and conceited. The teacher must be unassuming, yet forceful. He must be patient, yet cheerful. Above all he must lead a life of purity, simplicity and nobility. For, "the function of the teacher is indeed an affair of the transference of something and not one of mere stimulation of intellectual or other faculties in the taught. Something real and appreciable as an influence comes from the teacher and goes to the taught".⁸ In short, the teacher must be able to inspire his students towards the higher and nobler ideals of human life.

The teacher should scrupulously avoid taking advantage of his position. He must be a model of disciplined life. If, on the other hand, he permits himself laxness of conduct, shirking of responsibility, and avoiding issues which he condemns in his pupils he is not only not respected but becomes a laughing stock among his own students. A good teacher must have a sense of humour and at times he must be able to laugh at himself and a teacher by a timely laughter at his own expense may save a disconcerted student's outburst of anger or tears. Humour invariably keeps the pupils alive and attentive.

As we said in the beginning, the teacher is an artist and as an artist the educator must be

able to bring his whole personality to his task and through his teaching express himself. The tone and tenor of a successful teacher can only be seen by living with him and studying him at work. His sincerity, his singleness of purpose, his patience, his cheerfulness, his devotion, his love and affection create the climate where his pupils with confidence, freedom and courage catch his interest, emulate his example and follow his foot-steps. From him, therefore, if he is worthy of his profession, the students shall learn in a thousand and one subtle ways the attitudes and tendencies that distinguish the human from the brutal, the civilised from the barbaric way of life. Imperceptibly but surely his values become their values, his standards their standards and from him come the influences that direct the pupil's social and cultural impulses into definite forms of kindly actions.

Man of Many Parts

The teacher, if he is to function as an effective leader, must be a man of many parts. First and foremost, he must possess foresight and vision to anticipate and prevent difficulties. He must be firm, courageous and unperturbed in crisis and patient when others are slow and hesitant. He must be capable of quickly turning hand and mind to a great variety of problems. As Swami Vivekananda puts it "the only true teacher is he who can convert himself, as it were, into a thousand persons at a moments notice. The true teacher is he who can immediately come down to the level of the student, and transfer his soul to the students' soul and see through and understand through his mind. Such a teacher can really teach and none else".⁹

Teacher as Trainer

A real teacher is a good trainer of his pupil's intellect, senses and emotions. In the words of Gandhiji ". . . the true text book for the pupil is his teacher".¹⁰ The inquiring intellect and the growing will-power of the young students should be systematically trained, disciplined and fertilised. The students' intellect and will must be properly and carefully cultivated to learn the technique of mastering what is

difficult, dull and boring and engage in such pursuits as in disinterested inquiry and speculation, the perception of relevance and forming of perspectives, the satisfaction of curiosity and the joy of mental adventure, the seeing of connections and the achieving of results, etc.

The training of the senses is necessary to enable and ennoble the students to understand, appreciate and steep themselves in the myriad virtues of Truth, Beauty, Goodness and Justice. The pupils should be so trained as to make and mould them as beauty-lovers and beauty-creators. If the senses are properly trained along with intellect the students can be expected to guard themselves undistracted by trivialities, un-influenced by cheap politics and vulgar movies and uncorrupted by the artificialities of the present materialistic society. Unless the students are well trained, their bad tastes will ever remain bad. Hence the need to train the senses of the young and "make them familiar with the things that are beautiful, in the hope that what begins as an experiment will end as experience".¹¹

Training of emotions is as important as training of the intellect and the senses. Potential raw material of brilliant character lies dormant in the students and it needs to be kindled, stimulated and shaped. Since human desire, impulse and emotion shape according to the ends to which they are directed, the pupils must be trained to learn right things and perform right acts. The effect of such an emotion training will be to convert impulsive action into purposeful pursuits. When the habit of so acting has been formed, the intellect will distinguish between essentials and non-essentials and between the rightness and wrongness of the way of life.

To teach a student, therefore, "the difference between truth and lies in print, to start him thinking about the measuring of poetry or patriotism, to hear him hammering back at you with the facts and arguments you have helped him to find, sharpened by himself and fitted to his own powers, gives the sort of satisfaction that an artist has when he makes a picture out of blank canvas and chemical colourings. . . ."¹²

Teach the Learner

It is aptly said that that teacher is the most successful who trains his pupils so that

they can ultimately do without him. That is to say, under the right teacher a student will make tremendous efforts to acquire knowledge and work by himself. If properly guided and encouraged, the pupil will go in quest of information and knowledge on his own efforts. The secret of successful teaching lies, therefore, in teaching the learner how to learn, an art by itself. If the learner is taught how to learn "he can both pursue his present interests when he will and can also develop for himself new interests as they are born. He is independent and capable of occupying his leisure hours in a satisfying and beneficial way".¹³

A man who tries to impart encyclopaedic knowledge as though his pupils must learn everything under the sun before leaving the institution not only teaches in vain but makes the life of the student dull, dreary and drab. One of the significant ways in which a teacher can help his students is, therefore to give them self-reliance and self-confidence which will stimulate their intellectual development, encourage social relationship and promote balanced emotional growth.

Teach the Art of Living

The job of the teacher is obviously teaching. The function of the teacher, at best, is awakening and kindling what is already in man. He is the greatest aid to learning and the duty of the teacher is to assist the learner in every possible way. But surprisingly many a teacher does not teach but instruct. They are nothing more than instructors with regard to some particular skill, technique or knowledge without in any way helping the students to become self-reliant, independent, inquiring adults.

As Swami Vivekananda said "education is not the amount of information that is put into your brain and runs riot there, undigested all your life. We must have life building, man-making, character-making assimilation of ideas."¹⁴ It is not like injecting 500 c.c. of serum, or administering a years-dose of vitamins. You deal with the living mind and mould it. And so, if the teacher remains an instructor, as most of the present day teachers are, he could not help in developing all the sides of an integrated personality: physical, intellectual, social, moral and

spiritual. A purposeful teacher, therefore, not only instructs his students mundane matters but helps them to develop right outlook, clear perspective and desirable attitude towards the community at large. He should not merely develop the inborn capacities of the pupils for learning but also bring out their inborn potentialities for living a full and purposeful life. In short, a good teacher endeavours to be not merely a guide to learning but a guide to 'the art of living'

Lead the Group

The amount of orderly information given to the class is not the measure of teacher's success. That teacher is the most effective whose help, guidance and counselling are continuously sought by the taught. The true teacher will build class relationships in such a way that his pupils will ask for his advice when progress is hampered or they feel the need of help. Care should be taken, however, to avoid unnecessary guidance and unwanted advice. The purpose of counselling and sharing of responsibility is to encourage the student to contribute according to his or her abilities and aptitudes. This way of leading the group by following it besides securing friendly cooperation and commitment ensures that the individuals learn to accept and share more and more responsibility.

Educating the Educator

Knowing oneself and assessing one's own abilities and capacities should be the hall-mark of a good teacher. Since what the teacher is that only he imparts, the educator must be properly educated. The right kind of education, therefore, begins with the educator. If the teacher

could not understand his relationship with his students but merely stuff them with information and make them pass the examinations, how then can he influence the life of his pupils and inspire courage and confidence in them and inculcate highest ideals and noblest values in them? If the teacher himself is confused, confounded and clogged by theories and textbooks then naturally and inevitably his pupils too will be what the teacher is. The teacher should, therefore, always ask himself why and to what purpose he is educating the students. If the goal is certain and the path is clear the result is sure to be noble and grand.

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7. N. B. Sen : Wit and Wisdom of India, 1961. P. 366.
8. Swami Vivekananda Quoted : T. S. Avinashilingam : Educational Philosophy, P. 53.
9. *Ibid* : P. 366.
10. N. B. Sen : Wit and Wisdom of India, P. 336.
11. C. E. M. Joad : About Education, P. 50.
12. Gilbert Highet : The Art of Teaching, 1956. P. 10.
13. L. Wilkies : Teach Yourself to Teach, P. 177.
14. Education : Swami Vivekananda : Ed. T. S. Avinashilingam, P. 6.

THE PROPERTY RIGHTS OF WOMEN IN THE SUTRA PERIOD

Mrs. RUBY DUTT

The Sutra fills the three centuries that span the period from about the 6th centuries B.C. till the rise and spread of Buddhism under Asoka in the third century B.C. We are fortunate that much can be learnt of the Indo-Aryan domestic and social life in this post-Vedic period from the Grihya Sutras. As one author has quoted, "The Hindu texts (Dharmasutras) cover far more than law and do not cover the whole of law. They are manuals of conduct, but they leave large tracts to custom. These circumstances explain their failure to create a real science of law. They embody no real system of jurisprudence. They expressly recognize the force of family, caste and local usage,"¹ and from this recognition we can learn a good deal of the social life of the people of the period and the manner in which their social orders were based.

Before we discuss the property rights of women of different categories it would be better to make a few general observations. First, almost every sutra writer realized that it was both difficult and cruel to deny a woman the chance to have a family life again if she became a widow. Second, the value of an offspring for religious, social and mental purposes was so well recognized that the strict moralistic views were given a go by to enable a childless widow, and even a childless wife, a means to get a son through a method that certainly seems not very correct to us. Third, while the attitude towards the social position of woman became more sympathetic, the views regarding the economic rights to be enjoyed by women

hardened to their disadvantage, and this hardening was sought to be re-inforced by developing a detailed ritualistic set-up, thus clamping a sort of religious sanction to their opinions. The results of all these led to the women improving in many respects as a woman per se, but losing substantially the means to lead an independent life on her own economic resources. Paradoxical though it may seem, it is a well established truth that the position of women in Hindu Society right through the ages has been like rubber band—if it has stretched itself at one point, it has simultaneously sagged at another. They have at times gained a secure social position accompanied by the right to lead a full family life as long as the desire to do so is there, but at the cost of their economic rights. At some other point they have won economic independence to a greater degree only at the expense of receding social status. This continuous uneven consolidation by women of their rights, won virtually at the expense of the other, is probably one of the reasons, and one of the main reasons at that, which has resulted in a society which has produced individual women of outstanding abilities but not one where this sex as a whole has had much to say or impress upon outside their respective domestic spheres, and perhaps not even fully and effectively in that sphere too.

Unmarried Women

Down to about the 4th century B.C. Vedic and philosophical studies attracted the main attention of society and, therefore, women also studied these subjects with great devotion and enthusiasm. Many of

(1) Prof. Beni Prasad in *"Theory of Govt. in Anc. India"*. (Part Vedic).

them used to even specialize in the 'Purva mimansa' which discuss the divers problems connected with Vedic sacrifices.² However the majority of girls used to merely go through the formality of 'Upanayana' just before their marriages and it is doubtful whether they were in a position to recite their morning and evening prayers. All unmarried daughters inherited their mothers' separate property (स्त्रीधन) and on there being no such unmarried daughters it went to the mother's poor unprovided married daughters :—

“स्त्री धनं दुहितृणामपुत्रानामप्रतिष्ठितानाञ्च”³

Apostambha⁴ mentions the daughter as an heir and he is the first Sutrakara to give women property rights on an equal footing with Sapindas and he places the daughter along with the inheritors mentioned after the Sapindas. However, in view of the prevailing conditions and the fact that the place assigned by him to the daughter makes the recognition more or less theoretical only, it was hardly possible for the daughter to actually inherit.

According to Baudhayana the daughters inherited the ornaments of their mother presented according to the custom of the caste :—

“मातुरलङ्कारं दुहितरः साम्प्रदायिकं लभेरन्नन्यद्वा”

Vasistha⁵ also says that the daughters divide the nuptial presents of their mother, but does not suggest any other property rights for the married or unmarried daughters.

Thus, all the four sutrakaras are agreed

(2) Altekar—*Position of women in Hindu Civ.* . . .

(3) G.D.S. XXIII. 25

(4) *Apastambha* (II.14.4. in the sacred Books of the East Part I Vol. II Page 134).

(5) बौधायन् धर्म सूत्र II.2.3.-43.

प २ । अइ । सू ३ । ४३

6. मातुः पारिजेयं स्त्रियां विभजेरन् । वसिष्ठः १७ । ४६

upon the fact that daughters inherited their mothers' separate property or 'stridhana', though Gautama gives the first right to the unmarried daughter and the subsequent right to the married and indigent daughter. Apart from this right of daughters to their mother's 'stridhana', if the daughter was not a brotherless maiden, there is no evidence of any other property rights enjoyed by them in their ancestral (Paternal) property.

The brotherless maiden, however, continued to enjoy the same rights as enjoyed by this class in the Vedic period. Such a daughter was usually appointed by her father to be a 'putrika' and perform all the religious and other functions that could normally be performed by a son only, and as such the putrika inherited the estate of her father. Not only that, her father could claim his putrika's first male son to his own line and then this male son continued his maternal grand father's line of succession. For fear that a brotherless maiden's first male son would go to his mother's parental line it was not always easy to get a putrika married. To get over this difficulty a father often gave an assurance that he would not consider his brotherless daughter as a putrika and would not claim her son, but prospective bridegrooms still feared that their might be a mental reservation behind such an assurance :—

‘अभिसंधि मात्रात्पुत्रिकेत्येके’⁷

Gautama⁶ cautions men not to marry a putrika, as he says that, “Some declare a daughter becomes an appointed daughter solely by the intention of the father. Through fear of that a man should not marry a girl who has no brothers”. Gautama felt justified to give this caution as he realized that it would be fatal for the

(7) G.D.S. XXIX taken from Altekar's *Position Of Women In Hindu Civ.* P. 236.

husband's family if his male children were taken over by his father-in-law.

The conclusion to be drawn from an examination of the text, in the light of historic background therefore, is that the daughter and the daughter's son entered into the legal scheme of kinship in the Aryan law first by the adoption or some non-Aryan practice in the modified form of 'putrika karma' and gradually by the elimination of the formalities until the daughter per se became entitled to inherit. Behind and beyond the earliest stage of the institution in the various texts of Aryan law, it seems to have had a root in matriarchal non-Aryan societies which we may guess. An appointed daughter has been characterized by Vasistha as the third kind of son. He declared on the authority of the Vedas that the only daughter belongs to her father's family and becomes the son of her parents. Such a putrika putra (daughter considered as putra) is charged by her father to perform the customary obsequies to him after his death and consequently to become his heir herself.

Thus, all unmarried daughters inherited their mothers' property, and the putrika putra or the brotherless maiden received, in addition to this, her father's property as well.

Married Daughters

From a study of the rights of the unmarried daughters to their parents property, which has been discussed above, we may conclude that married daughters, too, have varying degrees of right in their parental property—and, it must be borne in mind, that the married women's right to her

parental property is clear and distinct from the rights secured to her by virtue of her being a wife. The first of the two rights enjoyed by a married daughter is the right to inherit her mother's separate property provided two conditions were satisfied—one, that the mother had no unmarried daughter, and, two, the married daughter was poor and unprovided for."

However, not all sutrakaras are as clear as Gautama, though even Gautama does not define Stridhana and uses the word in two different senses in his works.¹⁰ According to Baudhayana, for instance, the daughters inherit the ornaments of their mother according to custom or anything else.¹¹ According to Vasistha also the daughters divide the nuptial presents of their mother.

Again the married daughter could also inherit her father's property through her son if she was the brotherless daughter of her father, that is a putrika-putra. It was for this reason that brotherless maidens could be married with difficulty, a fact which we have discussed in some detail before.

Wife (with husband living)

As we have stated before, the rights of a wife were different from the rights enjoyed by her in her parental property and which has been discussed above. Prior to discussing the rights of wives—here we will only describe the status of women whose husbands were alive, leaving the study of widows to the following chapter—it would be better to first summarize three topics, as this would help us greatly to understand better the position of such women. These three topics are:—(a) The institutions of marriage (b) Stridhana and (c) Niyoga.

(8) G.D.S. see ref (7) on Page. 5

(9) "स्त्री धनं दुहित्राणामपुत्रानासप्रतिष्ठितानञ्च"
(G.D.S. XXVIII. 25)

(10) For detailed discussion of Stridhan see infra.

(11) B.D.S.—II 2.3-43.

(a) The Institutions of Marriage

The marriage ideals and the mutual relations and rights of the parties to a marriage continued to be more or less the same as they were in the earlier age, but sacramental notions were fast effacing the individuality of women and reducing them to the status of a mere appendage to men. Asvalyana prohibited the performance of rituals by married women. The marriage age, however, continued to be about sixteen, and, thus, in practice, at least, if not in theory, brides had some voice in the selection of their partners and 'Swayamvara' was fairly common in Kshatriya circles. Even divorce was permitted to the wife though it was not extensively practised. But despite the fact that some forms of marriage, for example, marriage by capture, sale, etc., were influencing this period—wives being treated more or less as chattels under these perverse forms of marriages—Apastambha does not permit parents to gift away or sell their children, though this chattel-idea certainly gave husbands varying degrees of domination over the wife.

It might be mentioned here in passing that brotherless maidens were difficult to get married as noticed above.

Marriage constituted the husband and wife into an indivisible unit. As Apastambha says—"No division takes place between husband and wife, for since the time of marriage they stand united in respect of religious ceremonies and similarly in regard to the rewards. Such deeds as produce spiritual merit, and also with regard to the acquisition of property".¹²

In this age of the Sutas all the domestic ceremonies described in the Grihya Sutas

proceed on the assumption that the householder has only one wife who should help him in the performance of the rites, and in the right of 'Samasana' the husband and wife eat together, pointing to the equal status of the wife along with her husband. Monogamy, then, was the rule, and polygamy the exception to it. Even when there were more than one wife, the first wife was given the place of pride in the household and was known as the 'Dharmastri', while the others were neglected, the fourth or 'palagani' being the most so.

(b) Stridhana

In the early law we find that women's rights to their husband's property is more or less denied, but a new category of property, "Stridhana" is created over which she has control. It includes gifts given to the bride, before the nuptial fire as well as given in token of love by her parents and brothers and those received during the course of her bridal procession. Stridhana further included the gifts given to a wife by her husband.

Gautama, however, does not define Stridhana. He uses the word in two different senses—first in the general sense, which includes the above, and second in the particular sense of bride-price.¹³

Apastamba says, "Ornaments and according to some, presents received from her relations, constitute the separate property of the wife", i.e., "Stridhana".¹⁴

According to Baudhayana the ornaments of the wife constitute her Stridhana, while according to Vasistha all nuptial presents constitute Stridhana. We thus find that the scope of women's estate has been enlarged in this period. In the Vedic age even the bride's brothers were enjoined

12 नायापत्योर्न विभागे विद्यते । षाणिग्रहणादि सहस्रं कर्मसु ।
तथा पुण्यफलेषु । द्रव्यपरिग्रहेषु च ॥ आप० ध० सू०
(II. 6.11.16-19)

13 (Gautama XXVIII 24-28)

14 अलङ्कारो माय्याया ज्ञातिधनञ्चेत्येके ।

(आप० ध० सू० २६-१४, ९)

upon to give away riches as his dowry to his brother-in-law and even when no bride-price was paid she received some wedding gifts. These property, consisting of movable things such as ornaments, dresses and utensils were known as the 'Parinahaya' and the wife was their owner, even her sons being denied the right to divide this property after their father's death.¹⁵

From this limited meaning and scope of 'Parinahaya' the concept of Stridhana gives a wider range of property to women. Unlike in the Vedic age the women's estate now consisted of not only the things received by her at the time of her marriage but also the gifts received by her during her bridal procession and from her husband during his life time. Though it is true that this enlargement of the contents of woman's estate does not in any way signify a corresponding increase, or rather any increase at all, of the power to acquire wealth by women, it, at least, clearly demonstrated the increase of a married woman's right to hold property. Whatever she receives at the time of her marriage and takes from her husband do not constitute holdings of a usufructuary nature, but these are now property which she can hold and control herself. In the Vedic ages we have seen that the woman's estate could not be divided by her sons after their father's death and in this age, too, we find that succession to Stridhana is by the female line, the first preference going to unmarried daughters, the second to such married daughters as were poor and were otherwise unprovided for and the third to other married daughters.

Thus the developments of the idea and practice of Stridhana not only gives women a specified property to her, it further ensures a corpus and a source which only

her succeeding daughters could inherit. Thus, Stridhana becomes fully entrenched as a doctrine which gives property to women and also governs its devolution in favour of women only.

(c) Niyoga

Apastamba and Baudhayana opposed and vehemently condemned the practice of Niyoga, while Vasistha and Gautama permitted Niyoga with minor reservations. In practice, Niyoga was fairly common in this period and the Dharmasutras laid down that a son begotten by Niyoga usually occupied the second position, that is, after the son begotten on a woman by her husband. Even Apastamba and Baudhayana, despite their opposition to this, laid down detailed rules about Niyoga procedure Vasistha and Gautama permitted Niyoga provided, (1) the widow so desired it and, (2) a stranger was not chosen by the widow in preference to her brother-in-law

As will be noticed in detail below widows were allowed to remarry also.

We might now co-relate all that has been said above to determine the actual status of wives regarding their property rights. From the perusal of Dharmasutras it appears that wives have no other property or rights to property save their Stridhana and Baudhayana and Vasistha quote the famous verse to support this:—

"The father protects her in adolescence, the husband in youth and the son in old age; a woman does not deserve absolute independence" On the other hand, the rite of Samasana at which the husband and wife eat together and Apastamba's declaration that marriage unites the husband and wife in respect of both religious ceremonies as well as the acquisition of property,¹⁶ is evidence of the fact that the theory of the

15 पत्नी वै पारिणयास्य ईशे । (T.S. VI.2,1,1)

(16) *Apastambhā Dharma Sutra*—II.14.16-19.

joint ownership of the couple was accepted, though the important corollaries to this theory, which would have fortified the position of the wife against an unreasonable or vicious husband does not seem to have developed. Joint ownership, however, invested the wife with an absolute right of maintenance and the husband could not deny this liability even if the wife had the misfortune of being assaulted. Apastamba allows the wife to incur the normal household expenditure during her husband's absence.

Thus, the wife during the life-time of her husband had only the right of maintenance against him and further the right of holding such property as formed part of her Stridhana, which latter also included the property inherited, if any, from her mother's Stridhana.

Widow

Gautama makes a significant change in the rules of succession by introducing the widow as an heir, but this text is so clumsy as not to be definitive, and, in any case, he is the only advocate of this right. Though the only certain right of widows is the right of maintenance out of her husband's estate, it would be better to first examine Niyoga and remarriage of widows also at this stage.

Niyoga

As said before, though opposed by Apastamba and Baudhayana, Niyoga was a prevalent custom and Vasistha and Gautama sanctioned it.¹⁷ Though Niyoga, whether performed by the widow or during the life-time of her sonless husband with the mutual

desire to beget a male heir, evidently points to a certain laxity in prevalent morals, it was nevertheless the beginning of the devolution of the husband's property on his issueless widow. At first, as Gautama evidently contemplates, that if the widow succeeds in bearing a son by Niyoga then the inheritance goes to the Kshetraja son, and while the issue was in the womb the widow retained her husband's property as a sort of 'Hereditas Jacius'. To take advantage of this right to retain her issueless husband's property, the widow submitted to Niyoga and thus prevented her husband's agnates to inherit the same. This evidently led to an abuse of the privilege—the widow retaining control over the property on the pretext of trying to raise a Kshetraja son—so much so, that Vasistha prescribed that there could be no Niyoga for receiving the heritage. Though Vasistha did this in his anxiety to guard against the property getting into the hands of the widow, it is clear from his opposition that the right of the widow as a representative of her husband, through the via media of being a 'Hereditas Jacius' to preserve the property for the benefit of her husband's 'Kshetraja' son, was a prevalent practice. From this stepping stone to the next, when the widow inherited herself if Niyoga failed to provide her deceased husband with a 'Kshetraja' son, was ultimately achieved, despite the fact that this transformation was constantly beset with many a formidable hurdle and obstacle.

Vasistha, as pointed out earlier, denies Niyoga for the purpose of changing the line of succession, and to prevent the property passing to the widows hands :—

i.e, Niyoga is not permitted for greed or desire for the inheritance.¹⁸

17 See "Niyoga in wives" Supra.

(18) V.D.S.

The Aryans apparently took over the custom of Niyoga from the contemporaneous non-Aryan societies and used it as a means, may be, not very consciously of the end-result, to enhance the property rights of women and to put into practice in the temporal sphere as well the equality and unity of the husband and wife.

Remarriage

Apastamba puts widow marriages in the same category as inter-caste marriages, thus admitting its existence, as does —Gautama¹⁹ Vasistha lays down: "If a damsel has been abducted by force and not wedded with sacred texts, she may lawfully be given to another man; she is even like a maiden; if a damsel at the death of her husband had been merely wedded by the recitation of sacred texts and if the marriage had not been consummated, she may be married again",²⁰ thus allowing even specified classes of unwidowed wives to take a second husband after dissolving the ties of the first marriage. Vasistha allows remarriage even when the death of her husband is only presumed and not proved, and the early writers of the Dharmasutras adopted a sympathetic attitude towards the minor widow.

Remarriage of widows, whereby the woman entered the house of another man, was one of the factors that led to the denial of the widows' rights to inherit her husband's property, for fear that she would take it to her new home on remarriage

In general, widows did not inherit their husband's property, though they had an absolute right of maintenance out of their husband's property. Baudhayana on the authority of a Vedic text²¹ has explicitly denied the rights of the widows to inherit.²²

Apastamba lays down a graded list of successors—First the son, in his absence the nearest male Sapindas. If none such Sapindas within seven degrees, then it should devolve upon the preceptor, and in his absence a disciple of the deceased should spend it all for charitable purposes.²³ Similarly, Kautilya does not recognise the widow as an heir.

Only Gautama introduces the widow as an heir after the male son, but, as said before, his views are neither clear nor unambiguous.

Even if Gautama's advocacy for the rights of widows did not find favour as such, it could not have caused much difficulties. The widow could have remarried, and if she was childless she could beget a 'Kshetrāja' son and in the meanwhile keep control over her deceased husband's property. And, in any case, she had the right of maintenance out of her husband's property.

From a perusal of the above we may summarize the following facts regarding the property rights of women in the Sutra period and, inter alia, their position generally in society:—

(1) The Sutrakaras divided property into two distinct categories, each category having its own mode of devolution—The property belonging to the father, the husband and other males, which was inherited by the male line; another, which belonged to the mother, wife and other females and devolv-

19 Gautama XIX,8, by admitting the right of the son of a widow by her second husband to inherit one fourth of his father's property in the absence of ordinary legitimate heirs.

(20) पाणिग्राहे मृते बाला केवलं मन्त्रसंस्कृता ।

सायेदक्षयोनिः स्वात्पुनः संस्कारमर्हति ॥ XVII. 66.

21 T.S. VI 5.3.2.

22 II 3.46 B.D.S.

23 A.D.S. (II.11.1) S.B.E. Vol II Part I. Page 134

ed upon their female progeny. This second type of property was the 'Stridhana', a much wider concept than the 'Parinahaya' of the Vedic period, and, as shown above was inherited by the daughters from their mothers, and the daughters in turn, passed it down to their daughters. This 'Stridhana' was property for the women in its strictest sense as its owner had every right to hold, control, and use it. Not only that, its inheritance was also strictly confined to females, thus assuring a girl of property even unto her womanhood and death.

(II) The Sutrakaras believed, following a Vedic text, that a woman, from her girlhood to her last days, was subject to the supervision and control of a male,—father, husband and son—and they also believed in the corollary that a person so under control was also entitled to be provided for by her male protector. Thus, we find that a woman has an absolute right to maintenance, as a maiden in her father's house and as a wife in her husband's.

(III) The desire for a male successor was so great—partly for the performance of the rites and partly with the intention that property should not pass out of the family—that by a legal fiction even a son by Niyoga was accepted as the successor to his mother's husband. And, the widow was given a right to at least hold her deceased

husband's property in favour of a possible Kshetraraja son as against the male agnates and Sapindas of her late husband, thereby helping in the ultimate development of the widow's rights over her husband's property in her own person rather than as a trustee and mother of a would-be 'Kshetraraja' son.

(IV) By providing women with both a right to maintenance and a right to a specified type of property the Sutrakaras ensure economic stability to them.

(V) Women also enjoyed many social privileges, including the right to be treated as equal with the husband in most spheres during his life time and immolation of widows was not practised.

Thus, on the whole, women had enjoyed a secure status. However, at least one idea of this period led to a cruel practice of the future—The opposition to the idea of a widow succeeding to her husband's estate and thereafter passing it to a different family—to her daughters—was one of the direct causes that led to the 'satipratha' of later ages. Nevertheless, it is the thinkers of the later ages who are to be blamed for this development and not the Sutrakaras. The liberality of the Sutrakaras may well be guessed from the fact that one of them at least, Gautama, mentions the widow as a successor to her husband's estate after the son.

THE DAY'S GLUTTONY AND INDIAN POLITICS

DEEPANKAR GHOSE

There is a scramble on today. Mr. Shastri owns up to unaccounted money being in the region of Rs. 15,000 crores as he did at a Calcutta Press conference in January.

The man at the post office counter will accept Rs. 2 ungrudgingly to push through a cable after closing time. The clerk at the Import Controller's will expect a fiver to get a file propelled.

While the delicate balancing in deficit financing has not taken place, tax evasion and smuggling add to the pressure in the wrong direction. There is irritation all round and antipathy grows between ruler and ruled. It is in circumstances like these that authority subconsciously tightens its grip and wants uniform masses. There have been disturbing signs of this trend during the last two or three years.

It is in circumstances like these that authority tends to usurp the prerogative of public opinion to balance individual liberty and collective security. It seems to be but customary to claim that it is the Government which knows best.

Monstrosities of brick and mortar go up in Calcutta and Bombay defying height regulations and yet armed with the "sanction in special circumstances" of the municipal building committees. Big donations from food merchants to the Congress party fund are never published and authority is only too eager to point out the futility of procurement in the face of inadequate warehouses. There is no ceiling to land and plot holdings and unaccounted money has a refuge. Every year in Calcutta about 1,000 buildings are sold. They invariably pass from fixed income group Bengalis who cannot maintain their property. India's landless tillers have reached a new peak. Yet the Indian consumer industry has never

been so prosperous as now. Then does it mean that the honeymoon will be soon over?

Professor Galbraith thinks that by and large Indian trade and commerce are today where American trade and commerce were in the 1920's. In other words it is the day's gluttony stage in the Indian economy. All the world's big powers have passed through this stage before accepting limited planning. But can India afford the luxury? If not, is there anything to be done to arrest the trend of things? There seems to be hardly any immediate solution. The prospect is not bleak in the long-term context.

To understand the malady it is necessary to analyze the character of Indian democracy. Like all other democracies Indian democracy has a ruling elite which is open and not closed to the man from the ranks. This was the principal lesson for rulers after 1789. But unlike the leading democracies, India does not have a sub-strata which would guide, suggest and reform, irrespective of pressure groups. In the absence of this sub-strata Indian democracy has been reduced to the chafing of pressure groups. The man from the ranks may cross the threshold, join the establishment and become Chief Minister but he has to toe the line of the establishment or he gets thrown out. Of this Dr. P. C. Ghosh's exit after a very short term as Chief Minister is an outstandingly unfortunate example. In Kerala's Communist Government Mr. E. M. S. Namboodiripad also toed the line of his own Party, hastened the Education Bill and brought his own doom.

Only Mr. Nehru did not have to compromise. But he did to India's chagrin. He arbitrated where he should have resolved. A romantic, his vision of alternatives slowed down his action. Had the Indian sub-strata

existed as in Britain, that wonderland of political shades or even as in censorious America, Mr. Nehru would be spurred to act. The liberal progressive public opinion would also come out more in the open. In the absence of the sub-strata Mr. Nehru just ignored that fact that he had rare fortune among politicians—the support and love of the teeming millions.

It may be worth one's while to reason why the sub-strata has never existed and to speculate if it could be brought into being.

It will be useful to reflect that the sub-strata of the thinking elite is born only after many many years of a dialogue on rights, duties and will of the people. This long dialogue has taken place in Britain for centuries since the days of Thomas More or even before. This dialogue has been there in the Continent and was carried later to America by the immigrants. But India has not known the dialogue although the Mauryas and the Guptas did some considerable thinking on statecraft and economics but the concept of the individual vis-a-vis society became a talking point after 1789 by when the colonization of India had started.

India has been engaged subsequently in fighting her colonizers. Every one rallied under the umbrella of Gandhi but the intelligentsia never had occasion to think of the individual and society. Only the profound of the thinking elite gauged the issues of self-rule when and if achieved. As in the first half of this century the dialogue has a very limited participation thanks to the nationalized radio and private-sector owned national Press. Only the elite knows what it is all about.

Polarization of some sort has always been on between the Government and businessmen resulting in some glaring anomalies. This is an Emergency and the Government has not controlled prices. The British, certainly much more successful

democrats than we, placed less trust during World War II on the businessmen's capacity for self-denial and introduced controls. Our Government has only appealed.

It is about time we realized that the dialogue could not have a wide participation commensurate with a mature democracy in the present circumstances. What is in the way is traditional Hindu authoritarianism handed down from one generation of rulers to the next. Gandhi was very authoritarian; so was Nehru.

Gandhi became authoritarian because he understood the people more than any other Indian leader in modern times and the people understood that he understood them. And when he succeeded after all in getting the millions moving it was but expected that his word would be law. It was India's good fortune that it had as its guide a man of Gandhi's self-control and self-realization. A lesser man would have failed.

But even Gandhi committed a distinct lapse. He always refused to inquire into a complaint which concerned the integrity of a Congress leader or worker. An episode is recounted in Delhi these days. Some businessmen used to meet every evening and the following morning the Stock Exchange would echo their decisions. The businessmen were close to the Congress leadership of the day. Nehru and a few other prominent men went and saw Gandhi about this. Gandhi on hearing this stared at them. He said that it must have been a coincidence. It is also recounted in Delhi that Gandhi genuinely believed it was a coincidence.

Gandhi's authoritarianism passed to Nehru. But Nehru did not have Gandhi's shrewd hold over the people's pulse or his self-control. Nehru was a visionary and saw too many visions. He was impulsive and an idealist. He had Gandhi's authority but did not know the controlled use of authority. He never knew how to be stern. In self-

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CURRENT AFFAIRS

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tion belong to the most vulnerable section of the community of whose gross consumption expenditure, the cost of food grains alone comprised, at the 1961-62 price levels, well over 75 per cent (vide *Towards A Self-Reliant Economy*, issued by the Planning Commission, Government of India, December, 1961, p. 76).

Agricultural Incentives

The problem of incentives to increased agricultural production is not a simple one. There are a variety of causes that would seem to contribute to its complexities. In the first instance, there is the system of land tenure to be contended with. There has been some attempt, not wholly implemented yet, to liquidate the old system of zemindary rights on land and to substitute it by State ownership. The change cannot be said to have been an improvement on the old system. If the old system was a little outmoded and smacked of a mediaeval feudalism there were compensations in the widely prevalent paternalistic relationships between tenant and landlord which has now been largely replaced by an abstract, wholly impersonal and usually callously mechanized system of state ownership of arable land. With the limitations placed on the tenants' prerogatives and discretion by the terms of the newly introduced tenure system (which vary in some measure from State to State), the benefits of a whole-hogger peasant proprietorship

have not been passed on to them. In consequence, the tenant generally feels that he has much less of a stake in the land he cultivates than he used to have under his old zemindar. Then, there are the amenities of farming; even after fairly massive investment in irrigational and flood control measures during the last three Plan periods (more massive in the First than in the succeeding two Plans), only about 12 million acres can be effectively irrigated to-day in the whole country and floods continue to devastate annually large tracts of the country's agricultural areas. Availability of the appropriate quantities of nitrogenous and phosphatic fertilizers is still only infinitesimal to requirements and marketing facilities for the farmer are practically nil. Thus the occupation of agricultural farming is left largely to the discretion of the Government revenue farmers, the mercy of the seasons, the caprices of the rivers, the natural but steadily dwindling fertility of the soil and, above all, to the pressures of the speculative activities of the trade which remains always at a commanding position to dictate its own price levels, at both the procurement and the selling ends. There are also other ancillary factors which continue to create disincentives against agricultural occupations. No attempt worth the name appears so far to have been made by the Government and their related agencies (and I especially refer to the National Extension Service in this connection) to assist the farmer to rationalise his holdings with a view to creating the necessary condition-precedent for fruitful intensive farming. If

THE DAY'S GLUTTONY

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defence it was a final break—he got some of the strong men out of the Cabinet under the Kamaraj Plan.

This authoritarianism has become a national attitude and percolated to schools and homes. The intelligentsia falls short of its responsibilities; more often than not its duty ends in either accepting or rejecting what it reads or hears. There is no initiative in thinking, because our schools and homes do not encourage the impressionable young minds to think. They only encourage them

to obey. The balancing is not quite done between respect for others and self-confidence.

Thus the issue is one of making a start in ensuring a wide participation in the dialogue on individual liberty and collective security. This some day will lead to the birth of the sub-strata of a thinking elite which will give its views independently without fear of being hounded and harried by the establishment.

What is needed is a change in attitude and it has to come from the top. The rest will follow.

farmers with contiguous holdings could be taught the benefits of a system of rationalization by which they could avail of the benefits of laying their furrows with the help of motor tractors (and the Government could hire out tractor services to them at a reasonable fee) which it can never be possible for individual farmers with their small holdings, farming productivity would be bound, both in terms of per-acre yield as well as per-capita production, to increase. This could be almost an overwhelming incentive. Besides, Government's industrial policies have been following courses of urban concentration in such a manner that there appears to have been no thought being bestowed upon the urgent need for providing supplementary sources of occupation for the farm worker at his place of principal activity. We have already seen the miserable level of earnings of the average agricultural worker in the country, compared to which the income levels in the industrial sector would be regarded as veritable affluence beyond the reach of avarice. This has been investing agricultural occupations with an incomparably inferior social rating compared to employment in industry, with the result that an increasing process of alienation from land has been going on. This does not connote a healthy system of incentive for agricultural production. All these, apparently, our Government have neither the imagination nor the intelligence to be able to clearly see and to assess their ultimate effect on the socio-economic structure of the country.

The Crux of the Problem

In the context of the crisis immediately facing the country on the food front, the crux of the problem would, therefore, appear to be to induce a shift, by whatever means it may be possible to do so, in the present system of command over the aggregate food grains trade in the country. It is essential, that to be able to effectively eliminate the continuing and progressively increasing speculative pressure on the supply and prices of food grains in the country, the present stranglehold of the trade must be loosened. Experience has more than amply proved that no measure of persuasion would be able to reawaken into life the utterly dead and callously

immune social conscience of the trade. Whatever measures must, therefore, be sought to be devised, should be compulsive in nature and application. This, unfortunately, the Government are either not strong enough or, possibly, even not honest enough to be ready to do. The answer, obviously, is: total procurement; statutory rationing in all urban and easy to cordon-off areas; the institution of fair price shops preferably under direct Government ownership or, at least under their strict control and supervision, in the vulnerable rural areas to enable food grains to reach the direct consumer at statutory prices. The entire machinery will necessarily have to be both elaborate, massive and complex. But if the Government have allowed themselves to be blackmailed to remain indifferent to this dangerously developing situation over the years since the Second Plan was launched and which assumed threatening acceleration since the end of 1962, they have only themselves to thank for the present magnitude of the problem which, we are afraid, can yield to no soft half-hogging and indulgent measures. If they, however, continue to evade their primary obligations in this behalf, they have only to look into the pages of history to find out, at what little distance nemesis may be waiting to pounce upon them.

THE MID-TERM TAXATION BUDGET

Although it was known for quite some time that substantial additional tax efforts would have to be made for filling in the resources gap for the Fourth Plan as tentatively conceived by the Planning Commission and which, it was recently reiterated by accredited spokesmen of the Commission and the Government alike, would be adhered to in spite of earlier counsels of moderation from various quarters, the supplementary mid-term taxation Budget that Union Finance Minister Krishnamachari presented to the Lok Sabha immediately after the reopening of Parliament for the autumn session on August 18 last, carried an element of both shock and surprise. The Plan has yet to be finally discussed, initially by the National Development Council which is expected to meet some time early in September and confirmed, after which it would have to be presented to Parliament for a debate and

acceptance. It was naturally to be assumed that whatever the size and nature of the additional taxation measures that would have to be eventually decided upon, it would follow and not precede, as it appears to have in the present instance, the final ratification of the Fourth Plan by the N.D.C. and Parliament. Besides, the initiation of the Fourth Plan is due to commence from the 1966-67 Budget year and it would be normally assumed that the additional tax burdens that the Fourth Plan would impose on the country would, accordingly, commence with the new Budget-year. In fact, it appears that all that was billed to happen in the current autumn session of Parliament was that, in accordance with the normal business procedure of the House of the People, the Union Finance Minister would be expected to make a statement on the state of the economy; he has, instead, presented a supplementary Budget with drastic tax proposals which are now estimated to raise additional revenues of the order of somewhere around Rs. 100 crores during the balance of the current financial year.

This new and immediately rather unexpected taxation proposals have been officially described as the "first act in pursuance of the decision to mobilize Rs. 3,000 crores of additional resources for the Fourth Plan. While these new proposals are estimated to yield additional revenues of the order of Rs. 100 crores during the balance of the current financial year, the estimate of annual additional yield from these has been placed at around Rs. 167 crores, a sizeable additional burden which, it is almost certain, would be bound to be further substantially augmented in the next Budget of the 1966-67 financial year. The new tax proposals consist of the following items:

(1) The statutory import tariff on machinery will be 40 per cent and on basic industrial raw materials, with an effective rate for the time being of 35 per cent; the 10 per cent regulatory import duty earlier imposed in the last annual Budget will remain unaffected;

(2) Consumer goods imports will rate an import duty at 100 per cent with the existing higher rates on specified items like liquor etc. remaining unaffected; contraceptives and fertilizers will continue to come in duty-free and there

will be no change in the rate for essential drugs, baby food, newsprint and milk powder;

(3) An additional excise duty of Rs. 50 per kilolitre on motor spirits, and Rs. 60 per kilolitre on high speed diesel oil; Excise duty on superior kerosene is to go up by Rs. 52 per kilolitre while that on inferior kerosene will remain unchanged; the duty on light diesel oil is to be reduced to Rs. 90 per tonne and the duty on furnace oil will go up by Rs. 40 per metric tonne;

(4) Excise on steel and pig iron and their products will go up by Rs. 10 per tonne and that on unwrought zinc and lead by Rs. 500 per tonne and those on copper ingots and copper manufactures will, likewise, go up by Rs. 500 per tonne;

(5) Tax reliefs include a rise in the rate of development rebate to priority industries to 35 per cent to the list of which coal mining machinery will now be added;

(6) The five year tax holiday will now be extended to new industrial undertakings which go into production during the Fourth Plan period;

(7) Bonus to individuals on cumulative time deposits are to be exempted from tax and the 7 per cent Gold Bond 1980 will be exempted from income tax; the commuted value of pensions will likewise be exempted from tax;

(8) A fresh scheme for voluntary disclosures of black income and wealth has been incorporated in the new proposals under which the assessee will be permitted to pay his tax dues by instalments extending over a period of 4 years commencing with a 10 per cent instalment in the first year and provided securities are furnished for the balance; the tax will be assessed at the usual rate appropriate to the income disclosed and not on any *ad hoc* concessional basis as earlier; the income thus disclosed will not be subject to any further process of assessment, the identity of the declarer will not be disclosed who will also be immune from penalties and prosecution for past concealment; this scheme will be in force until 31st March, 1966.

Structural Changes

It will, thus, be seen that although the Union Finance Minister, in course of his last Budget speech, opined that "indirect taxation has two

essential objectives: "to raise revenues for the State and to serve as an instrument of price policy" and admitted by implication the inflationary impact on the price structure of the then existing measures of indirect taxation when he further went on to say that "those indirect taxes which are designed primarily to raise revenue have to be adjusted not only in the light of revenue needs but also in the light of their impact on the budgets of individual citizens", he has done hardly anything, in designing his new and additional tax measures, to keep these fundamental principles of legitimate taxation in view. In fact, even in the last Budget he did not do much towards correcting the existing and rather overwhelming imbalances in the total tax structure which, admittedly, have been an important inflationary factor. In the last Budget, for instance, of the total taxes estimated to be raised, as much as 67.7 per cent were intended to be raised from indirect taxation; of this, again, as much as 44.8 per cent were estimated to be derived from excise duties, at least more than 50 per cent of which concerned consumption goods and the balance related mostly to semis and other items the impact of which would naturally fall, at least in a proportionate measure, upon the end-consumer. With the present proposals coming into effect, the gross tax revenue of the country within the 1965-66 fiscal year would be estimated at Rs. 1,930 crores and the incidence of gross indirect taxation rise to Rs. 1,332 crores or, very nearly, to 70 per cent of the total tax revenue. This in the face of the Union Finance Minister's own admission that there has been substantial rise in the price level since the beginning of the current financial year and the wholesale price index, at the end of July, had touched an all time peak of 168.8, would seem to be a callous measure designed only to serve the revenue needs of the Government whatever its impact may be on the already low living levels of the people.

We have been obliged to comment on several occasions in the recent past in these columns that imposition of excise imposts upon consumption commodities is generally regarded by all sound canons of public taxation, as an item to be scrupulously avoided except in respect of such goods the restriction of the consumption of which is regarded as a sound measure of legitimate public policy,

for the principal reason that such taxes tend to raise prices to the end-consumer by a usually far larger measure than the amount appropriated by the State. Since it is one of the primary obligations of the State while designing its tax measures that its revenue needs must conform to the legitimate well being of the citizen, repeated resort to such measures of taxation, as has been happening over the last one decade and longer and of which the present is only another overt instance, the new tax Budget, inspite of certain measures of relief also proposed in the same Budget in the field of direct taxation, must be regarded as an instance of the Government's complete indifference to their probable,—we consider them really inevitable—impact upon the living levels of the people.

We have been told almost *ad nauseum* over the last several years that the scope for further upward adjustment of direct taxation for covering the essential revenue requirements of the State is very limited. Indeed, it has been said that the level of direct taxation being what it is, it has already been working as a disincentive to savings and investments and the needs of development dictate that additional taxation measures in this field must be avoided as far as possible. It does not, however, appear to have been appreciated at the same time that an uneven distribution of the burdens of taxation, as is generally the case in the event of a too heavy emphasis upon indirect taxation including excise imposts upon a large variety of consumer goods, quite a number of them in the essential consumables category, carry such a heavy inflationary potential upon the general price structure that the already sub-human living levels of the people are bound to be correspondingly distorted in the process.

Distortions in the Economy

It is this distortion in the economy that the taxation structure of the country must be essentially designed to obviate and correct. In the last Budget the Union Finance Minister admitted this need when he said that "In a growing economy with shortages at various levels, there is also a tendency for the price structure to be distorted." Taxation, as he earlier stated in course of the same speech, must be designed in such a manner

as to "serve as an instrument of price policy." Unfortunately, however, all that the Finance Minister endeavoured to do in this matter was to seek to curb excessive profits by what he described as a "selective increase in both import and excise duties to mop up these profits." It is an elementary fact of life in the Indian economy that whenever excise or other similar imposts are laid upon items which are said to be yielding excessive profits, all that happens is to pass on the burden of such imposts and often even more, on to the end consumer by an upward adjustment of the related prices by a more than proportionate extent which the Government do not seem to have any means to obviate or even effectively restrict.

As has been already seen, the minor adjustments in the tax structure which were sought to be effected in the last annual Union Budget with the declared purpose of employing it to serve as an 'instrument of price policy' have utterly failed to achieve such an end and price levels have continued to rise to new peaks to a corresponding distortion in the economy. Ever since planned development was launched in 1950-51 the value of the rupee both at home and abroad has continued to steadily fall lower and lower but for a short interregnum during 1953-54 and a very substantial proportion of the achievements of so-called development has been correspondingly eliminated by inflationary pressures upon the price structure. In fact it would seem that his platitudinous assertions to the contrary notwithstanding all that the Union Finance Minister was concerned with almost in the same measure like his predecessor was to budget for the revenue needs of the State by following a line of least resistance and in utter and complete disregard of how the process would be likely to affect the vast majority of the country's population.

Rationalizing the Tax Structure

In presenting his supplementary taxation Budget to Parliament, the Union Finance Minister was reported to have claimed that in formulating his new tax budget he had been endeavouring to carry forward the process of "rationalising the tax structure" in conformity with what he described as the "paramount need for raising progressively higher revenues for sustaining the

dynamism and soundness (?) of the economy." This would seem to be a claim which does not appear to be justified by the actual contours of the overall taxation structure. We have already seen that the incidence of indirect to total taxation, which was of the order of 70.3 per cent in 1963-64 and which fell to approximately 66.6 per cent in the following year's Budget again rose to 67.7 per cent in the current year's Budget as a result perhaps of Krishnamachari's efforts at rationalising the tax structure and relating the incidence of indirect taxation to a more healthy purpose of serving as an effective instrument of price policy. The incidence of excise taxes to total tax would in assessing the matter be a more reliable indicant and in this field of taxation the proportion of excise to total taxes which had risen to as high a level as 48.3 per cent in 1963-64 and which had fallen to 43.7 per cent in the 1964-65 Budget rose marginally again by 1.1 per cent to 44.8 per cent in the current year's Budget. The effect of the tax proposals which are estimated to bring in an additional revenue from excise duties of little over Rs. 54 crores during the current fiscal year would be to further raise the incidence of excise to total taxes for the current year to just over 45.64 per cent or by 8.1 per cent over that in the annual Budget estimates.

As a result of these new imposts transport costs are bound to go up by a substantial margin and will be found to affect not merely the costs of essential passenger transport but also the carrying costs of goods all over the country. The increase in the steel and steel manufactures excise duty as well as on pig iron and castings would correspondingly increase the cost burdens on a variety of small industries as well as the cost of agricultural production and house building which would be likely to affect a very wide spectrum of society, both urban and agrarian. Indeed these new mid-term tax proposals have created a condition of bewilderment all over the country and the reaction of the business community who are far from convinced of the *bona fides* of the Union Finance Minister's plea that these were called for for the purpose of mobilising necessary resources for the Fourth Plan has been that these would be bound to aggravate the prevailing state of uncertainty, lead to further

spiralling of prices and generally aggravate current rather steep inflationary pressures which have been very materially distorting the state of the economy.

What would seem to be rather obvious in this connection is that it was really not for purposes of mobilizing resources for the Fourth Plan, expenditure or outlay on which is not expected to commence before April, 1966, but really for purposes of covering shortfalls in Government's current consumption expenditure—the steep rise in the incidence of which has been a major factor in raising the level of current demand and consequent explosion in the price spiral—and which would be bound to have the net effect of further aggravating the present condition of sluggishness in savings and capital formation. Additional taxation to cover shortfalls in savings and public borrowings would be bound to be self-defeating in the measure that it will be bound to aggravate prices. The steep rise in the Government's non-Plan expenditure over the last several years, especially during the years of the Third Plan period, is a demonstrable example of how inflationary pressures are being substantially aggravated by thoughtless adjustment of non-development outlays by Government by recourse to additional taxation. Above all, this method of continuously budgeting for additional taxation between normal annual budgets of the Government would be bound to aggravate conditions of instability.

Imagination and Courage Needed

What is really needed to combat the present dismal cost-price situation in the country is a measure of boldness of imagination and the courage to retrace past errors, which, unfortunately, the Union Government or their Finance Minister do not seem to possess. The present taxation structure, it has become more than obvious over the years, is irrational and loaded with such heavy inflationary pressures inherent in its constitutional make-up that it has been defeating in substantial measure all efforts to carry the growth rate in the economy forward towards that stage of take-off at which it will begin to become self-generating and self-sustaining. In spite of a decade and a half of planned develop-

ment, the inflationary potentials inherent in our developing tax structure along with several other incidental and ancillary factors have been distorting development in such measures that even now there are wide and substantial shortfalls in the growth of the necessary infra-structure and social overheads without which the process of development cannot be appropriately and adequately sustained. The fact that the present Union Finance Minister inherited most of the evils of the present structure of public taxation from his predecessor does not absolve him of the obligation to put the taxation structure on a more rational and equitable basis. He has been tinkering with this obligation in a minor degree earlier in the year while formulating his annual Budget which could hardly have any corrective influence on obstreperous market forces—as demonstrably it has not been having—and his present mid-term taxation Budget demonstrates that being unable to cope with these forces he has been abjectly reverting to the techniques of his predecessor to further aggravate a situation which has been increasingly worsening day by day.

What is needed is not mere feeble tinkering with a structure of taxation which cannot yield to any but the most vigorously, even unorthodoxly conceived treatment, and at the first sign of difficulty, hastily revert to measures which had themselves been largely responsible for the present situation, but a bold and courageous redesigning of the entire tax structure towards a more healthy and rational basis of public taxation. Such an expedient, it is conceded, would not be easy to follow; it may even, over a short period, affect the finances of the Government in pretty substantial measure and, very possibly, require the process of plan-development to be slowed down and cause the structure of development planning to be recast in its entirety. But such an expedient alone, there is not the least reason to doubt, may rescue both planning and the finances of the Government from their onward and headlong journey towards a bottomless pit where they would appear to be heading at the present moment.

Structural and Constitutional Defects in Planning

Indeed, by far the largest measure of the present difficulties of the Government and the

Inadequacies and shortfalls in plan development have easily been replaced largely by manual labour. may be demonstrated to have been derived from In some of the larger key industries in the public the wrong kind of planning that we have been sector also, the measure of technology-based essaying in this country over the last fifteen development might have been attenuated in some years and to which our Plan-executives seem measure and corresponding measures of capital determined to continue to obstinately and stubbornly conform inspite of the adverse lessons investment obviated, without materially detracting from their production potential. What has, of the past. Planning, it would seem, was being however, been happening in many cases is that patterned after the ambitious techniques of the instead of maintaining a certain and necessary measure of labour-intensiveness in the capital developed countries of the world without regard structure of these enterprises, the pressure of to the basic facts of our own economy. Without growing unemployment in the country has been going into unnecessarily extensive details, these obliging these to maintain a substantial measure of labour-intensive employment structure inspite of its capital-intensive investment base with basic facts may be described as being :

(i) Scarce capital ;

(ii) A huge incidence of residuary unemployed with an average addition to the labour force at the rate of some 10 millions every year ;

(iii) A primitive system of agriculture being made to ineffectually sustain some 77 per cent of the gross population of the country.

The very first of these facts would seem to require that our plan-design should be such that for every unit of the small capital that may be available for investment, effort should be made to to cover the largest possible area of employment. In other words, our plan for economic growth must necessarily, in the present condition of our resources and basic problems be founded upon a primarily labour-intensive design. Both from the point of view of scarcity of available capital for investment as well as the need for the widest and the speediest employment coverage to the people, we are simply not able to afford to design our immediate future development pattern on a mainly capital-intensive technology-based structure. The employment of modern technology in economic development, it must be clearly understood, is primarily a concession to labour shortage, a problem the very reverse of which is what we have to currently deal with in this country.

Unfortunately, the primary emphasis in planning has been, from the very beginning, upon technology and capital intensification even in such enterprises where their use might easily have been avoided without materially affecting the projects concerned. Take, for instance, some of our river valley projects where the use of modern earth moving and tamping equipments might without materially affecting their implementation

A primitive kind of land tenure and consequent fragmentation of holdings, primitive methods of cultivation, lack of fertilizers in adequate and scientifically assessed proportion, dependence on the mercy of the seasons for irrigation water, lack of adequate flood control measures (inspite of huge outlays on this account, especially in the First Plan) and a paralyzing burden of labour force that the agricultural system has to sustain, has reduced agriculture more or less to an uneconomic occupation. Of the total agricultural households in the country, who constitute in the aggregate some 80 per cent of the total population and only about 10 per cent of whom are fortunately engaged in some supplementary income-yielding occupation, a little more than 10 per cent are wholly landless hired labourers ; some 31 per cent have holdings of an average size of less than one acre and are able to produce only enough to cover their own consumption needs for about 3 months in the year ; another 26.6 per cent have holdings measuring less than 2.5 acres and produce enough to cover their own consumption needs for between 6 and 9 months in the year. Of the rest constituting 32.4 per cent of the agricultural households, a certain proportion are only just subsistence farmers, that is, they produce only enough to cover their own consumption needs and have no marketable surplus. It is only the rest that produce a marketable surplus. Considering that a very large proportion of these have holdings of between 5 and 10 acres and also that in most

States now an effective ceiling of 25 acres has been prescribed as the maximum size of a holding per household, the proportion of those with any very large marketable surplus could only be microscopic.

In spite of these dismal facts, however, agriculture is still, even after fifteen years of what has been claimed as rapid and substantial industrialization under the Plans, the largest single source of production and accounts for, by value of the produce, well over one half of the gross national product and of which food grains production is estimated to account for well over 67 per cent. Productivity in agriculture is admittedly very low considering the huge burden of the population it has to continue to sustain. Recent trends, no doubt, demonstrate a certain process of increasing urbanization; but its incidence is still quite infinitesimal and prospects of any very substantial acceleration in the process in the near future would seem to be quite remote. What, however, would appear to be a tragic fact of our agricultural occupation is that it cannot, by the nature of its present primitive processes and the magnitude of the labour force it has to sustain, afford full employment to the agricultural worker for more than about 200 days in the year. A great deal might have been done to offer a fuller measure of employment to the agricultural worker by creating subsidiary job opportunities—possibly in small industry—in the locale of his basic employment which would also have the effect of stimulating the process of productivity in agricultural output. Until measures for initiating an integrated process of rationalising agricultural occupations can be taken in hand by a multi-pronged attack on the system of land tenure, better availability of fertilizers and irrigation water and other ancillary measures, which would considerably reduce the labour-input in agriculture correspondingly with the increased input of these other items, the hope for increased effort towards agricultural production which suffers from the disincentives derived from these lacks, would be bound to remain an unattainable ideal.

In fact planning in the manner it has so far been essayed and continues even now to be so conceived, has only been lop-sided and eccentric. There has never been—nor in the

picture of the Fourth Plan of which we have already been afforded a tentative view—any integrated and balanced approach to development. And it is this lack which, it is demonstrable, has been responsible for the increasing shortfalls in implementation, infructuous employment of scarce capital resources and inadequate measures of development relative to the outlays incurred. Efforts to cover these lacks by a process of increasing mobilization of resources, by thoughtless and unscientific budgeting for more and more taxation revenue from whatever sources are likely to yield the needed resources with the least effort, have led the country into a situation from which it will be most difficult to retrieve her fortunes. Both planning-pattern and the structure of taxation will have to be redesigned and reformulated if the position is intended to be retrieved. Or else we would soon reach a point of no-return from the quicksands disaster.

Unaccounted Money

While discussing these fundamentals of taxation and planning, it might seem almost irrelevant to revert to the question of unaccounted money. But since Sri Krishnamachari has included fresh provisions for inducing voluntary disclosure of concealed or *unaccounted* wealth and income in his mid-term taxation Budget, a reference to this item, although only incidentally would not seem to be wholly inappropriate. Mr. Krishnamachari himself tentatively estimated the measure of this concealed wealth at around Rs. 3,000 crores, although the Prime Minister was reported to have been deliberately vague and to have guessed the aggregate value of this unaccounted for money at anywhere between Rs. 3,000 and Rs. 10,000 crores. In any case, by common consent the minimum estimate of the measure of this money would appear to have been assessed at around Rs. 3,000 crores. As a result of the concessions offered in his last annual Budget this year, which remained in force until 31st May last, voluntary disclosures of such money was fixed to attract a gross tax of 60 per cent of the disclosed amount at the highest level. Under the new scheme, disclosed amounts

would attract tax at the rate appropriate to the level of income so disclosed under the income tax statute in force. The maximum rate of tax at the highest slab would gross approximately 74 per cent. Under the earlier scheme voluntary disclosures aggregated a gross income of Rs. 50 crores, according to the Union Finance Minister and yielded a tax revenue of Rs. 30 crores ; that is to say in accordance with the guess of the Finance and the Prime Ministers, only about 1.6 per cent of the minimum measure of unaccounted money operating in the market has now been disclosed. The Finance Minister has commented that no individual or business organization with a really large measure of concealed income has been included among the declarants. If that were so, when they would

be required to pay in taxes some 14 per cent less than now, would it not be too optimistic to expect that the new scheme would bear any more substantial fruit? True, there is the new concession of the declarant being allowed to pay his tax dues by instalments spread over a period of four years ; but why should he elect to at all pay since he has, so far, been able to get away without paying anything? Mr. Krishnamachari, we are afraid, has been making a ridiculous exhibition of himself and of his Ministry by this measure. If he can think of no more compulsive and effective measure than this, it were better that he did not trot out from time to time these ridiculous concessional attractions.

SOCIAL ACTION PROCESS

A New Approach

M. K. SETHU RAO

THE application of science and technology is primarily a social process rather than a technical problem or a technical process. Successful application needs changes in people's knowledge, attitude and skill. It is a difficult and drawn out process. Research brings out new products and processes which are to be translated into action. The people concerned should understand, accept and incorporate the results of science and technology in their actions thereby making necessary changes in their behaviour.

Rural Development Programmes of very great magnitude affecting millions of people are being carried out in our country since 1952. The true impact of these programmes can be gauged only when there are manifestations in the individual and community life of the people concerned. Almost huge army of professional leaders like village level workers etc. are engaged in this endeavour in addition to Local Leadership. But

whatever the type of programme it starts from an idea.

How does an idea become a practice? How does this practice become an integrated part of the culture of any society? Is there any set pattern observed? If so, what is the significance for the implementation of rural development programmes? These are some of the pointing questions that come to the mind of any rural sociologist.

In other words these questions boil down to the following :

Just how does action take place in the society? A fertilizer campaign, a rat-killing campaign or a plant protection campaign or mass vaccination programme or constructing a school or a hospital building in the village or arranging a village leaders' training camp etc. are some of the programmes that are to be undertaken. How these programmes get started and keep on going?

The solution for such problems may differ from area to area or from village to village, yet, a general pattern seems to occur in such programmes as mentioned above.

Before any action can start, interested people must agree that a problem or situation exists and something must be done about it. This feeling may arise in a number of people if the problem is severe like cattle disease or severe plant pest or epidemic etc. At other times action may be started by someone closely connected with the system—an insider like the *Gramsevak* or the school teacher or the Secretary of the Co-operative who represents certain special interests. This person may define the problem and try to get the support of the organisation concerned. Sometimes an outsider may try to get the action started like the Deputy Commissioner or a semi-official agency like Social Welfare Board or *Sevadal* etc. Awareness of a problem or unsatisfactory situation happens to be the first stage in any social process. Sometimes this may be vague and sometimes it is apparent. But the mere existence of awareness is not a guarantee for action, though it is necessary for any social action process.

Following is a brief analysis of stages in a social action process :

1. *Initiating Stage*

In any community or village situation action is generally started by an "initiating set". This is generally a small group. They feel that the problem is important enough to start some action to tackle it. The important thing to be remembered here is that there may be more than one initiating set in a particular problem situation considering the same problem. Thus starting of a social action process for any particular programme may involve only one group or many groups.

2. *Legitimation Stage*

Some persons or groups (may be informal or formal) in a community or a village seem to have the right or authority or the privilege to pass on things that make them legitimate activities. They are the people who usually say "this is good or bad or acceptable or not acceptable."

These persons may be called "legitimisers." The initiating set usually takes the problem to legitimisers for their judgment. On some occasions only one or two are legitimisers and in some cases an informal group may be the legitimiser. In some other cases a formal group may be legitimiser like caste group or religious committee of Mahilamandal or young farmers' club committee.

Though the ultimate legitimisers are the people themselves, legitimation or giving sanction by key people in groups is a very important step in getting action. The people remain or become legitimisers because of many reasons like families, prestige, key position, money, knowledge and past correct judgments etc.

Legitimisers are very useful in testing an idea immediately. They are the keepers of values. They know whether people accept an idea, if so, at what pace and they can also suggest how the idea can be modified to meet the needs of the people concerned paving for easy acceptance.

Sometimes they block progress, but on many occasions they prevent the initiators from running off in tangents and making serious mistakes. When an extension worker goes to legitimisers he gets several answers. His answer may be negative indicating that he is not willing to be attached to the programme in any manner. Here the extension worker must decide whether to modify the approach or use a different approach or in some cases to by-pass the legitimisers. Sometimes his answer may be positive indicating that his name be attached to the programme whenever necessary. In some cases the legitimiser may take the full responsibility by giving 100 per cent approval.

In most cases there are two kinds of legitimisers. Formal legitimisers or the administrators, who set policy, make decisions and give orders. They usually operate from rules and regulations and from position of authority. Second are the informal legitimisers who may not be in the administrative structure. One person may play both the roles.

A legitimiser may not be very helpful for the programme even though the extension worker has consulted him and taken his sanction. But, if he is not consulted and his position as legitimiser is challenged, he will try everything he can to stop or hinder the progress of the programme.

If the development worker is completely blocked by the legitimiser then following alternatives are to be explored and this depends upon the nature and importance of the programme.

1. Using different approach with the original legitimisers ;
2. Trying to set up other legitimisers ;
3. By pass the legitimisation set and try to take the idea directly to the people.

3. *Diffusion Stage*

When an idea has been legitimised it is ready to be put forth before the general public or part of the general public to feel the 'pulse' whether it can be acted upon. In other words, the idea moves into the diffusion process and a very important group, the 'diffusion set' takes over. The composition of the group is generally not the same as 'initiators' and legitimisers.' In many cases one or two or three legitimisers continue in this group and it is not uncommon that one or two initiators may also be found in this group. In majority of the cases the initiators are not the best people to take the programme to the public. The diffusion set needs people who are able to help the public understand and accept the idea. Sometimes more than one diffusion set gets involved before the community gets and accepts the idea.

4. *Need Defined*

Once the diffusion set is established the problem is right before the people. But, everybody may or may not be involved. Some groups and people start taking interest and the Need begins to get clearly defined. This is the crucial stage in any social action process. How does this happen? May be by extension programmes like demonstrations, surveys, comparisons with other villages, competition, past experience or crisis.

5. *Formalising Action*

As the programme gets going it is formalised at some stage. It is extremely difficult to pin

point the particular stage at which the action is formalised, i.e., when a committee or group or sub-group or individuals become responsible for the programme. It may take place in the legitimisation process or diffusion process. Sometimes formalisation may not be necessary, but, on many occasions the social action programmes have failed because they were not formalised. During this stage the goals and targets are fixed.

6. *Commitment to Action*

This is the logical stage that follows the formalisation. The people might have recognised the problem, have defined the need, yet, the resources may not be forthcoming, i.e., the mobilisation of resources might not have taken place. It is here that the mettle of the extension worker is put to test. It depends upon the depth of understanding he has about the groups and their functional strength in the village. The individual leaders and the extent of their followers, past success of the groups and individuals, obligations of the groups and individuals, time factor of the villagers, special skill and abilities of certain individuals and the standing of the formal organisations in the village etc.

7. *Launching Stage*

Some programmes get started by a formal meeting or any other types of ceremonies. Some programmes start without any formal functions or ceremonies.

8. *Evaluation*

This is a continuous process as soon as the programme gets started. May be on a scientific basis or may be in a crude way, may be both by the participants and outsiders, the evaluation goes on till the particular action programme comes to a finale.

The social action programme passes through the series of stages but need not necessarily follow the same pattern. Sometimes there may be combining of two stages. Anyway the extension worker should know about this sequence for effective implementation of the programme.

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MALAYSIA AND SINGAPORE

Clear Signs Of Real Goodwill

ELISABETH BARKER

The decision of the Governments of the Federation of Malaysia and Singapore, announced on August 9, that Singapore should leave the Federation and start a new life as an independent country is one that all their partners and friends must regret.

When Malaysia came into being nearly two years ago with the merging of Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak with the States of the already independent Federation of Malaysia, everyone was aware that there were difficult and perhaps dangerous times ahead.

Main Challenge

Abroad, Malaysia faced the hostility of President Sukarno's Indonesia.

At home, strains were bound to develop as the very varied elements within the enlarged Federation adjusted themselves to their new relationships.

The main challenge was, of course, to reach a successful solution of the relationship between the Malay and Chinese communities. One of the main aims of federation was to settle the problems—political, psychological, even strategic—created by the complex mixture of Malays and Chinese living on the long tongue of land which forms

the Malay Peninsula, with the island of Singapore at its southernmost tip.

Population Balance

In the Malay Peninsula, without Singapore, the Malays form about half of the population, the Chinese a little over one-third. In Singapore, on the other hand, the Chinese make up three-quarters of the population, while the Malays are fewer than one in seven of the total. There are also nearly 1,000,000 people of Indian and Pakistani origin in Malaya and Singapore taken together.

Federation established a balance, in terms of population, between Malays and Chinese. The Federation as a whole had a population of around 10,000,000. Of these, around 40 per cent were Malays and just over 40 per cent Chinese.

Of course, the Federation—as it took shape, by the free consent of all the peoples concerned—had many other reasons for existence. Malays and Chinese may differ in cultural heritage, political approach, way of life and temperament. But many factors combined to draw them together in 1963—and still do.

Powerful Bonds

Economic factors, geography and defence needs are powerful bonds. For instance, Singapore depends for its water supply on the neighbouring Malay State of Johore.

And the defence of Malaya and Singapore against external threat, from whatever quarter, is plainly indivisible—as the two Governments have recognized by their agreement to conclude an external defence treaty and to establish a joint Defence Council.

Common Danger

In the last two years, moreover, President Sukarno's "confrontation" policy—that is, active Indonesian hostility—has formed a fresh bond between the various parts of the Federation. Together, Malays, Chinese and the Borneo peoples have faced a common danger from a country with 10 times the Federation's population.

In the long run, however, the success or failure of the Federation, in its original form, was bound to depend on the Malay-Chinese relationship. The great question has been whether the balance created, in terms of population figures, could be transformed into a satisfactory working partnership between the two races in building up the new State.

Heartening progress was made, but communal tensions flared from time to time. The decision has been taken that it would be better to separate as friends than remain together and risk a deepening of resentments.

Indonesian Reaction

It was taken, quite clearly, with sadness on both sides, and it has caused sadness among all the Federation's friends. The only country to rejoice was—inevitably—Indonesia. Its leaders—again inevitably, but wrongly—have tried to claim the split as a victory for their "confrontation".

They choose to depict it as the collapse of the whole 'concept of partnership between Malaya,

Singapore and the Borneo territories. And they have not concealed their hope that they themselves can give the final blow which will cause complete disintegration.

But President Sukarno and his colleagues have miscalculated. If the separation of Malaysia and Singapore was swift and sudden, it was also entirely orderly, smooth and peaceful, and provision has been made for continuing co-operation in defence, economic affairs and other matters of joint concern.

Future Co-operation

Clearly, the separation has implications for Britain's defence agreement with Malaysia which will call for careful study. But both Tunku Abdul Rahman and Mr. Lee Kuan Yew—Prime Ministers respectively of Malaysia and Singapore—have stressed that arrangements for mutual defence are not affected.

The Singapore Government has promised to allow Britain to continue to use the bases, as hitherto, for the purpose of helping in the defence of Singapore and Malaysia, for Commonwealth defence, and for the preservation of peace in South-East Asia.

Moreover, Singapore—as an independent State—wants to be a member of the Commonwealth. This again should strengthen and confirm the basis for its future co-operation with the Federation.

Unity in Diversity

Most important of all, there are clear signs of real goodwill on both sides. The Malaysian Prime Minister, in his first public statement on the split, said he hoped and prayed that in diversity Malaysia and Singapore would have a better chance to find unity.

On the other side, the Singapore Deputy Prime Minister, Dr. Toh Chin Chye, said: "Although lasting unification of Singapore and Malaya has not been achieved this time, it is my profound belief that future generations will succeed where we have failed."

THREE LEADERS OF THE INDIAN RENAISSANCE

D. P. SHRIVASTAVA

The religious and spiritual awakening and resurgence of India since the middle of the nineteenth century is a very significant phenomenon in the history of modern India. The mighty forces released by this great upheaval provide us the key to understand the nationalist movement and constitutional advancement of India. It aroused the mind and soul of this great country. Its reverberations were felt in the domain of philosophy, religion and culture. Political consciousness followed closely on its heels. The Indian renaissance was also accompanied by revivalism. Some of its leaders laid great stress on the teachings of the Vedas, Upanishads and the Gita and vehemently criticised those Indians who came under the spell of Western civilization. The soul of India began to rebel against the despiritualizing and denationalizing influence of a foreign civilization. The Indian renaissance was accompanied by such religious movements as the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the Ramkrishna Mission and the like. The outstanding leaders of the renaissance in India were Raja Ram Mohun Roy, Swami Dayananda Saraswati and Swami Vivekananda who respectively were the pioneers of the three great religious movements of the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj and the Ram Krishna Mission. We shall now deal with each of these eminent Indian leaders.

Raja Ram Mohun Roy

Raja Ram Mohun Roy (1772-1833) heralded the modern age in Indian history. He was a great rationalist. Though he profoundly studied the Hindu theology and metaphysics at Banaras, he had no deep

reverence for orthodox Hinduism. According to Dr. R. C. Majumdar, "Raja Ram Mohun Roy was the first and the best representative of this new spirit of rational inquiry into the basis of religion and society. He challenged the current religious beliefs and social practices of the Hindus as not being in consonance with their own scriptures. He tried to show that the belief in multiplicity of gods and worship of images, which formed the essence of the current and popular Hindu religion, was opposed to the teaching of the Vedas. How far his views were historically correct, or morally sound, was of secondary importance. What really mattered was his open and public protest against the blind acceptance of whatever passed current on the authority of priest-hood or its interpretation of scriptures. The standard of revolt he thus raised against the medieval tyranny of dogma unleashed forces which created what may be called Modern India, and makes him worthy to rank by the side of Bacon and Luther"¹. The distinguishing characteristic of the Medieval period was to have blind faith in current customs, beliefs and conventions. Ram Mohun raised a banner of revolt against this practice and thus laid the foundations of modern intellectualism and rationalism in India. Ram Mohun was a staunch believer in the monotheistic doctrine of the Upanishads and was deadly opposed to the practice of idolatry which was widely current in his times. In order to wage a continuous battle against sectarianism, superstition and idolatry and to up-

1. "History of the Freedom Movement in India," Vol. I. p. 291.

hold the ideal of monotheism he founded the Brahmo Samaj in 1828, although the formal opening of the Samaj was made on January 23, 1830. The Samaj made a great impact on the intelligentsia in Bengal and some of the greatest men in modern India, such as Jagadish Chandra Bose, Rabindra Nath Tagore, Brajendra Nath Seal and Bipin Chandra Pal, were influenced by its doctrines. The Brahmo Samaj was one of the greatest forces responsible for the renaissance in India.

Raja Ram Mohun Roy was the moving spirit behind the renaissance in India. A versatile genius as Ram Mohun was, his achievements were nonetheless multifarious, which have been beautifully summarised by Brajendra Nath Seal as follows: "The history of Indian civilization taught him many other things of fundamental importance, e.g., in the sphere of state policy, an original separation between the legislative and the executive function, in the sphere of jurisprudence, the origin of law in custom and **Acharya** as co-ordinate with the sovereign's command, and, often, as satisfied **ex post facto** by such command and sanction; and in the sphere of juridical as well as revenue administration, the pivotal character of the village and its **panchayat** and of the **ryot's** tenure and ownership of land. But he gave a modern meaning and purpose to these ancient and medieval elements of Indian polity. He went on to link them up with representative government, trial by jury, and freedom of the press, and he corrected and completed the Hindu's personal law of marriage, inheritance, religious worship, women's status, **stri-dharma** and **varnashrama-dharma**, by introducing the most liberal principles of justice and equity, for which he found sanction also in the old codes, thus working out a synthesis between Eastern and Western social values and postulates, against the common background of Universal Humanity. But it was not only the jurisprudence of the New Polity, it was also the modern civilization of the West, that he wanted to plant on Asiatic soil; and, accordingly, he helped to establish public education in India on the basis of real and useful knowledge, more particularly of science, and the application of science to industry. Similarly, he avoided the fallacy of the physiocratic economists in putting agriculture against manufacture; he would preserve the ryotwari agrarian and rural basis of the Indian civilization, while he would plant on this soil modern scientific industry to improve the standard of living, and thereby with the health and physique of the Indian people. And, finally, he made a forecast of the future political history of India and her relation to Great Britain on plantation (or colonial) lines. Indeed, he would even welcome high-grade European settlements in certain parts of the country as a tentative measure to hasten this consummation. And in the end there came to this prophet of humanity on his death-bed the vision of a free, puissant and enlightened India, the civiliser and enlightener of Asiatic nationalities, a golden link between the Far East and the Far West, a vision as emblematic of the past, as it was prophetic of the future history of Humanity." In this way Ram Mohan Roy epitomized rationalism, intellectualism, liberalism, humanism and democracy in nascent India.

Dayananda Saraswati

Swami Dayananda Saraswati (1824-1883) was another great leader of the Indian renaissance. Like Raja Mohan Roy he also waged a relentless war against superstition, blind belief, idolatry and orthodoxy. Swami Dayananda was a great protagonist of the Vedas and wanted to apply the Vedic canons

2. 'Ram Mohan Roy: The Universal Man,' *Ram Mohan Roy Centenary Volume*, part II, Pp. 108-09.

for solving the riddles of life. There was almost a nationalist instinct in his faith in the Vedas. He had a firm belief in the revelatory character of the four Vedas. He held that the Vedas included pure and pristine knowledge which was revealed to humanity by the Creator. "Dayananda believed, like Ram Mohan Roy, that the reform of Hindu society could only be effected by reviving Vedic rituals and institutions which had been hidden under the excrescences of the later Puranic age. So he adopted a programme of social reform. He rejected the hereditary system of caste and did not recognize the authority or even the superiority of the Brahmans merely on the ground of birth. He proclaimed the right of every body to study the Vedas and other Hindu scriptures. He denounced the worship of gods and goddesses and preached that only the Supreme Being should be worshipped. Inter-caste marriage was encouraged and child-marriage was decried—the minimum marriageable age for boys and girls being fixed, respectively, at 25 and 16. Dayananda was, however, opposed to the remarriage of widows." According to Rabindra Nath Tagore, 'Swami Dayananda, the great path-maker in modern India, who through bewildering tangles of creeds and practices—the dense undergrowth of the degenerate days of our country—cleared a straight path that was meant to lead the Hindus to a simple and rational life of devotion to God and service for man. With a clear-sighted vision of truth and courage of determination he preached and worked for our self-respect and vigorous awakenment of mind that could strive for harmonious adjustment with the progressive spirit of the modern age and at the same time keep in perfect touch with that glorious past of India when it revealed its personality in freedom of thought and action, in an unclouded radiance of spiritual realisation.'

Swami Dayananda was fully conscious of India's downfall from the height of glory. In his *Satyarthaprakash* he traced India's degradation to "mutual feud, differences in religion, want of purity in life, lack of education, child-marriage, in which the contracting parties have no voice in the selection of their life-partners, indulgence in carnal gratifications, untruthfulness and other evil habits, the neglect of the study of the Vedas, and other malpractices." He laid a great deal of emphasis on the inculcation of pure and impeccable character. India can become a great nation only on the basis of sturdy character.

Swami Dayananda founded the Arya Samaj at Bombay in 1875 which exercised a powerful influence on the nationalist movement in India. In the words of Bipin Chandra Pal: "It cannot be denied that the movement of Dayananda Saraswati, as organised in the Arya Samaj, has contributed more than the rational movement of the Raja's Brahmo Samaj to the development of a new national consciousness in the modern Hindu, particularly in the Punjab. This was really the beginning of that religious and social revival among the Hindus of India to which we owe so largely the birth of our present national consciousness."⁴ Swami Dayananda had boundless love for India. He frequently addressed India as *Aryavarta*. He deplored the want of undivided (*Akhanda*), free (*Swatantra*), self-governing (*Swadhina*) and dauntless (*Nirbhaya*) rule in India. He was the first Indian to speak of *Swaraj*. Though his nationalism was confined to the Hindus, the latter became enthused with the nationalist spirit and thus India was able to organize herself against the British regime. Speaking of the nationalist spirit generated by the Arya Samaj, Swami Shradhananda and Ramdeva write in their Works: **The**

3. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, *Ibid*, p. 296.

4. *Memoirs of my life and Times*, Vol. II, p. 426.

Arya Samaj and its Detractors as follows :

"When, therefore, the Arya Samaj sings the glory of ancient India—the land of expositors of Revealed Learning, the sacred soil where Vedic institutions flourished and put forth their choicest fruits, the holy country where Vedic philosophy and Vedic Metaphysics attained their highest development, the sanctified clime where lived exemplars who embodied in their conduct the loftiest conceptions of Vedic ethical teachings the health-forces of nationalism receive an impetus, and the aspirations of the young nationalist who had persistently dinned into his ear the mournful formula that Indian History recorded the lamentable tale of continuous and uninterrupted humiliation, degradation, foreign subjection, external exploitation, etc., feels that his dormant national pride is aroused and his aspirations stimulated. So patriotism, which is the hand-maiden of Vedicism, is lofty, inspiring, vitalizing, unifying, tranquillizing, soothing, bracing and exhilarating." Swami Dayananda was a nationalist to the tips of his fingers. He was the first Indian to speak of Swaraj, the first to insist on people using only the Swadeshi goods and on discarding the foreign ones, and the first to recognise Hindi as the national language of India. Swami Dayananda was indeed a great builder of Indian nationhood and a great leader of the Indian renaissance. His programme of social reform and reconstruction heralded the movement for national and political progress of India.

Vivekananda

The renaissance in India received a great momentum at the hands of Swami Viveka-

5. Though a Gujarati by birth Swami Dayananda recognised the worth of Hindi as the national language. He wrote the voluminous *Satyarthaprakash* in Hindi.

nanda (1863-1902), the great disciple of Ramkrishna Paramhansa. He took a leading part in the establishment of the Ramkrishna Mission in Bengal in 1897. He crashed into limelight at the Parliament of Religions which was held at Chicago in the United States of America in the year 1893 by championing the cause of Hinduism and elucidating the principles of Vedanta with wonderful eloquence and oratory. He made a mark on the Western religious leaders in the U.S.A. and was able to secure a high seat for Hinduism in that assemblage. The Westerners realised, as New York Herald admitted, how foolish it was to send missionaries to the land of such wisdom. In 1894 Swami Vivekananda established the first Vedanta Society in the U.S.A. He also toured Western Europe and got many people converted into Hinduism.

Swami Vivekananda's triumphant tour abroad had a remarkably toning effect on the Hindu intelligentsia in India, who had become gravely despondent in respect of their culture and civilization. The Christian missionaries at that time were making sweeping inroads on Hinduism in India and were painting it as a bundle of superstitions, immoral customs and out-of-date institutions. Swami Vivekananda's efforts secured high praise for Hinduism at the hands of Westerners. As a result of this the Hindus were able to regain self-confidence in their own culture and civilization. This sounded a patriotic chord in their heart and quickened the pace of Hindu nationalism in India.

Swamiji combined the qualities of a great saint and a staunch nationalist in his being. He made eloquent appeals to stir the nationalist spirit of Indians. "Oh India! Wouldst thou attain, by means of thy disgraceful cowardice, that freedom deserved only by the brave and the heroic? Oh India!.....forget not that thy marriage, thy wealth, thy life are not for sense-pleasure, are not for thy individual personal happiness; forget not that thou art born as

a sacrifice to the Mother's altar ; forget not that thy social order is but the reflex of the infinite Universal Motherhood ; forget not that the lower classes, the ignorant, the poor, the illiterate, the cobbler, the sweeper are thy flesh and blood, thy brothers. Thou brave ones, be bold, take courage, be proud that thou art an Indian, and proudly proclaim : "I am an Indian, every Indian is my brother." Say : "The ignorant Indian, the poor and destitute Indian, the Brahman Indian, the Pariah Indian, is my brother." Thou too, clad with but a rag round thy loins proudly proclaim at the top of thy voice : "The Indian is my bother, the Indian is my life, India's gods and goddesses are my God, India's society is the cradle of my infancy, the pleasure-garden of my youth, the sacred heaven, the Varanasi of my old age." Say, brother : "The soil of India is my highest heaven, The good of India is my good", and repeat and pray day and night : "O Thou Lord of Gauri, O Thou Mother of the Universe, vouchsafe manliness unto me. O Thou Mother of strength, take away my weakness, take away my unmanliness, and Make me a Man."⁶

Swami Vivekananda repeatedly stressed the need of conquering the world by India, not by the sword but by love and compassion and the lofty ideals of Hinduism. He proclaimed that India had a mission to the rest of the world : "This is the land from whence, like tidal waves, spirituality and philosophy have again and again marched out and deluged the world, and this is the land from whence once more such tides must proceed in order to bring life and vigour into the decaying races of mankind." All these lofty ideas had an electrifying effect on the nationalist sentiment in India. The clouds of gloom vanished into thin air and India leapt into buoyant and vigorous life.

Swami Vivekananda was fully conscious of the poverty and abject misery of the Indian masses. In a letter addressed to the Maharaja of Mysore he wrote : "The one thing that is at the root of all evils in India is the condition of the poor....Priest-power and foreign conquest have trodden them down for centuries, and at last the poor of India have forgotten that they are human beings.....I do not believe in a religion which cannot wipe out the widow's tears or bring a piece of bread to the orphan's mouth. However sublime be the theories, however well-spun may be the philosophy—I do not call it a religion so long as it is confined to books and dogmas.....Let these (poor) be your God.....Him I call a Mahatma whose heart bleeds for the poor, otherwise he is a Duratman.....So long as the millions live in hunger and ignorance, I hold every man a traitor who, while being educated at their expense, pays not the least heed to them."⁷ Here is the germ-idea for removing poverty and misery from India. It has been a source of inspiration to all the nationalist leaders of India. That is why the battle against poverty is continuously being waged by India after attaining freedom.

Swami Vivekananda firmly believed in the spiritual equality of human beings. He vehemently criticised priestdom and Brahmanism. He was deadly opposed to the practice of untouchability. All these notions became important planks in India's struggle for independence. The incorporation of the right to equality in the Indian constitution also bears the above background.

A hero-prophet of Indian nationalism as Swami Vivekananda was, he was also a great builder of modern India. A great nation can be built up only on the basis of some moral qualities of the people. With this in view Swamiji laid a great deal of

6. *The complete works of Vivekananda*, Vol. IV, Pp. 408-09.

7. *Modern Review*, Vol. XXV, January to June, 1909, p. 580.

emphasis on fearlessness, courage, manliness, positive action and self-confidence. In a speech he thundered : "But this is not the time with us to weep, even in joy ; we have had weeping enough ; no more is this the time for us to become soft. This softness has been with us till we have become like masses of cotton.....what our country now wants are muscles of iron and nerves of steel, gigantic will, which nothing can resist, which.....will accomplish their purpose in any fashion, even if it meant going down to the bottom of the ocean and meeting death face to face. That is what we want, and that can only be created, established and strenthened, by understanding and realizing the ideal of the Advaita, that ideal of the oneness of all. Faith, faith, faith in ourselves.....If you have faith in the three hundred and thirty millions of your mythological gods, and in all the gods which foreigners.....have introduced into your midst, and still have no faith in yourselves, there is no salvation for you. Have faith in yourselves and stand up on that faith.....why is it that we, three hundred and thirty millions of people, have been ruled for the last thousand years by any and every handful of foreigners ?.....Be-

cause they had faith in themselves and we had not....."

There were other leaders of the Indian renaissance as well. The three singled out in this article are most important ones mainly because they were the founding fathers of the three great and gigantic religious movements of the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj and the Ramkrishna Mission. The impact of these three great leaders of Indian remaissance was far and wide on the resuscitation and galvanization of the Indian nation. They spread the nationalist sentiment. They helped India regain self-confidence. They projected the old religious and cultural values of India with new vigour and posture. They led to the social reconstruction of India. They pointed out the evils that were eating into the vitals of this country. They also showed the way how those evils were to be fought out and how India was to be made an independent, powerful and noble nation. Their robust inspiring words shall continue to echo and re-echo down the corridors of Indian history.

8. *The complete uorks of Vivekananda*, Vol. III, p. 190.

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The Prime Minister's Economics

Writing in the *Swarajya* of July 31 under the above legend Mr. J. M. Lobo Prabhu has something to say on some of the Prime Minister's recent utterances on matters of economic policy and planning which may seem relevant in the context of current developments and, therefore, of keen interest to our readers :

The Prime Minister's commonsense seems to be confronted with the ideologies of the Planning Commission. Since commonsense must ultimately win, particularly when it is supported by the logic of facts, the ideas of the Prime Minister, expressed at the meeting of the national committee of the India Productivity Year 1960, deserve to be closely examined.

The first proposition expressed by the Prime Minister was the "very disturbing situation that in the matter of industrial goods, raw material and machinery, India is more dependent upon imports now than it was ten years ago". This admission has several implications, the first being that our planning for industrial self-sufficiency has failed. It is enough to mention that after three new steel factories in the public sector and extension of the existing two factories, in 1962-63 we imported Rs. 86.55 crores worth of steel, while in 1952, import of all metals including steel was only Rs. 41.96 crores. We should seriously consider if two more steel plants should be added, which may only relieve the exporting countries of their surplus capital goods production, without reducing our imports of steel.

The second implication is that the economy, including employment, stands mortgaged as never before to other countries for raw materials and components. The Prime Minister's solution, that of increasing indigenous substitutes, ignores that some of the imports cannot be produced in the country and the others require import of capital goods for which we cannot find the foreign exchange. Another solution, increase of import duties to encourage production of substitutes, will increase costs of production because of the cost and quality of the substitutes produced in sheltered conditions.

The solution has already been suggested by the World Bank, repeating a finding of Sir R. F. Harrod, that licences for new industries be suspended for as long as established industries require the foreign exchange available to maintain their full capacity. Even if this deprives government of patronage, particularly that expected from industries in the State and co-operative sectors, it will not deprive the people of any urgencies. The Fourth Plan must be largely of what is for the needs and within the means of the people themselves.

The second proposition laid down by the Prime Minister was increase of exports "even if that involved some sacrifice on the part of the consumers at home". Even if the sacrifice of the present for the future, which has been pressed as a justification for Planning, is conceded, the consequences of scarcity on the economy deserve to be considered. For instance, the export of sugar will lead to rationing, with its consequences of blackmarketing and doubled or trebled prices, which communicate themselves not only to general inflation but also to distortion in the pattern of agricultural production. If export must be encouraged, it must be of items like tea, jute, tobacco, ores, leather, which the country can not only spare but also increase. The Tax credit just extended will be only meaningful if it encourages the export of such items.

The third proposition was that the cost of production was tending to rise in India, when it is falling in other countries. The Prime Minister envisaged investigation through a special committee. It is good that the Prime Minister has realized it. Because if industrialization means higher prices, the very purpose of Planning is frustrated. Some increases, like that of fertilizers to three times the world level of prices, are also unfair to our agriculturists, the poorest in the world and with the lowest productivity.

Kirloskar, President of the FICC, indicated one reason for the rise in costs, the favours to factory workers, which are carried into the prices particularly health insurance, which has encouraged absenteeism. A more important cause is the excessive taxation, which also is carried into the prices, in some instances, like tea, being equal to 63 per cent of the cost.

State enterprises set standards not only of cultivators themselves, whom other agencies can-inefficiency and waste but of profiteering like the not reach to any extent. Only increase of finance Pimpri factory, which sells penicillin at more and administration therefore cannot make a than double its cost. Controls also establish difference in the methods which have failed so monopolies in production and distribution, which far.

add to the prices. Whatever the committee may find, immediate relief on these obvious factors which raise costs should be taken. The reliefs which the Finance Minister is offering by Tax certificates and Tax credits can be a beginning for a new tax structure to reduce costs and increase supplies.

The fourth proposition is in respect of increasing agricultural output by coordinated efforts of official and non-official agencies. When the total number of holdings exceeds 55 millions, the only possible agents for improvement are the

What is necessary is an impulse automatically conveyed to the whole body of agriculturists. This may be in the form of Tax certificates to those who raise productivity to fixed norms. In the alternative the Tax certificates could be given to those who adopt approved practices of agriculture. If Tax certificates are good for industry and export, they should be better for agriculture, where the potentials for increase are greater. The "Indian Productivity Year 1966" will be meaningful if it includes agriculture, which is our greatest industry.

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Foreign Periodicals

On U.S. Policy regarding Vietnam and San Domingo ..

Once USA advocated Monroe Doctrine, but time and circumstances changed the attitude of those who happen to guide the policy, internal and external, of this great land. Whether this change and shifts have brought glory or not is a matter that history has to decide. But, then, the people who compose the population, not the Red-Indians or the Negroes, can point out to an age when their ancestors fought the then reaction of the age with the zeal of a crusader and to escape the persecution found a new haven in the land that once belonged to the Red-Indians.

Today, a section of the descendants of those ancestors, known to this history as Huguenots, with equal zeal and enthusiasm have been pursuing a policy that is not being appreciated generally by those who are citizens of the land in question and condemned by the world at large. How it affects USA itself is surely the concern of its citizens; but if and when it affects the world, the world has a right to question such policy—a policy today pursued and executed by the 'awesome four'—LBJ, McNamara, Rusk, McGeorge Bundy. They may show determination, but determination, however, steady, is only a factor in diplomacy and war. And, what happens next? Where these resolute gentlemen are taking them? are the questions that have been troubling the rational minds of this land, vis-a-vis the USA policy in relation to S. Vietnam and the Dominican Republic.

What Samuel Shapiro, history teacher, University of Notre Dam (South Bend),

says in the 24th May issue of the *Nation* in this context should be interesting:

Historically, all the major reform movements of this century have petered out in the financial and emotional expenses of wars: the New Freedom in World War I, the New Deal in World War II, the fair Deal in the Cold War and Korea. If mischance or miscalculation causes the delicate Dominican Situation to blow up in our face, the War on poverty may be shelved for a more martial conflict.

But, to whose aid USA's 'awesome four' step in? On this, the editorial of the same issue of the *Nation*, quite lucidly discusses the matter.

The Crux of the American intervention is that in the guise of defense against the totalitarian Left it threw American military power on the side of the totalitarian Right. Thomas C. Mann, Under secretary of State for Economic Affairs, explains that this is because Communists are not really indigenous forces but agents of a Sino-Soviet Conspiracy. He reveals that we would gladly move against right-wing forces as well, but such action against a genuine native group would need to be collective, and the majority of the American republics are opposed to it. Mann actually said this to Max Frankel of *The New York Times* in a long interview which beats anything in *Alice in Wonderland*.

It is a safe assumption that our closest Latin American allies will continue to be right-wing military Juntas and that we will recognise, train and finance them in the future as in the past. It is also safe assumption that rebel movements will break out against our wards.By aiding the Dominican Right and labelling their opponents Red, we have lost even the pretense of neutrality, much less a benevolent liberalism. We have made our choice—or rather the 'awesome four' have made it for us—and now must live with it.....

This 'choice', made by the President and his three advisers in the 'awesome foursome'—McNamara, Rusk, McGeorge Bundy—, has led Samuel Shapiro to write:

To begin, our action flatly violates the Charter of the Organization of American States. Article 15 of the Charter denies the right of any state or group of states 'to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal and external affairs of any other state'; Article 17 forbids military occupation 'even temporarily.....on any ground whatever'. Sending - the Marines ashore to protect American lives might be excused on humanitarian grounds, but our civilians have now been evacuated—and the troops remain. Illegal, unilateral action dismays our allies and costs us influence among the neutralists; even Senator Ellender complained that he did 'not know how we shall be able to explain this action to the World in view of what we are doing in South Vietnam'.

Nay, more. The same writer continues:

A second drawback to the President's revival of gun-boat diplomacy is the special resentment it arouses in Latin America. In the words of Mexico's Foreign Secretary, Antonio Carrillo Flores, it evokes 'painful memories' throughout the hemisphere. Peru's Foreign Minister and Venezuela's Congress Condemned the landings, and Uruguay, the oldest and most stable democracy in Latin America, is bringing charges against us at the United Nations. Previous anti-U.S. resolutions at the UN (Guatemala, 1954, Cuba, 1960; Panama 1964) have been safely bottled up in the OAS, but it looks as though this one might break loose.

But then, the White House and Pentagon cum CIA justify their actions by branding Juan Bosch and his supporters as Communists or controlled by Communists. This attitude and justification recall the spirit of John Foster Dulles which seems to dominate those who happen to guide USA. But, on the evidence presented so far, the Dominican revolution is no more Communist controlled than the CIO or the civil rights movement. Thus, James M. Goodsell, of The Christian Science Monitor, writes in his paper:

I tried to locate several of those whose names are on the list (i.e. CIA's blacklist—M.R). I was not successful.....I could find no evidence that they were anywhere inKey Command positions..... The top rebel Command is in the hands of non-Communist

elements who fiercely proclaim their opposition to Communism.

Other journalists also contradict the official American view. The rebels, many of them students or professional men, insist that they are Fighting for Bosch and a Constitutional Government, not for either Castro or any other foreign power. American journals quote them as follows:

Herald Tribune: 'I can't believe the Americans are on Wessin's side. We thought they would be for us.'

National Observer: 'We are not Communists. Wessin is killing us from hunger and taking our jobs. We can't compromise with a military dictatorship.'

Copley News Service: 'Here in Santo Domingo there is no Communism. What we are trying to do is to regain our liberty This is a movement for the restoration of the constitution with Juan Bosch as President.'

Time: "A group of young rebels pleadingly told Time's representative, 'we are not communists. We are active anti-Communists. We are fighting for the constitution, for Bosch. When the constitution is restored, we will keep the Communists out. We can handle them.'"

Despite all these, for reasons of its own, Washington has so far lined up with Wessin Y. Wessin-Junta which operates from San Isidro base across the Ozama River from the Capital, but which seems to have no support beyond the reach of the Marine bayonets.

Matters do not stop there, John Thackaray, under the title Schizophrenia in Santo Domingo, writes in *New Statesman*, 30th July, 1965:

At the El Embajador, the scene of shooting in late April, and now the headquarters for the Press Crops and the OAS negotiating mission, the Commissar's dream becomes a controlled nightmare. Beside a cluster of large and spreading *frambroyan* trees, now livid with Scarlet flower, the Embajador, a product of Conrad Hilton's poor-boy fantasies, rises like the superstructure of a liner half buried under the green grass and red earth. This is the emblem and banner of Latin American Chic. No Dominican has made to the upper classes until he has cha-cha'd by its pool-side. Near the hotel there is a helicopter field where some 15 machines sit with the fragile ele-

gance of grass hoppers. With monotonous regularity one machine lands and another takes off, its sound an abrasive shudder and beating of air, which near and far, is always present over the city.

Inside the hotel, GIs in full battledress, helmeted and armed, saunter beneath the mass-produced chandeliers and the tattered paper palms. The muzak pipes out in a high, tinny treble. One night a group of Dominican officers arrive for dinner. Perhaps the much needed reform of the army could begin with a re-tailored, functional reform; such opera buffe costumes are bound to drive a man into justifying excesses of vanity and barbarism, both of which are common vices among them.

On the other side of the OAS lines there is an altogether different dream prevailing—a youthful éclat, a bonhomie, a sense almost of victory. There are only 2,300 professional military and police among them, a small fraction of the military power machine, which is some 10,000 strong. The Constitutionalist Soldiers seem to have lost the sullenness of conscripts, the dark implacable broodiness and suspicion. One finds among the Dominican Soldiers around the Junta's headquarters—which is a few lines on the other side of the OAS troops in the building that should house the country's Congress. Like everyone else in the Constitutionalist Zone, these soldiers have the solidarity, the sense of release, which could also be called exaltation, of men who are connected with some active principle. At its simplest that principle is the desire for a return to democratic government under a modestly liberal constitution, a desire for some basic though hardly radical reforms.

New, turning to the Vietnam question,

The U.N. Weekly Newsletter, 16 July, 1965, reports on Secretary-General's views on Vietnam as he expressed at a press conference held on 7 July in Palais des Nations, Geneva:

I think that the choice for the parties involved is no longer the choice between victory and defeat. As I see the situation, total victory or total defeat is out of the question. To achieve peace, and to restore stability in the area, discussions must take place, and they must centre around the question of major concessions by both sides. As Senator Fulbright re-

marked in Washington recently, the solution is possible only on the basis of major concessions by all parties involved in the conflict.

But, when on his return to New York from Europe on 10 July, U. Thant was asked by the reporters if he had contacts with all the parties to the Vietnam crisis, he replied: "No I did not; I could not."

Vietnam problem has stirred up the world, including the national minds of USA. With the escalation of the war in Vietnam has come escalation of the protest movement in the United States, with the nation's academic community, both students and faculty, in the vanguard. At first the tempest in the academic circle was written off as naive, impractical idealism. But time and circumstances became such a compelling one that the State Department could not permit itself to ignore such ferment and so the State Department has sent around foreign service officers and others "to keep its staff in touch with the country."

Meetings were arranged and these meetings frequently boiled over in heated exchanges between flow and platform, reports Donald Janson, Midwest correspondent of The New York Times stationed in Kansas City, Mo:

—Why do prisoners we take confess to infiltration only after a month of interrogation, asked Wisconsin student.

Conlon: Have you ever had anything to do with interrogation?

—No, and I don't want to.

—Sometimes it takes a long time before a prisoner wants to talk.

—'Torture!' Shouted another youth.

—Do you also charge the North Vietnamese with torture?, Conlon asked.

—I condemn torture whoever does!

—'The Americans do not torture,' Conlon said when the prolonged applause had died.

—'But we run the show', a student in the crowd shouted.

—'We do not run it', said the team man.

—'Aw C'mon', came shouts from all over the floor, 'let's be honest'.

And, one can also quote from Lawrence Ferlinghetti's where is Vietnam? New Statesman, 30 July, 1965 :

"Meanwhile back at the Ranch the then President also known as Colonel Cornpone got out a blank army draft and began to fill in the spaces with men and Colonel got down to the bottom of the order where there is a space to fill in to indicate just where the troops are to be sent and Colonel Cornpone got a faraway look in his eye and reached out and started spinning a globe of the world that lay ready at hand to be spun..... And just then Ladybird came running and Colonel Cornpone stepped into a cloakroom and whispered to her just where is that there Hanoi? and she being smarter than he as is usually the case whispered back that this here Vietnam was not a place at all but a state of mind And Colonel Cornpone got that faraway look again and stepped back onto the front porch of his Ranch where they keep the rockers and he sat there rocking for a long time and then he said gentlemen I am a family man and this is for real and I am now ordering the complete and final liberation of Vietmind I mean Vietnam for the roots of the trouble are found wherever the land-

less and despised, the poor and oppressed stand before the gates of opportunity and are not allowed across the Fronier into the Great Society and so gentlemen here we go fasten your seatbelts we are powerful and free and we have a destiny and so gentlemen let me point out to you all exactly where it is we are going on this here globe because even though I have never been out of the United States of America I know just exactly where we're going on the brink of Vietmind I mean Vietnam and even though we don't want to stop the world spinning in the right direction even for a moment I want to slow it down just long enough for all of us to get our bearings so that I may put my finger for you exactly on this here sore spot which is Vietmine I mean Vietnam And Colonel Cornpone put out his hand to slow down the world just a bit but this world would not be stopped this world would not stop spinning at all and Texas and Vietnam spun on together faster and faster slipping away faster and faster under Colonel Cornpone's hand because the surface of this world had suddenly become very slippery with a strange kind of red liquid that ran on it across all the obscene boundaries and this world went on spinning faster and faster in the same so predestined direction and kept on spinning and spinning and spinning and spinning!

শারদীয়া প্রবাসী-১৩৭২

(সাধারণ সংখ্যা হতে পৃথক)

আগামী ১৩ই সেপ্টেম্বর প্রকাশিত হবে

তিনটি সম্পূর্ণ উপন্যাস লিখছেন—

ডাঃ নীহাররজন গুপ্ত

রামপদ মুখোপাধ্যায়

অশোক চট্টোপাধ্যায়

জুলে ডাণ্ডের

একটি বিখ্যাত উপন্যাসের অনুবাদ করেছেন

বাংলা সাহিত্যের দিকপাল অনুবাদক কৃষ্ণধন দে

গল্প লিখছেন—

বিমল মিত্র

বিভূতিভূষণ মুখোপাধ্যায়

হরিনারায়ণ চট্টোপাধ্যায়

সরোজকুমার রায়চৌধুরী

গীতা মুখোপাধ্যায়

আজকের দিনে সাভা জাগানো নাটক 'কল্লোল'-খ্যাত

উৎপল দত্ত লিখছেন

কবিতা লিখছেন :—নরেন্দ্র দেব, কালিদাস রায়, কুমুদরঞ্জন মল্লিক, কৃষ্ণধন দে
আরও অনেকে ।

এ ছাড়া পর্বত অভিযান সম্পর্কে বিশ্বদেব বিশ্বাসেন সচিত্র প্রবন্ধ—জাপান অলিম্পিক
সম্বন্ধে (সচিত্র)—পঙ্কজ গুপ্ত । অলঙ্কারের উৎপত্তি ও ক্রমবিকাশ (সচিত্র) ।
বিভিন্ন দেশের শাড়ী ও পোশাক-বিশ্রাস (সচিত্র) ।

এ ছাড়া অনেকগুলি বহুবর্ণ প্রাচীন চিত্র ও প্রায় একশত একবর্ণ চিত্রও থাকছে ।

চারশত পৃষ্ঠার বিরাট সংকলন । মূল্য তিন টাকা পঁচাত্তর পয়সা

নির্দিষ্ট সংখ্যক ছাপা হইতেছে । আপনার সংখ্যাটির জন্য আজই অর্ডার করুন ।

প্রবাসী প্রেস (প্রাঃ) লিমিটেড

৭৭।২।১ ধর্মতলা ষ্ট্রীট, কলিকাতা-১৩

গ্রাহকদের জন্য

প্রবাসীর এবং মডার্ন রিভিউ-র গ্রাহকগণকে জানান যাইতেছে যে
গ্রাহক নম্বর উল্লেখে অগ্রিম ৩ টাকা ৭৫ পয়সা জমা দিলে
রেজিস্টার্ড ডাকযোগে বিনা মাশুলে পাইবেন শারদীয়া প্রবাসী ।
(প্রতি গ্রাহক মাত্র একখানা পত্রিকা পাইবেন) নির্দিষ্ট সংখ্যক
শারদীয়া সংখ্যা ছাপান হইতেছে, সুতরাং অগ্রিম অর্ডার দিন !
আংশিক মূল্য জমা পাইয়া অর্ডার গ্রহণ করা হইবে না ।
ভিঃ পিঃ ডাকে শারদীয়া সংখ্যা পাঠানো হইবে না ।

—)০(—

ভারত ও পাকিস্তানের পুস্তক ও পত্রিকা বিক্রেতাদের জন্য

শারদীয়া সংখ্যা প্রবাসী মহালয়ার পূর্বেই প্রকাশিত হইবে ।
বর্তমানের শ্রেষ্ঠ লেখকদের রচনাসমৃদ্ধ এই সংখ্যার মূল্য তিন
টাকা পঁচাত্তর পয়সা (৩ টাকা ৭৫ পয়সা) ।
বিক্রেতাগণ ২৫% কমিশন বাদ দিয়া তাহাদের চাহিদার মোট
মূল্যের অন্ততঃ অর্দ্ধেক টাকা মনিঅর্ডার যোগে অথবা অফিসে
জমা দিয়া অর্ডার বুক করুন । বাকি অর্দ্ধাংশের মূল্য ভিঃ পিঃ
করিয়া বই পাঠান হইবে অথবা মূল্য পরিশোধ করিয়া লওয়া
যাইতে পারে ।

অবিক্রীত সংখ্যা ফেরৎ লওয়া হইবে না

প্রবাসী প্রেস (প্রাঃ) লিমিটেড

৭৭ ২/১ ধর্মতলা স্ট্রীট, কলিকাতা-১৩

ECONOMIC HELPLESSNESS OF INDIA

There can be no justification for the inadequate and misleading survey of the economic position of India made by the Indian Fiscal Commission. It will be remembered that Lord Hardinge's Government had pleaded for a change in the industrial policy of India in very definite terms. In a despatch addressed to the Secretary of State in 1915, the Government of India said :

"It is becoming increasingly clear that a definite and self-conscious policy of improving the industrial capabilities of India will have to be pursued after the war unless she is to become more and more a dumping ground for the manufactures of foreign nations, who will be competing the more keenly for markets, the more it becomes apparent that the political future of the larger nations depends on their economic position. India will consider herself entitled to demand the utmost help which her Government can afford to enable her to take her place, so far as circumstances permit, as a manufacturing country."

The Indian Industrial Commission, who reported later after a carefully planned enquiry and prolonged deliberation, declared that the present industrial position of India "has become in many ways disadvantageous to the interests of the country ; and that India's industrial equipment is impaired by deficiencies which affect the interests of national safety", and spoke of the "the growing realisation of the dangers to which industrial unpreparedness exposes a nation."

The distinguished authors of the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms thought that the adoption of a "bold" and "forward" policy was "urgently called for" in industrial matters, matters "in respect of which considerations of military security, political expediency and economic advantage are coincident, and are in agreement also with the interests of the Empire as a whole.' They sounded a significant note of warning. This was not uttered a day sooner than was needed. They said :

"After the war the need for industrial development will be all the greater unless India is to become a mere dumping ground for the manufactures of foreign nations which will then be competing all the more keenly for the markets on which their political strength so perceptibly depends. India will certainly consider herself entitled to claim all the help that her Government can give her to enable her to take her place as a manufacturing country ; and unless the claim is admitted it will surely turn into an insistent request for a tariff which will penalise imported articles without respect of origin."

The economic tendencies that have taken shape since the termination of the war fully justify the apprehensions to which Lord Hardinge's Government, the Industrial Commission, and the authors of the Montagu Chelmsford Report gave expression.

Ramananda Chatterjee in *The Modern Review*
for February—1923, Pages 265—66

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Reviews and notices of books in Gujarati :

Authors and publishers of Gujarati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia : Gandevi, Dist. Surat, instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

MAHATMA GANDHI—THE EARLY PHASE.

Vol. I : By Shri Payrelal. published, February 1965 by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, Super-Royal 8vo., p. 345 : Price Rs. 25/-, with a Preface by Rashtrapati S. Radhakrishnan.

Shri Payrelal, who for the better part of his life lived with Mahatma Gandhi and for a very long period worked as his personal secretary, has already brought out a biography in two volumes dealing with the last phase of the Mahatma's life. In the present volume the author brings out the first one of a projected series dealing with the earlier phases of the great man's life and activities and covers the period from his birth until 1896 when the Mahatma returned to India for a short while from South Africa to fetch his family. Explaining this peculiar arrangement under which the author felt obliged to bring out the volumes dealing with the last and the more dramatic phases of the life of his subject much ahead of the present volume, Shri Payrelal, in his introduction to the present volume, says that he felt himself "in the unenviable position of a producer of a play who is forced by circumstances to present the first act after his audience had seen the fifth act staged."

By ordinary standards Shri Payrelal should be regarded as one of those most competent to present a precise, objective and factual biography of Gandhiji living as he did in close association with the great man for the better part of his life. The Mahatmajis, however, has been one of the most controversial and, not infrequently, also one of the most misunderstood personalities of his times. And the most extraordinary part of it was that he has often been as deeply mis-

understood by his own admirers and camp-followers as by those whom, for want of a more expressive term, one is generally obliged to regard as his adversaries and detractors. Take, for instance, his thesis on "non-violence." Although the Mahatma has repeatedly reiterated, throughout his long and extraordinary public career, that the creed of "non-violence" was, with him, a basic article of faith, there have been not a few among those who accepted and abided by his leadership over almost a whole life time of public activities, who would as stubbornly insist that "non-violence" was the enunciation of a political policy and a technique of action which was dictated by considerations of expediency. It is not easy to explain how this could happen except to accept that the Mahatmajis was such a complex and multifaceted personality that it could absorb within itself contradictory attitudes and faiths and yet reconcile them into an integrated whole by the alchemy of his leadership in both thought and action.

To undertake the work of compiling the biography of such a man is undoubtedly both a difficult and a heroic job and the task of the biographer could be made all the more difficult when he happened to have been living with the subject of his biography for the better part of his adult life. For too close a contiguity with the subject of his study might easily rob him of the perspective that a certain distance might have lent him and to that extent assisted him with a true objectivity of observation and selection. It is not inconceivable that living with Gandhiji as he did for a very long period, the author's ability for objective analysis of the subject of his study might easily have come under strong subjective

influences and correspondingly blurred his vision.

Nevertheless, Mr. Payrelal may be said to have done fairly well with a subject the inherent difficulties of which must have been far too numerous and complex. One wishes, however, that he might more profitably have planned his biography on a more narrative style than he appears to have done and had altogether avoided the rather tricky business of putting his own interpretation on events on occasions as he appears to have done here and there. For, it is not yet time for the history of Mahatma Gandhi's life to be penned; we still live too near him; we are yet too vigorously under the influences of his personality. It is inevitable that our personal biases and prejudices, our subjective reactions and emotional responses would impinge, in more or less degree, upon a dispassionate and objective study and assessment of the subject. As one famous British writer once rather cynically observed, "ignorance is the first requisite of the historian: ignorance, which selects and omits, which simplifies and clarifies with a placid perfection unattainable by the highest art!" If, then, the present volume were planned merely as a narrative of events in the Mahatma's life, it might have been a valuable record for the reference of the future biographer whose studies on the subject would not be likely to be so deeply influenced by the personal relationship that subsisted over more than a quarter century between the present author and his subject of study and presentation.

For one thing, the background material provided in the presentation (Chapter II—A Century of Wrong), obviously with a view to explaining the environmental conditions and influences within and amidst which Mahatma Gandhi was born and grew up in his early childhood and youth, are full of inaccuracies, prejudices and biases. He appears to have relied upon authorities in compiling this part of the volume under review.—at least so far as they relate to the early history of British India,—whose unauthenticated testimony, for the most part would be wholly unacceptable to a student of history. To cite only one small example, the author quotes extensively from Ronaldshay's *Heart of Aryavarta* to prove that by the middle of the nineteenth century a "period of intellectual anarchy" had set in in India which cried down the ancient civilization of the country, despised ancient learning and rejected any kind of religion as utworn

superstition. It is, however, part of recorded and authentic history now that in the process of rescuing society from the burdens of sacerdotal authority and superstition-ridden modes of living, the first generation of English-educated Indians raised a standard of revolt against all kinds of authoritarianism and, for a time, rejected everything that relied upon priestly authority for sanction; but the phase passed soon enough and even some of the most eminent standard bearers of this revolt, soon sought and found anchorage in a social order and in immutable ethical standards which they themselves, largely, helped to shape and forge. Although later in course of this presentation Shri Payrelal acknowledges the contributions of Raja Ram Mohan Roy and, subsequently of Maharshi, the Brahmo Samaj and other similar enterprises and leaders to the progress of the country, he seems to have completely overlooked that by the middle of the nineteenth century the strains and stresses of the early years of the new rebellion had already subsided and a vigorous process of ordered progress had got into its strides. It would be repudiating a historical truth if it were not acknowledged that it were mainly the band of English educated Indians who provided the lead to the country and in which the Brahmo Samaj under Maharshi Devendranath Tagore played no mean part. If, instead of relying upon a bevy of nondescript authorities, Indian and foreign, for his guide for this part of the work, unless Shri Payrelal had certain personal predilections and preconceptions in this regard, he were to refer to those two stupendous and completely authenticated works of history, the late B. D. Basu's *Rise of The Christian Power in India* and *Education Under The East India Company*, he would be easily convinced that but for the gifts of English education which, largely, the Indians themselves had to wrest from the British against severe and determined opposition from the ruling community, the emergence of the Indian Nation as we conceive it today might have been far longer delayed. It is equally a travesty of historical truth to extoll the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-58 as India's first struggle for freedom from British domination as it appears to have come to be the fashion now-a-days among the present ruling echelons of the country; it was no more nor less than a revivalist struggle for the re-establishment of the medieval feudal order.

One could pick many similar other holes in the work under review. Nevertheless on the whole, the work, as already observed, is a worth-

while one not, perhaps, so much as a truly objective presentation of the life of the Mahatma, but at least as a reliable chronicle of events which would provide material for a correct appreciation of the social, political and, above all, moral contributions to human society of its great subject.

Karuna K. Nandi

"INTERVAL DURING POLITICS": By Dr. Rammonohar Lohia. Published by Navahind Prakashan. Hyderabad—India. (Price 12).

Dr. Rammonohar Lohia needs no introduction to the politically conscious section of the public of his country. An undaunted fighter for freedom, Dr. Lohia has been arrested innumerable times, and probably holds the world's record in political arrests. In the realm of political philosophy and economic speculations, he has contributed many interesting theories.

In his book entitled "Interval during Politics", the author has touched upon the many facets of human existence, both nationally and internationally, and he here discusses a wide range of subjects including as he does on the one hand abstract speculations regarding Truth, Character building, and concepts of Beauty, the Metaphysical impact of the cult of Ram, Siva, and Krishna upon the practical realities of Indian life, the Language problem in India, the Racial conflict in the U.S.A., while on the other he holds forth on a critical appreciation of Delhi and on such topics as the unsuitability of Cricket as an Indian Sport, British Journalism and Fair Play.

Whether one agrees or differs with Dr. Lohia's views as expressed in this book, it cannot be denied that the author has placed before his readers most interesting opinions on diverse problems which basically affect mankind to-day, and there is furthermore never a dull moment from the beginning to the end of this book.

L. C.

THE "SPEECHES OF THE PRIME MINISTER, LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI", published by the Publications Division, Ministry of Information, Government of India, are a collection of some of the important ones delivered by the Prime Minister between June 1964 and May 1965.

In this collection the Prime Minister gives quite clearly and precisely his views of the Indian Government's policy regarding the Administrative Services, Business Ethics. The Fourth Plan, the problems facing the Indian Economy, the Food problem, the Language problem, Education and the responsibilities of India's young citizens, as well as many other vital problems. Among his speeches related to International affairs, are those expressing his views of India's relations with countries such as Afghanistan, Ceylon, Nepal, the Soviet Union, the U.A.R., as well as the Commonwealth countries. In all these speeches he emphasises the twin principles of Co-existence, and Non-alignment, which he feels to be essential for furthering Universal peace. In the last few speeches he touches upon Pakistan's aggressive policy towards India, specially in the Kutch area, and expresses the view that if "Pakistan persists in talking of war, all that we can say is that we are fully alive to our responsibilities and we shall fulfill them come what may."

Throughout the reader is impressed by an absence of platitudes and verbosity in these speeches, which revolve clearly round the three main aspirations of Mr. Shastri, viz. to fight poverty and unemployment at home, to make national integration a positive and irreversible fact, and to build up a strong nation capable of defending herself when necessary, for according to Lal Bahadur Shastri "the tasks before us (are)—an India free, prosperous and strong, and a world at peace and without war."

L. C.

Editor—ASHOK CHATTERJEE

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NOTES

Kashmir

When India was partitioned in 1947 by the British Imperial overlords and the Congress and the Muslim League provided the party support for the partition; the people of India, who were at least 99% more in number than the party members of the Congress and the Muslim League, were not consulted. Both these parties at that time talked about the people's right of self-determination but, in fact, arrogated to themselves the right of self-determination of the people of India. Their assumption was that what the Congress and the Muslim League thought would necessarily also be the thought of the Indian people. It did not occur to them at the time to consult the people about this partition. The British overlords particularly observed a complete silence as to the competence of the two political parties to negotiate a partition of India at that stage. The Muslim League was a British inspired party from its very inception and the British put the idea of creating a Pakistan in the mind of such Muslim leaders as they could mobilise to put through their nefarious plans. The Congress failed to control the Muslim leaders and slowly veered round, under pressure of violent riots organised by the Muslim League, to the opinion that although Hindus and Muslims had lived together for

700 years they could no longer do so if India became an independent state. The people of India, excepting the 1% who belonged to the Congress or the Muslim League had no say in the matter. The British just handed over power to these two numerically insignificant political parties after obtaining their sanction for a partition of India which the British wanted more than anybody else. Being expert politicians with an intensive as well as extensive knowledge of political science, the British knew what that sanction for partition was worth. **There should have been a plebiscite in 1947** to decide whether India should be divided into two States. There were only relatively few Muslims in India as a whole and the plebiscite would have certainly gone against the idea of partition.

With partition came the question of fixing the accession of the Indian States to India or to Pakistan. In this matter the question of the nature of the people and the geographical situation of the States were considered. Hyderabad, for instance, had a Muslim ruler but a population which was almost completely Hindu. Moreover it was right inside India surrounded by Provinces which were predominantly Hindu. The mere fact of accession could not therefore decide to which of the two newly demarcated countries an Indian State should be attached. But in the typical manner of

Pakistan, the Hyderabad Muslims obtained arms from different sources and tried to take over the State by force. The Pakistanis tried the same illegal and underhand tactics in the case of Jammu and Kashmir too. Before the Maharaja of the State could think about the matter of accession, there was an invasion of Kashmir by Pakistani soldiers dressed as Tribesmen. These men began to pillage the state territories in the manner of marauders. Murder, loot, arson and carrying away women became the order of the day. The Maharaja promptly called in India to save his territory from pillage and rapine. In the circumstances he did not consider it of any use to call in Pakistan to his succour; for everyone knew Pakistan was engineering the whole thing. Pakistan, of course, denied, that she had anything to do with this, or that her soldiers and arms were being used everywhere for this invasion of Kashmir. She took many months to stop telling lies to the world and to admit that the tribesmen were by and large, Pakistani soldiers in fancy dress. But this happened when she had to seek the protection of the U.N. with the help of America and Britain to lift the Kashmir episode out of the mire of pure banditry to the level of a territorial dispute even if of a somewhat tainted origin. The question of aggression was discussed and though Pakistan was found to be the aggressor her supporter nations tried their best to give the fact of guilt a secondary place and to make the matter of the alleged territorial dispute more prominent. Eventually Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru agreed to a ceasefire agreement pending the total withdrawal of Pakistani troops from Kashmir. Pakistan however merely used the ceasefire agreement to organise an Azad-Kashmir government, which was only the local name of Pakistan's military administration of the occupied portion of Kashmir. This was proved beyond doubt later on

when Pakistan handed over portions of Kashmir by a treaty with China to the Peoples' Republic. Had there been any real Azad-Kashmir State, Pakistan could not have handled its territory in the manner that she did.

The ceasefire line has been used by Pakistan ever since its demarcation as a line of defence beyond which Indians would never go; but Pakistan could indulge in sorties over it into Kashmir whenever she liked. She has done this repeatedly during the last seventeen years and India has merely protested without successfully inducing Pakistan to change her marauding tactics. Pakistan during this whole period has been molesting her minorities in East Pakistan and steadily pushing them out into West Bengal and Assam. She had also been organising infiltration into these areas by selected Muslims, some 2,00,000 of whom illegally entered Assam. Pakistan also, made claims on territories in West Bengal and Assam; but never said anything about giving up any land for the millions of her minorities whom she forced to abandon homes and seek refuge in India. Had Pakistan believed in any ethical principles, several million acres should have been handed over to India from contiguous areas for the settlement of Hindus, Christians, Buddhists and Animists whom Pakistan had chased out of their hearths and homes.

The grave moral unrest that the military dictators of Pakistan have been pretending to suffer from for "the poor ill treated Kashmiris" who happened to be citizens of India on the same terms of equality as the other 60 million Muslims enjoy in India; never allowed them to see the farcical side of their pretensions. In Pakistan public opinion has been ruthlessly suppressed by dictatorship. The tribal Pathans, the Baluchis and the people of East Pakistan are kept down by military force. But Pakistan pretends to feel very strongly

for a plebiscite in Kashmir. Plebiscite is an expression of democratic ideals and Pakistan has destroyed all democratic institutions in her own territory. Surely this is a clear case of the Devil quoting scriptures. And the reason is very clear. She wants to use Kashmir for a further expansion of her dictatorship.

Pakistan's recent treaties of amity and friendship with China prove that she finds democratic United States a misfit in her scheme of things. Indonesia is surely more after her heart. Pakistan's dictators suffer from a megalomania in which schemes for the conquest of India clearly find a prominent place. Asia could become by and large a Pan-Islamic hegemony in which Pakistan's dictatorship should provide the high lights. Indonesia could swallow large chunks of Malayasia and other areas including the Andaman and Nicobar islands. China, with Japan coming in later as an indoctrinated satellite communist state, would then form a communist bloc, and, may be, she will be given Burma, Thailand and Indo-China in exchange of some muslim areas in Asia which are now under China and Russia. A grand scheme harboured in the minds of some very common robbers and murderers, who have nothing great in their psychological make up. Pakistan considers herself as the leading state in the muslim world. She forgets that without U.S. aid she would be comparable to a very backward state. She has instituted a theocratic dictatorship which by its very nature is neither modern nor progressive. In India, with about 70 million muslim citizens there is more education, social security, industry, employment, general prosperity and liberty of thought and action. The muslims and the other minorities are given a fair deal in India. The Vice-President of India and a number of ministers are muslims. There are muslims in high position everywhere in India. This proves that muslims as a

community are better off in India than in Pakistan. The dictatorship of Pakistan has achieved nothing so far to add to the glory of Islam or the greatness of muslims. The imposition of a dictatorship upon more than 80 million Muslims is certainly nothing to rejoice over. And the condition of minorities in Pakistan fully proves that the government of that "pure and holy" land is backward, primitive, barbarous, tyrannical and inefficient. Pakistan by her 18 years of miserable misgovernment of a vast body of poor peasants has proved that she can only exist in the community of nations as a blot on the landscape.

The present conflict further proves the dishonesty, vicious untruthfulness and utter treachery in ordinary behaviour of the Pakistani leaders. They are party to a ceasefire agreement and they have undertaken to stay on one side of a ceasefire line. But they organised a mass crossing of that line by Pakistanis dressed as Kashmiris. A number of groups of these freedom fighters could not even speak Kashmiri and had no knowledge of Kashmir. Pakistan persistently denied her complicity in the so-called rising of these freedom fighters. It was soon proved that the Pakistan army was fighting the security forces of India. They were dishonestly using the weapons given to them by the U.S.A. which they undertook not to use against India. And, very funnily the freedom fighters of Kashmir were using these arms too. They first told lies and when the lies could not be maintained they tried to brazen it out by admitting their use of forbidden arms with bold and stupid assertions of **their right to do so!** Then when our security forces pressed them back beyond the ceasefire line and liquidated large groups of them they suddenly attacked Chamb near Jammu which was no where on the cease fire line. It was a clear attack across our international

boundary. Then India opened several fronts against them all along that international boundary line to force them to deploy their armour over a wide front. Then started a storm of accusations: India has violated this, India has violated that and India has violated all moral principles relating to peace and war as well as broken all international laws. And this comes from a state which cannot distinguish lawful negotiations from banditry! Having violated all laws of civilised existence and conduct during a period of over seventeen years, Pakistan is now getting what she had been asking for. But her flood gates of falsehood are still disgorging lies and calumny in tumultuous waves.

U. Thant came and left without achieving success. India agreed to stop fighting unconditionally but Pakistan refused. She wanted total withdrawal of all troops of both sides from Kashmir and a plebiscite within three months. India naturally declined to agree to this. For she rightly thought, who was Pakistan to dictate terms when she was the aggressor and has been so for more than seventeen years. Pakistan believes in brute force, so let force decide the right or wrong of the case.

Pakistan's collusion with China is quite clear in all these fresh acts of violation of ceasefire agreement, infiltration by trained and well armed soldiers in plain clothes or fancy uniforms, spreading falsehood in every conceivable manner and so forth. China, Pakistan and Indonesia are now the world's worst political organisations. All are dictatorial, exploitative and none gives any cognisance to moral, just or agreed principles. What is not at all understood is the part played by the U.S.A. in support of Pakistan. The U.S.A. is now the hub of world democracies. How can one reconcile this with the quiet

acceptance by the U.S.A. of Pakistan's open misuse of U.S.A.'s military aid?

China

Illicit aggression, if allowed to masquerade as straight forward fight for possession of territory for which one can prove a lawfully tenable right of ownership will always inflate the criminal greed of the aggressor and lead to further acts of territorial banditry. China's aggression of Tibetan territory was based on an utterly defunct imperialistic overlordship on which no modern State could base its claims of ownership of the territory of another nation. Further China had been able to exercise this right of overlordship only on rare occasions during recent centuries. During one thousand years or more and even during periods of Chinese imperialistic "glory" Tibet had never been anything other than a separate national entity with an exclusive national territory, character, culture, language and social system. When, therefore Communist China was permitted by the nations of the world to annex Tibet as an integral part of China, they connived at an act of aggression of the worst possible type. A great nation with a long history was just liquidated by a vast unprincipled military organisation which was like those invading hordes of the middle ages, which took the world as their natural prey and believed invasion and plunder of other nations as a perfectly normal expression of a law of nature which permitted the strong to eat up the weak. China swallowed up Tibet, chased out the Dalai Lama, abolished Tibetan laws, customs, rights and institutions and replaced those by what she thought were Communistic substitutes. The World said nothing, and China continued to expand in territory, power, and ill mannered arrogance. All nations thought it right to placate this 650 million strong super-marauder and the United Nations

calmly ignored all appeals from Tibetans when the Chinese occupied their homeland and destroyed their independence with a ruthless disregard for all considerations of justice and human rights. A short resume of Tibet's history will clearly show that the Chinese have no right to occupy Tibet or to call it a part of China.

Tibet was a strong political body in 7th-8th centuries and her armies often defeated neighbouring kingdoms and exacted tribute from them. China paid tribute to Tibet in the 8th century. The Tibetan ruler Song-tsen Gani-po accepted Buddhism as the State religion and had the Buddhist scriptures translated into Tibetan written in a script similar to the Brahmi script of India. Mahayana culture prevailed in Tibet and she remained fully independent more than one thousand years. During the Manchu period in the 18th century the Tibetans had internal dissensions and a Manchu expedition succeeded in establishing Chinese overlordship at Lhasa. This became a mere technical suzerainty very soon and the Chinese only maintained an office at Lhasa which exercised no authority. About this time the British tried to come to definite terms about various matters with the Tibetans but did not achieve much in the beginning. The Chinese made certain agreements which were not honoured by the Tibetans. The Younghusband expedition of 1904 captured Lhasa, but the British came away after effecting a kind of convention which they themselves did not trouble to enforce. The Manchus thought they could control the defeated Tibetans and began to be overlords again on paper but no de facto authority could be exercised by China. In 1912 the Tibetans evicted all Chinese from Lhasa and the British also repudiated all claims of the Chinese over Tibet. In 1914 there was a convention at Simla in which the Chinese took part in a loose fashion.

They did not ratify the terms and the British accepted the unilateral Tibetan ratification as politically binding and sufficient. The Chinese tried aggressive action against Tibetans in 1918 but were unsuccessful and humiliated again. The Kuomintang maintained a government representative at Lhasa from 1934 to 1949. This official had to leave Lhasa in 1949 at the request of the Tibetan Government. With the formation of the Peoples' Republic of China, the Chinese became progressively stronger and increased pressure on Tibet. The first invasion by Peoples Republic of Tibetan territory occurred in 1950. In 1951, by a Sino-Tibetan agreement foreign affairs and defence of Tibet were placed under the Chinese who established a military head-quarters in Tibet in 1952. The Chinese, however, followed a treacherous policy of slowly working their way into every branch of Tibet's Government and to progressively usurp all power until they fully dominated the life of the people of Tibet. The Tibetans naturally resented this and things began to boil over. In 1959 the Tibetans made an unsuccessful attempt at overthrowing the Chinese and the Dalai Lama escaped to India.

One can see from the above that the Chinese claims to rule Tibet as an integral part of China are based on certain imperialistic ventures of the Manchus of the 18th-19th centuries. With very rare periods of exception China never actually controlled the Tibetan Government at any time before the nineteen fifties. So that China's right to call Tibet a part of China is based on conquest only of a recent date. Tibet never was a part of China and if China ever "ruled" Tibet for short periods; those were imperialistic gestures only. If freedom and liberty were fully re-established on earth at any time, Tibet could never be a part of China. The Peoples' Republic

of China pretends to be a liberator of all enslaved peoples of the Earth. So far, she has not liberated any such member of the human race. The only fight that the Chinese have openly engaged in has been one of enslavement of a race which had never been ruled by China before nor could be called a Chinese race or sub-race in any accepted sense of raciality. If the Chinese action was an attempt at realising more completely the imperial ambitions of the decadent Manchus, that could hardly be called liberation of the people of Tibet. After the occupation of Tibet by force, the Chinese had been reducing that country to a state of total vassalage to the Chinese. Tibet and the Tibetans must become Chinese in every way is the idea which is being ruthlessly followed. The world just sits and watches without saying a word against this blatant and brutal destruction of an ancient and colourful civilisation. The Chinese conquest of Tibet can only be compared to the conquest of the Incas of America by the Europeans. The methods adopted by the Chinese to serve ideological cant to the Tibetans with inhuman ferocity is comparable to the acts of the Inquisition. Fanatics have always proved themselves to be in the wrong in all cases where the fanaticism transgressed the eternal moral laws of Humanity. The Chinese have not only transgressed all ethical principles accepted by the peoples of the world; but have also violated their own undertakings and solemn agreements. In short, the Chinese are behaving like a power-crazy horde advancing under the dehumanizing urge of a blood lust upon all who do not agree to surrender to their will. Apart from this fanatical urge for converting all "unbelievers" the cold blooded desire to possess advantageous territorial areas also induces Chinese leaders to violate the rules of international decency and their own admitted undertakings.

After occupying Tibet by force the Chinese began to assess the vulnerability, communications and other qualities of the country from the angle of its integration with China. Their attempts at pushing forward the frontiers of Tibet along the Himalayas and in the extreme north-West were guided by considerations of defence, communications with Sinkiang and further plans of conquest. The Chinese, with characteristic unscrupulousness and disregard for facts, claimed various areas and occupied the same as the soundest argument in favour of these claims. India at that time was suffering from an overdose of didacticism of a pacifist brew and the Congress leaders were running the Government of India on the basis of their faith in their prophetship and the world's impending conversion to their views. As a result of this utter detachment from realities, the Congress Government of India gave a miserable account of their ability to arrange for the defence of India. The Chinese overran the NEFA and later on went away after imposing some humiliating terms and conditions relating to management of Indian territory upon the Indian Government. After this Congress recovered their senses partially, dismissed their Defence Minister and looked around for better defences for the country. The death of Pandit Nehru brought about changes in leadership which were favourable for the recognition of realities in our international relations. Changed conditions improved India's military potential to a considerable extent and when Pakistan attacked Kashmir recently the Indian army and air force made military history by smashing up Pakistan's superior armour by their greater mobility, fighting skill, valour, ingenuity, better strategy-tactics and general ability. In a matter of days the Indian army and air force snatched the initiative from the Pakistan forces. The latter had started a surprise attack but

were beaten back all along the line. They then crossed the international boundary and attacked India below the cease fire line in order to cut India's supply lines. They also started bombing Indian cities far away from the cease-fire line or even Kashmir. India was therefore forced to attack Pakistan in other places and thus carried the war into Pakistan. Having lost in their military adventure Pakistan approached China for support. The whole world had realised that Pakistan was an aggressor nation and that she had no territorial claims on Kashmir just because there were four million Muslims there. India had another sixty five million Muslims in other parts of India who enjoyed more freedom and equality than the 80 million Muslims of Pakistan. China too has a large Muslim population, but she is not arranging to hand over Sinkiang to Pakistan. China's love of Pakistan is based on Pakistan's enmity towards India. And in the hope that China would gain territorially by siding with Pakistan, the Chinese have been carrying on pro-Pakistan propaganda ever since Pakistan started her war against India. But she has now sent a virtual ultimatum to India. The chances that China will try to divert India's military resources to the frontiers of Tibet in order to relieve pressure on the Pakistan frontier are fairly sure. Whether the Chinese will engage in open war and thus bring other nations into the picture, is not so certain.

Cease Fire Again

This undeclared war began with Pakistan's violation of the existing cease fire line in Kashmir. Pakistan being a "holy land" has no sense of right or wrong: rather has a way of always choosing the wrong in preference to the right. The existing cease fire line therefore had no sanctity for Pakistan and it was violated

with impunity by the Pakistan army in fancy dress. The leaders of Pakistan added to their holyness by insisting on this crude violation of a solemnly agreed upon truce being a "revolution" brought about by the Kashmiris. In any case, all who like to call a spade a spade will call this act of aggression a violation of the truce made by Pakistan after she had failed in her 1947 aggression in Kashmir. Pakistan therefore has been guilty of aggressions and violations in the normal course of her ordinary conduct of international relations. One may add to her acts against India, her misuse of U.S. weapons, her breach of faith with the anti-communist bloc by making a treaty with China. In short there is nothing in Pakistan's origin, nature and evolution to recommend her as a trustworthy party to any treaty, truce or undertaking of any kind whatsoever. In the circumstances the Cease Fire that has been forced upon India by the U.S.-Britain dominated U.N.O. can not be accepted as anything that will be beneficial to India. It is only a lull in this war which will be broken any moment by Pakistan's next act of treachery.

The British and the U.S.A.

We have often been called sanctimonious for our faith in universal peace, vegetarianism, prohibition and misuse of the word socialism. But our sanctimoniousness has done no harm to anyone. It has on the other hand, done a lot of good to Pakistan, China and the makers of illicit profit. The British and the U.S.A. have broken all records in sanctimoniousness of a kind which nearly destroyed a nation of 450 million people. Their quiet connivance at Pakistan's acts of treachery and misuse of weapons received in trust added to their previous acceptance of China's rape of Tibet put them right on the highest peak of sanctimoniousness of a particularly lethal variety.

All who accept their tempting little offers of this aid or that are slowly moving nearer the brink. We have to watch our step too in our dealings with the U.S.A.-U.K.-U.N.O. group of benefactors of humanity. Liberators and Benefactors are the two actively aggressive groups. The Third group is formed by the Victims, who slowly get entangled into the webs of liberation and prosperity. There should be a fourth group of self reliant and independent nations which will not ask for or accept any boons or gifts.

Pro-Pakistan Nations

There are no reasons why any nation should feel a bond of fellowship with Pakistan. The fact that Pakistan was synthetically manufactured with the assistance of muslim agents-provocateurs organised by British imperialists, would perhaps attract some Britishers to the side of Pakistan; but other nations have no historical or economic bonds with that backwash of British imperialism. But we find many large and small nations capering around this unruly nation of "Ladke Lenges" ("We shall take by force"). That has been their war cry in 1946-47 and they have never deviated from their ungodly path of

loot and pillage. Pakistan can not even understand the ordinary rules of morality. They believe in Islam (let us accept that without questioning). So that whosoever believes in Islam must become a Pakistani. Strange logic; but it appears the British and the Americans believe in that logic too. These latter "high level" nations of course believe in any logic of any kind if it suits their low level plans. For we have seen how the British are hand-in-glove with Pakistan as well as with the Chinese Communists. We have also seen how the Americans can engage in war anywhere they like without attracting the attention of the U.N.O. The British also can fight a war against foreign invaders in Malay. But India cannot defend her territory against Pakistanis, or even against "Kawalis" or "Azad Kashmiris" (certified as to their identity by Pakistan) without getting the entire U.N.O. upon her as peace makers. One may ask why this game of Peace Making cannot be played in Vietnam; but such questions will be answered with "no comments". The British Commonwealth of nations is also another U.N.O.-like organisation. In this set up one has to be particularly careful of the feelings of the parent nation, the British. Their feelings, like all feelings, are not thoughts and as such cannot be gauged nor assessed in precise terms.

DURGA PUJA HOLIDAY

The office of **The Modern Review** shall remain closed on account of Durga Puja Holidays from the 1st to the 14th October, 1965, both days inclusive. The office will reopen on the 15th October 1965.

THE 'DEVELOPMENT DECADE' AND INTEGRATION OF THE WORLD ECONOMY

S VENU

The aim of this article is to pinpoint the major trends in international trade between the developed and underdeveloped countries over the post war era. It is no exaggeration to say that the main problems of financing in the low-income countries arise from the failure of their exports to keep pace with world trade or production. Exports are not 'an engine of growth' and this paper seeks to analyse causes and remedies.

At the UN Trade and Development Conference convened in March-June 1964, the developing countries led by Dr Raoul Prebisch of Argentina questioned the utility of the GATT on the ground that this body approach to the problems of international trade was weighted heavily in favour of the Haves, i.e., the developed or rich countries as against the Have-nots i.e. the developing or poor nations. At this conference it was agreed to form a Trade and Development Committee of 75 member nations with a number of subsidiary organs. The Conference as an organ of the UN General Assembly, will have to be reconvened every three years. This partially vindicates the stand of underdeveloped countries and indicates an epoch-making change in the pattern of international economic policy.

The UN Committee of Experts posulated a steady 5% annual growth in the income of underdeveloped countries by 1970 and referred to the 60's as the 'Development Decade'. In actual fact the growth rate from 1950 to date has been in the region of 2.6% to 4.5% only. The

share of non industrial countries in total World Trade has declined and the terms of trade have also moved against them as will be evident from the following tables.

(1) Percentage Share in World Trade—

Years	1938	1953	1957	1960
Industrial Countries	62.5	61.0	63.00	70.00
Non Industrial Countries	37.5	38.0	34.1	30.00

Sources: International Trade GATT 1959 and 1960

Note: Centrally planned economies are excluded

(ii) Median Value of Terms of Trade—

	1950 = 100	1954	1955	1956	1960
Industrial Developed countries		100	99	99	101
Underdeveloped Agricultural countries		108	106	110	89

(Note) The simplest terms of trade concept have been used—the ratio prices of commodities called the 'commodity terms of trade' or 'net barter term of trade'. Another concept usable in our analysis would be that of the income terms of trade—the index of the value of exports divided by the index of import prices so as to show the

imports obtainable for exports sent out—the commodity terms of trade are weighted in proportion to the other”. (Wicksell Lectures).

The U.N. study referred to earlier calculates that for the poor countries as a whole there would be a ‘hypothetical gap’ of \$ 11 billion dollars in their current and capital accounts by 1970 since export earnings will lag far behind import bills. This takes into account prospective capital flows, all forms of aid and the envisaged burden of debt servicing. Hence Gunnar Myrdal holds that “trade operates (as a rule) with a fundamental bias in favour of the richer and progressive regions (and countries) and in disfavour of the less developed countries”. (Challenge to Affluence—Gollancz 1963).

What are the main factors behind the gloomy story of the ‘Gap’? :—

- (i) The root of the trouble is, of course, the vicious circle of poverty that causes a lopsided production structure, a limited range of traditional primary exports and the lack of capital and skill that makes the traditional export sector the main arbiter of opportunities. Poverty causes dependence on external markets and vulnerability to market trends. Reserves to cushion shocks are low and technological advance may merely lead to over-production.
- (ii) Primary products have longer gestation periods and life cycles. Hence, on the side of entry one gets successive waves of excess capacity from previous boom periods. Exit is slower and more expensive than entry in the absence of alternative investment

opportunities and the same arguments are applicable to extractive industries.

It has been argued that one of the reasons for the lower rate of growth of trade of the less developed countries is that they all pursue highly protectionist policies on either infant-industry or terms of trade grounds. **This reduces the volume of trade but increases the marginal benefit from trade.**

- (iii) The very process of economic development implies an ever-increasing volume, both absolute and relative of capital imports. The ratio of capital goods’ price increases (imports) has been greater than the rise in unit values of traditional exports since the consumption propensities of the latter in the high income countries are static, with demand being income and price inelastic.

On the demand side, market trends in the developed countries have been working against expansion of exports from the poor nations :

- (a) The intra-trade volume among industrial countries rose by 90% as compared with a 50% rise in volume in other sectors of international trade, the increase in manufactures being greater than that of primary products. Presenting a ‘Tableau Economique’, Ragnar Nurkse painted the position in 1957 as “the picture is one that mirrors on the world economy. The twenty countries in Group A (High income) are each other’s best customer. More than a hundred countries in Group B (Low income).....have

very little trade with each others". (Wicksell lectures).

- (b) A saturated market for tropical foods and products (sugar and tobacco etc.), demand response being negligible to changes in income and retail prices. A large proportion of retail costs is accounted for by distribution and trade mark-ups as also processing changes. Empirical studies of food, tobacco and beverage imports reveal that net imports rose proportionately less than consumption but with a greater fall in import-unit values, the aggregate rise in values of these imports was marginal. Demand shifted from beverages and oils with a high import content to meet with a low import content.
- (c) Technological advances have led to a number of changes. The requirements of imported raw materials per unit of output has declined, i.e., a more economical input-output ratio exists. Synthetics have replaced natural raw materials particularly so when prices of the latter show a considerable rise—rubber, sugar and fibres are noteworthy examples. Excluding petroleum, over 40% of exports now come to with synthetics.
- (d) Improved technology has also led to greater 'interchangeability' of materials strengthening the bargaining position of buyers vis-a-vis sellers. There is a greater substitution elasticity of materials at the manufacturing level than at the retail stage in regard to upward price of traditional imports—a rise in price acts as a spur to new techniques.

However, this process does not work proportionately in a downward direction. Substitution, once in full swing, is more often than not, irreversible.

A common grievance of the underdeveloped countries is that their export proceeds are unstable because of sharp cyclical fluctuations in the prices of their exports as well as a long-run secular decline. Such fluctuations exert strains on the balance of payments resulting alternatively in inflationary and deflationary pressures on the economy.

Summarising these developments, Singer remarks that "the rich countries have had the best of both worlds both as exporters of manufactures and as importers of primary products".

(iii) Outlook for the Future and Methods of closing the Gap—

The developing countries are interested in enhancing the aggregate value and not the mere volume of their exports. Average long-period earnings are of greater importance than short-term repercussions, i.e., earnings to reflect the import purchasing power or the "importing power of exports" also termed as the "capacity to import"—the terms of trade multiplied by the volume of exports. Trade is preferable to aid and stability to uncertainty.

(A) The Development Insurance Fund—

A 1961 U.N. Report proposes a Development Insurance Fund (DIF) which is an extended version of domestic social insurance applied to the field of international trade. The DIF would be an international body with resources in dollars and other currencies of the high-income countries.

Funds would, initially, be obtained by subscriptions and an annual "insurance premium". The GNP of a country would constitute the base for subscriptions and exports for premiums. Member countries would withdraw currencies automatically as compensation for the full shortfall in export earnings compared with the average of the preceding three years. To prevent abuses, however, it would be preferable to have a scaled degree of compensation so as to forstall a 100 per cent recoupment. Otherwise, a write-off could be enhanced by carrying over exports from the third to the fourth year after a large deficit gap. Repayment is obligatory where exports revive speedily and to a substantial degree. Net compensation accrues to a member only where recovery is so late that gains cannot balance withdrawals in the three year span.

This proposal is similar to that of the Export Risk Stabilisation Fund recently propounded. The DIF will enable the poor countries to buy more during periods of heavy withdrawals and avoid a drastic cut in essential purchases. As compared with the establishment of a commodity-reserve currency, the DIF cushions the effect of price declines on monoculture economies. The type of financing offered is independent of any output restrictions. But the DIF does not tackle the problem of shifting redundant resources from declining export work to productive spheres. The DIF is essentially defensive and may protect inefficient producers. Also, in the absence of any scheme for project evaluation, funds can be diverted by recipient nations to unproductive uses. DIF drawings are a more effective buffer against short-run fluctuations and not so against long-run cycles where considerations of functional finance would prevail in budgetary operations. Hence, this is only a partial remedy and not a complete solution.

(B) Commodity-reserve Currencies and Price-Support Schemes—

It has been suggested that the main primary commodities entering into international trade should be taken as a collective whole, their prices stabilised in terms of gold and the value used as an international currency reserve in lieu of gold. The rich countries should devalue their currencies in terms of this new international reserve as a counter to the pressure of rising money wages and cost-push inflation. The International Sugar and Coffee Agreements are cited as notable examples of the successful working of flexible quotas.

However, the 'Kennedy round' of tariff negotiations with the ECM has aptly emphasised the greater practicability of the commodity-by-commodity approach.

The rich countries may impose an import duty on incoming primary produce and remit the proceeds to exporters of the 'Have-nots'. If world prices rose, the latter would benefit and there would be a redistribution of income between the producer and the State in the underdeveloped country (by the quantum of the tax). Whilst this is a workable proposition if consumer countries' co-operation is secured, the method has been rejected that it would lead to a greater substitution of synthetics for natural materials.

Note :—(This follows J. B. Hicks' argument that the dollar shortage was a result of the import-biased character of America's technical progress. While export-biased productivity change must 'a fortiori' turn the terms of trade in favour of the rest of the world, 'per contra' import-biased productivity changes turn them against the rest of the world and reduce the overall gains from international trade).

(C) Patterns of Industrialisation in the Developing Economies—

exports and capital-intensive heavy capital goods, will continue to be imported.

In the long-run, diversification of the products exported by the poor countries will be the effective resort. What should be the pattern of growth?

Import substitution is logical and laudable as an objective. However, if the 'infant industry' argument is blindly applied, we might be subsidising inefficient industries and make for unnecessarily high profit margins in sheltered markets.

Ragnar Nurkse and Arthur Lewis have propounded the 'balanced growth' hypothesis to increase purchasing power and general demand through diversified growth. Agriculture, the export sector and the domestic manufacturing sector are to be expanded in balanced proportions according to the relative demand in each sector. The taking over of ready-made markets for imports by domestic import-substitutes will help a balanced growth programme. "In this way", said Nurkse, "a pattern of mutually supporting investments in different lines of production can enlarge the size of the market and help fill the vacuum in the economy". Development should be horizontal-biased in favour of light consumer goods since these industries easily create a market for each others' products and lighten the burden of development. They can serve as the basis of future

Marcus Fleming and Hirschman have refuted this thesis on the ground that factor supplies are inelastic and that economic growth is continuously alternating between cycles of autonomous and induced investment. There will have to be **periodical** excess demand and excess capacity and substantial economies will be obtained by **vertical** linkages of industries at different stages of production each of which is the others' supplier or customer. The domestic value added by consumer economies—would also be better off if they bought and sold goods at market prices. Tenders should be accepted on a competitive basis and they would thus realise the economies of scale and division of labour.

Constructive measures will belie gloomy prognosis. For example, the radical reduction in ocean transportation costs has reduced the incidence of falling terms of trade on the poor countries. Internationalism is not charity or idealism, but an expression of explicit needs. To establish an integrated world economy one requires a sentiment of international community. The world has shrunk in distances but must expand in its cohesiveness. Ideas and actuality, fact and fiction must be reconciled and the word 'we' should predominate all discussions.

Current Affairs

KARUNA K. NANDI

Defence Bias Of The Fourth Plan

At the last meeting of the National Development Council held in New Delhi it was rightly decided that the Fourth Plan should have an appropriate defence orientation within the over-all frame-work of the Plan now finally fixed at a gross outlay of Rs. 21,500 crores at 1963-64 prices. The Prime Minister, who presided, pleaded, as before, for according the highest priority to agricultural production at least during the first year of the new Plan even at the cost, he underlined, of temporarily halting the over-all progress of the Plan for the time being. At the same time he pleaded for the utmost economy in expenditure, maximum mobilization of resources through taxation and especial attention to the implementation aspects of the Plan. According to Shri Ashok Mehta who sought to underline the importance of economy of Government expenditure, by the Centre and the States put together even a two per cent economy in this behalf should release additional resources of the order of approximately Rs. 400 crores against an estimated gross expenditure of Rs. 6,000 crores.

Agricultural Sector to Contribute More

Shri Ashoke Mehta, Vice Chairman of the Planning Commission, estimated that to be able to sustain a Fourth Plan of the size now envisaged, the rate of investment will have to be stepped up from about 13 per cent of the national income at the end of the Third Plan period to 17 per cent by the end of the Fourth Plan; tax receipts, likewise, will have to be stepped up from about 13 per cent of the national income as at present to 18 per cent by the end of the coming Plan period and savings will have to be stimulated to rise from their present level of

about 10.5 per cent of the national income to 15 per cent during the Fourth Plan period.

Shri Ashok Mehta especially called for larger rates of savings and contributions to tax revenue from the Agricultural sector which had so far lagged far behind the urban and industrial sector and for which, therefore, there should be ample scope. He estimated that agricultural income tax and irrigation rates together contributed to the extent of only 2.6 per cent to the additional tax revenues of the Government during the last three Plan periods. According to a scheme formulated by the Planning Commission, Shri Ashok Mehta was reported to have told the National Development Council, it should now be possible to draw something like 25 per cent of the additional tax revenue projected for the Plan from the rural sector which has, so far, been subjected to only fringe taxation.

Shri Mehta did not seem to be unduly concerned over the possible effects of the measure of additional tax effort envisaged to sustain the Fourth Plan and felt that the extra effort in this direction would not be likely to unduly affect the living levels of the people as he envisaged that the necessary additional effort in this behalf would be met out of the additional incomes that would be generated as a result of the implementation of the Plan.

So far as the plea that the rural sector should meet at least a fourth of the additional tax revenue requirements envisaged for the Plan is concerned, the matter should bear a closer examination than would appear to have been given to it by Shri Mehta. According to a recently released study by the National Council Of Applied Economic Research, the rural sector of the population comprises 351 million persons or, roughly, 80 per cent of the total population. Of these 77 per cent or, roughly, 61.6 per cent of the total population are whole time agricultural workers.

Of these, again, 10 per cent or, approximately 8 per cent of the national population are wholly landless agricultural labourers whose income level is computed to be of the annual level of Rs. 98.55 or 27 paise a day. At the next higher level comprising 50 millions or, roughly, 12 per cent of agricultural households are those whose annual income is within the level of Rs. 116.85 (32 paise per day) and the higher 100 million (24 per cent of the rural and about 18 per cent of the national population) earn Rs. 153.30 (42 paise per day) per annum. From these figures it would be obvious that if they indicate anything like an approximately correct picture of the actual state of our rural economy at the present time, the scope for deriving anything like Rs. 750 crores (which is 25 per cent of the uncovered resources gap of Rs. 3000 crores estimated for the Fourth Plan by the Planning Commission) from within this sector in course of the next five years would be quite an absurd proposition, unless, of course, the Commission are callously determined to draw this proportion of additional resources from within this weak sector of the economy without any regard to the very serious measure of acute deprivation that such an impost would be bound to bring in its wake. The assurance that the additional incomes that would be generated as the result of implementing the Fourth Plan would, mainly, absorb most of the pressure of additional tax effort in this behalf without unduly depressing the living levels of the people may and, we are afraid, be bound to prove wishful thinking in large measure. In the first instance, judging by the record of achievements of the preceding three Plans actual achievements have steadily and consistently been found always to have fallen substantially short of anticipated estimates and, secondly, a great deal of what may still have been achieved has always been found to have been cancelled out, at least in some substantial measure, by rises in the price level. The net result of this, as would be bound to happen, is that while the weaker sectors of the economy are obliged to carry a more than proportionately heavier load of the burdens of planned development, the gains derived therefrom are, in very substantial measures, sieved up at a higher level, leaving very little, if any at all, to filter down to the bottom levels of the community. The process may be more vigorous in its dynamics in the urban and industrial sectors causing, as has been amply proved time and again during the last fifteen and, especially, during the last five years, very heavy concentration of income, wealth and economic power in selected and microscopically minute pockets of the economy; but that the rural sector is also not entirely free from the effects of the evil process, there is ample material available to prove. Again, to quote the results of a study by the National Council Of Applied Economic Research, in the rural sector of the national economy, the highest income-earning 1 per cent of the population appropriate 9 per cent of the gross rural income (35 lakh persons appropriating Rs. 785.31 crores out of a total of Rs. 8726 crores or Rs. 2243.83 per capita). 10 per cent of the population on the bottom rung of the economic ladder appropriate only 1 per cent (35.4 millions appropriating Rs. 348.86 crores—per capita Rs. 98.55), 14 per cent on the next higher rung appropriate 6.7 per cent (50 millions absorbing Rs. 584.70 crores—per capita Rs. 116.85) and 28 per cent on the still higher rung appropriate 17.6 per cent (100 millions appropriating Rs. 1533 crores - per capita Rs. 153.30). That is to say, at the bottom 3 rungs of the economic ladder in the rural sector comprising 52 per cent of the population are allowed to absorb only 28 per cent of the available income while at the topmost rung only 1 per cent of the population appropriate as much as 9 per cent of the income. In between the two extremes, that is people with per capita incomes of Rs. 98.55, Rs. 116.85 and Rs. 153.30 on the one side and those with incomes of Rs. 2243.83 at the other extreme, 47 per cent of the population absorb 62.7 per cent of the available total income. In these middle rungs of the rural income group the average per capita appropriation works out at approximately Rs. 372.7 per annum. There must be several levels of income within these groups the exact or even approximate measure of which it is not possible to gauge in the absence of more detailed data. But having regard to the comparatively modest average worked out above, except in the higher reaches, income at most rungs of these middle groups also are

bound to be somewhere around bare subsistence level; we have already seen that incomes at the 3 bottom levels of the ladder are definitely far below subsistence level. In the circumstances it seems curious that the Planning Commission under the leadership of Shri Ashok Mehta, who is nothing if he is not plausible, should have been able to evolve a scheme by which it is considered possible to make additional tax levies on the rural sector of the order of something like Rs. 750 crores (which works out at approximately Rs. 22 per capita at the present level of the rural population) without materially affecting the living level of the people which, for all practical purposes, remains at well below any measure of *civilized subsistence standards*.

Prices and Resources

But about what apparently neither the Prime Minister nor the Vice Chairman of the Planning Commission seem to be seriously concerned is the problem of prices. It has been officially confirmed at the highest Government level that wholesale prices have gone up by well over 20 per cent between 1961-62 and 1963-64 and it has been recently averred that prices have gone up still further by nearly another 17 per cent between March 1964 and July 1965. It has been officially admitted by the Union Finance Minister that price pressures of the other evinced have been seriously distorting the economy and, in effect, have been cancelling out the achievements of planned development by at least a proportionate measure. And, yet, there does not seem to be any awareness on the part of the Government of the urgent and vital need to devise effective measures to evolve a rational price policy so that the distortions in the economy caused by the relentless price pressures since about the end of 1962 might be effectually obviated and the distressing impacts on the living levels of the more vulnerable sections of the community might be relieved.

Except for a cursory reference to the matter in the resolution adopted by the last meeting of the National Development Council to say that the steady rise in the price level over the last few years has been mainly derived from shortfalls in agricultural production which, in turn, has

mainly flowed from the rapid growth of the population with which agricultural production has been unable to keep pace, there does not seem to have been any indication of any positive thinking on this crucial problem. All the positive measure that the N.D.C. could conceive of was to recommend more vigorous implementation of population control which, even if it could be effectively handled—a very difficult matter in all circumstances—would, anyway, take a very long time to bear fruit. In fact from past experiences related to efforts towards population control, it would seem to be in very serious doubt if there is really any effective means of achieving such a desired end without raising the protein contents of the people's food as an essential condition-precedent. It has been observed that wherever the nutritional contents of the people's food have improved there has been an automatic fall in the birth rate. In other words a measure of sophistication in the people's living levels would seem to be an inescapable condition of effective population control.

Be that as it may, the problem of containing the price pressure would seem to be an essential condition of resource mobilization for the Fourth Plan and even more so when planning, as now, has to be urgently defence-oriented. One of the methods to be employed for "maximum resource mobilization" would have to be by additional taxation. It has been estimated by Shri Ashok Mehta that tax revenues of the Government which are now estimated to comprise approximately 13 per cent of the national income will have to be pushed up to 18 per cent by the end of the Fourth Plan period. With prices raging steadily and constantly upwards, additional tax mobilization of this order could only be achieved by pushing down the net disposable income of the people to well below subsistence levels. "Consume less" is an admirable counsel but its effectiveness would be inevitably limited by the need of at least bare subsistence. And when in order to realise additional tax revenues the net disposable income is threatened with attenuation to a level well below minimum subsistence requirements, the entire tax effort of the Government may in turn well be threatened with jeopardy.

(Continued on p. 332)

SHAKESPEARE'S SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS

UTPAL DUTT

I

Sam Goldwyn would rather leave the message to the Western Union. And a similar usurious approach dominates an absolute majority of Shakespeare critics of the day. It is therefore dangerous to ask naively: did Shakespeare try to say anything? You may read him and with Wilson Knight delight in the imageries and music. You may watch him played by actors in the true Poel-Granville-Barker tradition. But you must accept him as rather a dull fellow who did not think of the things he saw and felt. You may even, if the craze takes you, disbelieve he ever existed, or, if he did, merely lent his name to the resurrected Marlowe. You may at the same time discuss in full the social comments in *Osborne* and the political satire of *Wesker*. But you have to assume that Shakespeare, the Stratford boor, is quite incapable of what his lesser imitators have achieved freely.

This very British, very respectable, very Park Lane attitude begins with Johnson's usual axiomatic sermon in 1765 when he preached on his mount that Shakespeare's

"works support no opinion with arguments, nor supply any faction with invectives,.....are read without any other reason than the desire of pleasure."

This has seemed to the church-going congregation of respectable critics a far more pleasant comment than the blasphemous choice that Carlyle presented between the Indian empire and Shakespeare.

The much-maligned Bradley's attempt to transfer our attention entirely to the

psychology of the heroes of Shakespeare, though torn apart by Croce's frontal offensive, appears to me to be an inevitable development of the Johnsonian theme. The social content of the plays, if Bradley is to be taken seriously, must be altogether ignored. No wonder, but a few years removed from Bradley, we see the imposing figure of Dr. Ernest Jones who discovers that Hamlet is in love with Gertrude. He is hotly pursued by W.I.D. Scott who discovers that Antonio the merchant is homosexually attached to Bassanio, that Jaques is an involuntional, and that Hamlet is a manic-depressive.

Psycho-analysis is a catching disease. John Vyvyan's brilliant "Shakespearean Ethic" begins by challenging those critics who see in Shakespeare nothing but a commercial Belasco; it ends by diagnosing various subconscious streaks in Shakespeare's characters. He starts off:

"....by limiting the problem to aesthetics and the theatre, it leaves out Shakespeare. From the evidence of the sonnets alone..... we see that Shakespeare was himself a perturbed spirit."

But of course with the plague raging, he cannot escape contagion and is soon quoting copiously from Jung to show that his Anima, Wise Old Man and Shadow were anticipated by Shakespeare in his Ophelia, Polonius and Iago. It may be pertinent to ask: did Shakespeare after all have a crystal in his reticule, that he could rise so above the scrappy theories of melancholy that Burton, Thomas Rogers and Bright supplied him with?

Freud's pan-sexual explanation is so

good an apology for suppressing evidence of Shakespeare's social consciousness that it appears like a *deus ex machina* in the most outspokenly revolutionary critic. Wyndham Lewis shook the complacent world of lotus-eaters with the startling comment that

"Far from being a feudal poet, the Shakespeare that 'Troilus and Cressida', 'The Tempest', or even 'Coriolanus' shows us is much more a bolshevik (using this little word popularly) than a figure of conservative romance."

It is with shock therefore that one stumbles a few chapters later on an unseemly discussion of Shakespeare the homosexual (the "boy" sonnets, of course!), portraying the manliness of Mark Antony from a feminine viewpoint. Small wonder then that J. I. M. Stewart in his "Character and Motive in Shakespeare" explains Leontes's jealousy of Polixenes on grounds of homosexuality.

But none of them looks more grotesque in his quixotic armour than the apocalyptic Morozov who conforms meekly:

"Shakespeare's characters do not speak for the author, but so to say 'for themselves', i.e. are independent individuals (in other words we shall obtain new confirmation of Shakespeare's realism)".

It is agreed that all characters cannot speak for their author. Iago certainly does not, nor does the generation of villains sprung upon us. But surely it would be amazing if in the thirty-six plays he wrote, Master Will Shakespeare never once let himself go. Surely, if we were to find an idea or an imagery recurring again and again in his plays, provided that the idea is not brought up (like Iago's nihilism) for the express purpose of getting it condemned, then such an idea I say can very well be Shakespeare's own.

Our search for such ideas must neces-

sarily be conditioned by what Sewell calls the "basic vision" of each play, where a thesis and anti-thesis come into conflict. We must be careful not to attribute antithetical, negative elements in his plays to Shakespeare. He has a way about him, of imparting equal power to both factions through poetry. Probably he could not help himself. Therefore to be lost in his poetry like Coleridge, Keats, T. S. Eliot and Wilson Knight would prevent us from seeing the difference between positive and negative forces in his plays; between the thesis he affectionately presents and the antithesis with which he counters it.

Critics have sometimes avoided this error and we have seen sparks of non-conformity like Oscar James Campbell, who unequivocally declared that even political ideas can and must be found in Shakespeare and Sergei Dinamov who treats Shakespeare as he would treat any modern work on contemporary politics.

II

It is to Professor Owst that Shakespearean criticism owes the mine of information on medieval sermons. The myth of Renaissance humanism creating Elizabethan drama has long been discarded: the figures of Mirandola, Ficino and Paracelsus have suddenly grown coxcombs on their head and the only real contribution that the *Renascita* could make to England appears to be the panic and terror associated with Machiavelli.

It is significant that each of the recurrent ideas in Shakespeare has its counterpart in medieval thought and comes into headlong conflict with the ideology of the Tudor Reformation.

The principal idea running persistently through medieval literature is primitive communism and glorification of corporate life.

Gratian in his decretal could declare:

"Communis enim usus omnium quae sunt in hoc mundo, omnibus hominibus esse debuit."

St. Antonio echoes it when he insists that Jesus taught the abolition of private property, and that property should therefore be in the largest number of hands, in common use.

Hence too Martin Saint-Leon in 1270 could declare with religious confidence that the evangelists had promised daily bread to each man:

".....pour chacun le pain quotidien promis par l'Evangile".

In this perspective alone does John Ball's communism appear inevitable. About seven years after his rebellion, Master Wimbledon could preach at Paul's Cross:

"And covetise maketh also that rich men eat the poore, as beastes done their lesous.....In commune to all, rich and poore, the earth was made. Why will ye ritch chalenge proper right herein?"

Gerard Winstanley carries on the same theme in his "New Law of Righteousness".

"Now whereas the Creation, man should live in equalitie towards one another."

Turning to Shakespeare we meet Gloucester in "King Lear", blinded, having realized too late where the ills of the world lie. He gives his purse away and declares:

"Heavens, deal so still!

Let the superfluous and lust-
dicted man

That slaves your ordinance, that
will not see

Because he does not feel, feel

your power quickly;

So distribution should undo excess,

And each man have enough." (IV, 1, 67)

It would be possible to show, if space permitted it, that Lear and Gloucester, like Othello, Falstaff and Hamlet, are anachronisms in a world where corporate life is disintegrating, and a new morality

of each for himself is coming to power. Like Quixote they tilt at windmills. Like Cyrano they fight a hundred men alone. Like Eisenslein's Ivan they sprawl on the floor and beg for strength from God. Edmund, Iago and Claudius commit rape upon a fundamental concept of the middle ages—that, alone, man is not man, but a monster. Ulysses puts it well:

"That no man is the lord of anything,
Though in and of him there be much
consisting,

Till he communicate his parts to
others:" (Tr. & Cr., III, 3,115)

The Duke in "Measure for Measure" leaves the same advice with Angelo:

"Thyself and thy belongings

Are not thine own so proper as to waste
Thyself upon thy virtues, they on thee.
Heaven doth with us as we with

torches do,
Not light them for themselves."

(1, 1, 30)

Collective living and collective good faces extinction in the new conflict arising with the merchants' power. So, when Marcus in "Titus Andronicus" screams:

"You sad-fac'd men, people and sons of
Rome,

By uproars sever'd, as a flight of fowl
Scatter'd by winds and high tempestuous gusts,

O, let me teach you how to knit again
This scattered corn into one mutual sheaf,

These broken limbs again into one
body," (V, 3, 67)

we feel Shakespeare has gone back to his favourite idea of communal life.

Timon, the other great quixote who seriously took Christ's teaching about giving away riches, says:

"Why, I have, often wished myself poorer, that I might come nearer to you. We are born to do benefits: and

what better or properer can we call our own than the riches of our friends?" Sewell in a moment of exasperation accuses Timon of dreaming like a fool and the "gross foolishness of his philanthropy". The picture of Jesus, the self-denying, horse-hair-clad son of a carpenter, mouth-ing phrases of giving away all thou hast, is understandably an uncomfortable one. It is better to dress him up in the decent clothes of a curate of the Church of England, who will not ask silly questions on private property. Unfortunately Shakespeare never appeared to take to the prelates and bishops in his chronicle plays; his *Canterburys*, *Elys*, *Cranmers* and *Wolseys* are little short of scandalous. His love and respect seem to be wasted on the "bare-foot brothers" and Franciscan friars who lived on onions and thundered against inequity.

To return to the theme—however uncomfortable—of communal life in Shakespeare, "Venus and Adonis" has this line:

"Things growing to themselves are growth's abuse" (166)
once more, the futility of isolation.

And so on to Gonzalo's speech on the commonwealth in the *Tempest*, a complete picture of primitive communism. How different from and opposed to Reformation ideas of the ideal state! A comparison with More's "Utopia", written in Antwerp, the business-capital of Europe, the biggest money-market, will reveal at once that whereas More is thinking in terms of absolute power for the mercantile class and destruction of feudal privileges, Shakespeare is harking back to a state of nature that existed before slave-society. If one were to apply mechanically the rules of historical study, one would arrive at the conclusion that Shakespeare, opposing the new class, was a reactionary. Such a study forgets that in England in any case the biggest feudal landlords turned overnight into the biggest merchants. Consider the assets, in land

and merchandise, of Essex. Consider the Grand Lease whereby the Church was forced to hand over the palatinate coal mines to the Leicester Group, especially to Thomas Sutton (Johnson's *Volpone*). Consider the case of Sir Edmund Verney, Knight-marshal, Royal Standard-bearer, owner of gigantic states, owner of hackney-carriages in London and tobacco-merchant. To Shakespeare therefore there was no civil war between a dying class and a new rising progressive class. It was one unrelieved oppression, with one addition. The avarice, covetise, usury—condemned by all medieval writers—had now found their ideological apologists under Elizabethan patronage.

III

What medieval preachers, writers and actors constantly pilloried was avarice, the greed for profit which directly challenges and subverts corporate social being. Dante brought the house down by damning to hell the Cohorsine moneylenders, who were enjoying the patronage of the Pope himself. Grosstete equally shocked the neo-respectable gentlemen-merchants by fiercely attacking the Lombard bankers. Dante and Grosstete had the entire medieval tradition behind them as authority, because Gratian had stated explicitly:

"Whosoever buys a thing, not that he may sell it whole and unchanged, but that it may be a material for fashioning something, he is no merchant. But the man who buys it in order that he may gain by selling it again unchanged and as he bought it, that man is of the buyers and sellers who are cast forth from God's temple."

Having taken the image of Jesus with the whip on the steps of the temple literally, Franciscans defied the Pope himself in order to preach St. Francis's sermon against private property. It was one unbroken war on "appetitus divitiarum infinitus". The enemy was the merchant and the usurer. The merchant was hated in medie-

val towns as an alien, precisely because his philosophy of profit and merchandise went against communal discipline. He was therefore described (just like that!) as "nefandae bellua"—monster of inequity—and his profit was dubbed "turpe lucrum."

Another recurrent imagery in medieval sermons and literature is that of the "great pile that swallows up smaller fishes", the covetous merchant who manipulates prices and ruins smaller merchants and buyers, who imports the law of the jungle into corporate life. Shakespeare echoes it in "Pericles":

"3 Fisherman: Master, I marvel how the fishes live in the sea.

1 Fisherman: Why, as men do a-land—the great ones eat up the little ones. I can compare our rich misers to nothing so fitly as to a whale; 'a plays and tumbles, driving the poor fry before him, and at last devours them all at a mouthful. Such whales have I heard on a' th' land, who never leave gaping till they've swallowed the whole parish, church, steeple, bells and all" (II, 1, 27)

The merchant was considered to have committed an outrage upon the sanctity of life, because he has violated the elementary principles of Christianity—contentment and equality. The discontent of the merchants is a poison that not only infects society, but himself as well. Says a medieval preacher:

"Ne suffreth him nought to have slepe, ne reste, by night ne by day...."

The world of merchants that Shakespeare creates, in "Merchant of Venice" for example, is also based on this uncertainty insecurity and un-Christian worry. When Solanio and Salerino try to guess the reason of Antonio's melancholy:

"Your mind is tossing on the ocean—"
"—had I such venture forth

The better part of my affections would
Be with my hopes abroad."

"My wind, cooling my broth
Would blow me to an ague—"

we have repeated reference to this violation of social sanctity. Finally, when Salerino clinches it with

"Should I go to church
And see the holy edifice of stone,
And not bethink me straight of dangerous rocks....."

we should consider how much of this is deliberately blasphemous. Shakespeare may well have made the merchant condemn himself in the eyes of the people, if the Church of God reminds him of nothing but dangers to his merchandise. Such an outrageous attitude is well-illustrated in the brilliant Latin sermon of Bromyard on Silver where he suggests that merchants put their trust on the cross of wealth on which their god Silver hangs crucified. They have replaced Jesus with silver because silver works more miracles than Jesus. It makes deaf judges hear, dumb advocates speak, the blind see. Money conquers, money rules. Comparable to it is John of Grimstone's English sermon-sketch:

"Pecunia { maket wrong right
maket day nith
maket frend fo
maket wele wo"

Another Shakespeare play based on the corrupt life of merchants is the "Comedy of Errors". Dromio of Ephesus launches a tirade (II, I) on his master, whose pre-occupation with gold appears to me to be double-edged. It reveals Dromio's mistake, as well as Antipholus's covetise. My view is strengthened by Adriona's description of gold at the end of the scene:

"I see the jewel best enamelled
Will lose his beauty; yet the gold bids
still

That others touch and, often touching,
Where gold ; and no man that hath a
By falsehood and corruption doth it

When Shylock cries on his ducats and his
daughter and prefers the ducats to the
daughter, it is not the Jew in him that speaks,
but the covetous. One has only to juxtapose
with this Morocco's speech on the gold cas-
ket and the indictment in doggerel :

"Many a man his life hath sold
But my outside to behold.
Gilded tombs do worms infold...."
and the larger perspective of Shakespeare's
attack on covetise becomes apparent. For
Shakespeare defends Shylock the Jew. It
is Shylock the usurer that he attacks. And
when an old English manuscript gives us
the following about merchants :

"In the daytime they are so tormented
in tene and labour that at nights they
have no rest ; they have dreams in plenty
and money brok sleep", we are sud-
denly reminded of Shylock's dream of
money-bags.

If further proof were required, the
whole "Timon of Athens" exposes human
greed in the terrifying proportions of a
morality play. Apemantus makes all clear
by straightaway picking on the merchant :

"Ap : Art not thou a merchant ?
Mer : Ay. Apemantus.
Ap : Traffic confound thee, if the gods
Mer : If traffic do it, the gods do it.
Ap : Traffic's thy god, and thy god
confound thee." (I, 1, 241)

Apemantus's strongest credential is :
"Immortal gods, I crave no pelf.....
Rich men sin, and I eat root." (I, 2, 63)
Apemantus thus becomes almost a voice
in the wilderness, living on locusts and pro-
claiming the coming of the Messiah. The
Messiah when he does arrive is terrible to

look at ; it is Timon in fury, the prophet
with the whip. The redeemer becomes a
destroyer because the people of Athens
have become, in Apemantus's words :

"Poor rogues, and usurers' men !
bawds between gold and want !" (II, 2, 60)
Shakespeare's ironic presentation of Timon
as a prophet, a prophet in reverse, a Jesus
militant, calling terrible curses down on
Bethsaida, becomes apparent in the mes-
sianic commandments of Timon at the
mock-feast. (III, 6, 74) Moses breaking the
tablets could not be fiercer. But mark the
epithets :

"detested parasites
"affable wolves"
"fools of fortune" (III, 6, 93)
each tries to pinpoint a crime not only
against Timon personally but against
society in general.

Critics shrug Timon off with the cryp-
tic remark that he is a misanthrope and
hates mankind in general. They deliber-
ately overlook Timon's angry denunciation
of the oppressor and the covetous, as oppos-
ed to and distinct from the oppressed :

"The greater scorns the lesser : not
nature
To whom all sores lay seige, can bear
great fortune,
But by contempt of nature.
Raise me this beggar, and deny't
that lord ;
The senator shall bear contempt
hereditary,
The beggar native honour.
It is the pasture lands the rother's
side,
The want that makes him lean."
But nature is out of joint because
"the learned pate
Ducks to the golden fool : all is
oblique...."

By flattering the rich, the poor have
condoned their crime of covetise. There-
fore are they all guilty.

“If that the heavens do not their
visible spirits
Send quickly down to tame these vile
offences,

It does not give us the authority to reject Albany as a pessimist any more than Timon may be overlooked on grounds of misanthropy. Albany is forecasting the result of covetise as a general social disease, legalized by the new mercantile class.

If it is argued (as it always is) that Albany's speech refers to a particular situation and particular mood, and that there is no justification for raising Lear to the pedestal of a general symbol of man wronged by the powerful, let us turn to the Dominican Bromyard's "Summa Predicantium". He attacks the rich for providing for their dogs while the poor famish. He quotes the bible, Isaiah, "Deal thy bread to the hungry" and asks, where is it said that dogs must be given the bread that men need? "Bring the needy and harbourless into thy house". he quotes, and asks again, where is it said that dogs must be given shelter and not men? "When thou shalt see the naked, cover him." he quotes, and asks, where does the bible permit the covering of pet apes, rather than naked man? Then he concludes :

"Therefore the aforesaid are not to be called 'men', but cruel sea-monsters that have given suck to the young."

The last is a quotation from Lament, IV, 3. But the point is : Bromyard brings together the image of the hungry, naked, harbourless, needy man, along with the imagery of the sea-monster who denies him charity. It does not require much effort, therefore, to note that Lear is precisely the hungry, the naked, the harbourless, the needy man. He has just been refused

"You must eat men. Yet thanks I must
 you con
That you are thieves profess'd. that
 you work not
In holier shapes ; for there is
 boundless theft
In limited professions. Rascal thieves,
Here's gold.....
The laws, your curb and whip, in
 their rough power
Have uncheck'd theft. Love not your-
 selves ; away !
Rob one another. There's more gold :
 cut throats !
All that you meet are thieves.....
.....and gold confound you how-
 so'er !
Amen."

It may not be irrelevant to digress suddenly to "King Lear", and not that the morality that Edmund, Regan and Goneril preach is profit and power. The two weird sisters are patent land-grabbers and Edmund too starts off by screaming:

“Well, then,

Legitimate Edger, I must have your
land." (I, 2, 15)

Since distribution is undone by excess
 "dissolutions of ancient amities"

(I, 2, 150)

are taking place, and Gloster sums up the collapse of old values :

"Love cools, friendships fall off,
brothers divide."

And so Albany forecasts the triumph of jungle-law under the new dispensation:

shelter. And Albany by connecting the speech with the imagery of "sea-monster" puts himself in a proper perspective of medieval wrath against the rich.

Cordelia, says Danby, is a Christ. She redeems nature. He forgets to add, she is a Christ who leads a holy war against the sinners to establish a Jerusalem.

Timon is a Christ too, but he has no Alcibiades with him; he merely has Rigoletto's tongue, not Sparafucile's dagger. He therefore whips with his tongue Phrynia and Timmandra ask gold of him. So do the painter and the poet. They know nothing better. But the wrathful messiah does not forgive. He says:

"What a god's gold

That he is worshipp'd in a baser temple
Than where swine feed," (V, 1, 48).
and scourges them away.

Thus, when Romeo says to the apothecary,

"There is thy gold—worse poison to
men's souls,
Doing more murder in this loathsome
world

Than these poor compounds that thou
mayst not sell.

I sell thee poison: thou hast sold me
none," (Romeo & Juliet, V, 1, 80)

we can safely assume it is no mere passing expression of Shakespeare's theatrical flair; it springs from the depths of his belief, his hatred of the new covetousness.

Thus alone can we understand the Bastard's speech on commodity in "King John", commodity in Elizabethanese meaning profit, turpe lucrum. Very roundly, very mediievally, the Bastard proclaims:

"that same purpose-changer, that
sly devil

That broker that still breaks the pate
of faith,

That daily break-vow, he that wins of
all,

Of kings, of beggars, old men, young
men, maids....

.....That smooth-fac'd gentleman,
tickling commodity....

Commodity, the bias of the world....

.....this vile-drawing bias,

This sway of motion, this commodity,
Makes it take head from all indifferency,
From all direction, purpose, course,
intent—

And this same bias, this commodity,
This bawd, this broker, this all-chang-
ing word—"

Wycliffe, Bromyard or Latimer could not be more furious. The withering ironical conclusion that the Bastard draws sums up Shakespeare's view of the new man, the Renaissance man:

"Gain be my lord, for I will worship thee."
Covetise deified.

IV

The Renaissance attitude of Commodity is summed up in a faux-pas made by no less a representative of the new age than Christopher Columbus.

"Gold," says Columbus, "constitutes treasure, and he who possesses it has all he needs in this world, as also the means of rescuing souls from Purgatory, and restoring them to the enjoyment of Paradise."

Columbus could hardly speak otherwise since his voyage was financed by the house of the spanish Jew Luis de San Angel. Magellan was financed by the Antwerp firm of Christopher de Haro and Co. The very brave sabre-rattling between Spain and England and the trails of the Armada were a mere facade of the actual financial war; English manipulation of the continental bourses stopped Spanish credit and, for a year, prevented the equipment of the Armada; finally continental companies, notably the Hamburg Company, financed the anti-Armada preparations and were primarily responsible for Elizabeth's vic-

difference that has crept in between the two. The medieval concept of Order was an attempt—however inept—to provide a scientific basis to a primitive Christian conception of equality and harmony. The Elizabethan thinkers introduced into this Order the anti-Christian concept of degree and inequality and almost blasphemously placed an earthly sovereign at the head to preside over it all.

Medievals started from a conception of benevolent nature.

"the very least as feeling her care and the greatest not exempted from her power."

So says Hooker in "Ecclesiastical Polity". Thus Order is a leveller, not a differentiator. There is no thought of an earthly king when he announces :

“Sec we not plainly that obedience of creatures unto the law of nature is the stay of the whole world?”

Spenser in "Hymn of Love" speaks of creation :

V

"Air hated earth and water hated fire
Till Love relented their rebellious ire.
He then took them, and tempering
 goodly well
Their contrary dislikes with loved
 means,
Did place them all in order and compel
To keep themselves within their sundry
 reigns

Together linkt with adamantine chains
Yet so as that in every living wight
They mix themselves and show their
kindly might.....

....Through which now all these things
that are contained
Within this goodly cope, **both most and**
least

“Their being have.”

This sums up a picture of Christian equality. Such was the medieval attitude to order.

Elyot in "Governor" speaks of God's

"estates" and "degrees". But the degree descends from God, to heavenly ministers, hierarchies, the four elements, spheres, creatures including birds, beasts and men, herbs, trees, fishes. Each kind

"have a peculiar disposition appropereed unto them by God their creator, so that everything is in order."

Not a word here of Kings, or classification of human beings into ruler and ruled. On the contrary, all mankind is lumped together as a single rung in the universal ladder.

But with Haklyut's "Principal Voyages" we enter a new, qualitatively different phase. The queen, the benevolent despot, has

"obtained for her merchant large and loving privileges."

The state is being rebuilt on the ruins of decayed feudalism with absolute power for the Tudors and gold, deified by Columbus, is now the only standard. Thinkers begin to come forward with new interpretations of the concept of Order.

Sir Walter Raleigh in his "History of the World" brazenly puts forward the new propaganda:

"Shall we therefore value honour and riches at nothing and neglect them as unnecessary and vain? Certainly no. For that infinite wisdom of God... hath also ordained kings, dukes or leaders of the people, magistrates, judges and other degrees of men."

Under mask of order, Raleigh defends riches and absolute monarchy. The principal content of medieval Order, community and equality, is here coolly jettisoned.

A typical Renaissance Englishman is the abject Henry Peachum, who, in "The Compleat Gentleman", manages to strike the lowest that human spinelessness can reach:

"Shall we not acknowledge a nobility in man of greater perfection, of nobler form, and prince of these?"

Again,

"Noble or Gentlemen ought to be preferred in fees, honours, offices and other dignities of command and government, before the common people.... We ought to give credit to a Noble or Gentleman, before any of the inferior sort. He must not be arrested or pleaded against upon cosenage."

And so on and so forth, in grovelling idolatry.

The mass of naive propaganda-literature sinks sometimes to shameless blasphemy. Take, for example, Thomas Blundeirle's "Three Moral Treatises" which has, among numerous gems of flattery, the following:

"For justice is of law the end,
The law the Prince's work, I say;
The Prince God's likeness doth portend,
Who over all must bear the sway."

John Case in "De Sphaera Civitatis" outrages elementary sense of Christian proportion by picturing Elizabeth as the Primum Mobile, the master-sphere of the universe. And Sir John Davies's "Orchestra" links the moon and her planets with Elizabeth and her courtiers:

"With hand in hand interlinked were
seen
Making fair honour to their sovereign
queen."

That Shakespeare was a Catholic is now practically proved. But apart from this, by producing a rogues' gallery of kings in his plays, Shakespeare defies the Reformation trend and harks back to an age when to be king was to be precariously poised at the edge of sin. As Cardan puts it in his "Comforte":

"Palaces of princes are open to envy,
hate, grudge, poison and persecution."

Shakespeare's chronicle plays seem based on this single line, because a more confusing welter of civil war, murder, hatred and anxiety can hardly be imagined. Because to make a man king is automatically an

assault upon the sanctity of corporate life. It shocks the medieval conscience of equality. It gives the lie to homilies such as the *Expordium* which insists that

"rich and poor alike without distinction of persons are from one father Adam....the rich and the poor are alike and equal."

It contradicts the parable of Lazarus and Dives, the punishment of the rich merely because he is rich. The Reformation trickery whereby the sovereign and her barons are almost deified and made cosmic forces runs counter to Nicholas Bozon's sermon:

"Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you. Your riches are corrupted.."

Shakespeare's kings—Macbeth, Claudius, Richard III, Henry IV, John—are scoundrels, with a penchant for infanticide. Henry VI, Edward IV, Richard II are at best febrile, drooling, lonesome men. As for Henry V, in whom the critics pin all their hope of finding Shakespeare the royalist, D.A. Traversi in his significant book *"An Approach to Shakespeare"* has made the first breach. He finds Henry V an intolerable megalomaniac. Further study will no doubt reveal that Shakespeare (as carefully as he could, of course) created in him a paranoiac; Henry is especially fond of screaming threats against the children and the maids of France. He orders the massacre of French prisoners. But never is he tired of thanking the Lord for his favour.

Critics assume that the cruelty of Henry is justified because his war in France is justified. This is astounding negligence because the very first scene of the play

undermines the so-called cause; we see the Archbishop and his associate plan to engage the King's attention by a French adventure in order to save the monasteries. As for the ridiculous Salic law, the preposterous confusion of names—Pharamond, Charlemagne, Meisen, Elbe and Sala, Pepin, Childeric, Blithild, Clothair, Capet, Charles of Lorraine, Lady Lingare, Lewis, Lewis X, Isabel, Ermengare—if it is to be taken seriously, we would have to forget the way Shakespeare writes his satire and accept Gobbo's logic about Margery, his mother, as serious genealogy.

The chronicle plays therefore do not tow the servile reformation line. The one quotation critics have succeeded in finding out of the mass of references to Kings, a quotation they flout as Shakespeare's belief in divine origin of Kings (Claudius on divinity hedging a king) is the sheepest irony. Claudius is at the moment in possession of his brother's throne and wife, has tried to kill Hamlet, and in the same breath he calls himself divine. Far from being proof of kingly divinity, I think it is Shakespeare's comment on kingly divinity.

Because Shakespeare had behind him medieval hatred of pride, of royal vice, Dame Fortune swinging the wheel of fortune brings down the prince and the magistrate, and they are taught a belated but terrible lesson for transgressing God's law. As Bromyard asks,

"Where are the evil princes of the world, the kings, earls and other lords of estate....who ruled their subjects harshly and cruelly?"

It is not without significance that the great bogey of the time, Machiavelli, was a defender of royal autocracy.

V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI
The Demosthenes of India

B. N. SANKHDER

It has almost become proverbial that wherever Bismarck, the great German Statesman went, he was the greatest man present. The same is true to a limited extent, of the loin-clothed saint-statesman Mahatma Gandhi and of his unique disciple—Nehru. But the solitary individual to whom it is thoroughly applicable among the brilliant luminaries of Indian Renaissance is Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri. It would not be fallacious to say that Sastri was one of the greatest speakers of his age; and throughout the world, wherever he went and spoke, he found himself totally uncontested, unchallenged and unrivalled.

An interesting story is related by K. P. Kashava Memon in his article published some twentyeight years ago in *The Times of Ceylon*; about 'the splendid eloquence', excellent choice of words and arresting influence of Sastri as a speaker. He writes :

"In 1921 Mr. Sastri had to attend as India's representative, the Imperial Conference in London. Mr. Lloyd George happened to be present at the conference. After carrying out his part of the programme he was about to go away to fulfil another engagement when Sastri rose to speak. Mr. Lloyd George wanted to hear him for a few minutes and then go but the Demosthenes of India kept the wizard of Wales, waiting there spell-bound for a long time. The majestic flow of Sastri's eloquence had a compelling force which even Lloyd George found it difficult to resist."¹

Sastri differed from his contemporary, 'the uncrowned King of Bengal'; and distinguished orator—Surendranath Banerjee, in regard to the preparation of his orations. In *A Nation in Making*, Surendranath Banerjee who laid sufficient stress on the elaborate equipment of the speeches, quotes John Bright, favourably in his support that "a speech is not worth listening to" unless it has been "carefully prepared".

In the same context Surendranath narrates an incident that on his way to attend the Congress Session at Poona when he stayed for a day at Allahabad and reproduced his Poona Presidential speech to his son-in-law, Colonel Mukherjee, the latter was so much astonished that he felt that the speech would have taken "twenty years in the making."²

The sole purpose of quoting Surendranath is to emphasize the effortless manner in which Sastri used to deliver his most enviable speeches. In his characteristic, inimitable style, Sastri described in a letter to Krishnaswami Aiyar, in 1935,³ the influence of his delightful speeches, which he delivered in the Mysore University.

Bangalore City
January 24, 1935

Dear Friend,

Here I have just finished a trilogy on Gokhale. I spoke for an hour and a half each day to an audience which was 3,000 the first day, 4,000 the second, and 5,000 the third. The attention I commanded was so profound, I felt flattered and proud. I had

no notes. The Vice-Chancellor was struck dumb with astonishment and read a three minutes praise for me, calling my performance a *tour de force*. To me the greatest wonder was that I felt neither pain nor exhaustion. I felt and said I was performing a sacred duty like a parent's obsequies and was therefore immune from disease or infirmity.

Yours affectionately
V. S. Srinivasan

Although Sastri lacked "the rich and exuberant imagery of Lal Mohan Ghose, the fiery energy of Pherozechah Mehta or the tempestuous passion of Surendranath Banerjee", nevertheless he had something in him which enabled him to steal a march over his contemporaries. His love for "structural proportion 'of the speech', his delicate sensitiveness to the music of words and a scientific appreciation of its power" were bewitching. And it looked as if, to use Surendranath's expression in a different context, he had laid, "in the chambers of his mind a store house of noble thoughts and fine vocabulary, ready at his command to form varied combinations". The words and thoughts "moved forward in serried procession for him to pick and choose or modify, for the deliverance of his message".⁴ His heart inspired; the mind wilfully obeyed and the result was a fascinating oration. The words burnt, glowed and sparkled and 'set his soul on fire'. The heart touched the tongue with 'celestial fire'.

Gardiner's eulogy of Lord Asquith's speeches that "the sentences of his ordinary speeches marched into action like disciplined units marshalled and drilled" and that "every word had its mark,"⁵ is applicable in no less a degree to this one time school teacher of Madras.

The music of his words, the smoothness of his delivery, the development of his thought brick by brick like a master architect, and the perfect polished finish of his speeches, which made somebody call him out of envious disgust 'the silver-tongued orator of the East'⁶ challenged comparison with 'the supreme masters of the spoken word' such as Burke, Carlyle, Froude and Morley.

Sastri had unique self-confidence. He would address an assembly of world's seasoned statesmen and politicians on the baffling problems of international relations, disarmament and peace, in the same unruffled manner, and with the same poise, efficacy and authority, with which he taught his students the simple rules of pronunciation and grammar, while working as a teacher in the Municipal High School, Mayavaram, in 1888 or subsequently, in 1899 on becoming Headmaster of the Hindu High School, Triplicane.

Rev. A. G. Fraser was so much under the magic spell of Sastri that he called him "the greatest master of English", and went further to the extent of saying: "It would be easier to find a married man who has not quarrelled with his wife than a listener who has not been impressed by this man of exquisite words".⁷

All over the globe Sastri had a large circle of admirers, nay worshippers of his excellent command over the English language which, to mention only half a dozen, included men of such high distinction like Lord Birkenhead, Thomas Smart, Stanley Baldwin, Earl Balfour, Lloyd George and Mahatma Gandhi.⁸

In the conservative estimate of Balfour he ranked among 'the five best speakers' under the sun.

Like his other speeches, Sastri's speech on disarmament at the Washington Conference created an unprecedented stir and took the whole civilized world by storm. A distinguished American scholar Elmer Davis commented, after the speech, that Sastri spoke English a shade better, if anything, than any other member of the British Delegation. Incidentally the delegation included men of no less repute and accomplishments than Earl Balfour himself.

The Imperial Conference of 1921, discovered in Sastri a world orator. Hypnotized so much by the profundity, mellifluous flavour of expression, fluency or the so-called 'gift of the gab' of the Valangaiman Brahmin, that the Briton in spite of his undiluted conservatism, was forced to welcome him into the Privy Council.⁹ London must have congratulated herself, for the award of the Freedom of the city to Sastri, as some American congratulated the British Empire, for possessing such a superb speaker, after he had heard Sastri's speech.

No one knew that a poor school boy from 'the slumbering East' would attain so much prominence and distinction as to teach the West at the second Assembly of the League of Nations, in 1921, the principles of politics, Hindu ideals and statecraft, paradoxically, in tones unknown and expressions unfamiliar.

Whether in India, Australia, Canada or in South Africa, Sastri pleaded for ideals which were dear to his heart, and ideas which he cherished throughout his life. Although circumstances forced him to accept official appointments, nevertheless, he was not merely a representative of the British Crown; he was the de facto exponent of the sentiments of the Indian people. Sarojini Naidu paid him the highest compliment by calling him the greatest

ambassador of Indian thought and culture after Rabindranath Tagore.¹⁰

A moderate by political opinion, Sastri's liberalism, like Mahatma Gandhi's concept of non-violence and satyagraha, was based on the solid moral force of his personality. A nationalist to the backbone, Sastri discovered a pragmatic approach to politics and patriotism.

On May 14, 1930, Sastri addressed a meeting of the British M. Ps. in London on Indian problems. The speech was so much forceful and convincing that it became impossible for a hardboiled Torrey Colonel to reserve his comments. In tremendous disgust and excitement he burst out:

"If this Man is one of the moderates, what on earth are the extremists like?"¹¹

We may conclude this futile endeavour to assess the greatness of Sastri as an orator with the remarks of Mahadeva Desai.

"There are very few men in our public life of the versatility and his wonderful mastery of the English language. Purist there are many, but none who has Sastri's, mastery of the speech and the pen. There are many who have his eloquence but none of these can come near him in his acuteness of perception, wisdom, and knowledge of affairs. What Johnson said of Burke may be truly said of Sastri: "He is an extraordinary man. His stream of mind is perpetual".

1. K. P. Kashava Memon :
Times of Ceylon, Sunday Illustrated, January 17, 1937 : Srinivasa Sastri, the Servant of India.

2. S. P. Saksena Ed. :
Indian Autobiographies, Oxford University Press, 1951, p. 86-87.

3. T. N. Jagadisan Ed. :

Letters of Srinivasa Sastri, Asia Publishing House, 1963, p. 277.

4. S. P. Saksena Ed. :

Indian Autobiographies, Oxford University Press, 1951, p. 87.

5. K. P. Kashava Memon :

The Times of Ceylon, Sunday Illustrated, January 17, 1937, Srinivasa Sastri, the Servant of India.

6. It was Thomas Smart who dubbed him as the Empire's Silver Tongued Orator.

7. Janus :

The Ceylon Daily News, January 16, 1937 ; "Public Voice of India No. One."

8. Mahatma Gandhi was a great admirer of Sastri. He was so much impressed by his command over the English language that he requested him to revise his autobiography :

'The Experiments with Truth.' When Gandhi received the news of Sastri's death, whom he used to regard as his elder brother, he burst into tears and wrote :

"Death has removed not only from us but from the world one of India's best sons. That he loved India passionately everyone who knew him could see.....His Sanskrit learning was as great as, if not greater than, his English. I must permit myself to say no more save this that, though we differed in politics, our hearts were one, and could never think that his patriotism was less than the tallest patriot. Sastri, the man lives though his body is reduced to ashes" (The Right Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri - A Political Biography by P. Kodanda Rao—p. 436 Asia Publishing House, 1963 p. 436.)

9. Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri became a Privy Councillor in 1921.

10. P. Kodanda Rao : The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri—A Political Biography, Asia Publishing House, 1963. p. 426.

"Next to Ravindranath Tagore, Sastri was the greatest ambassador and interpreter of Indian Culture abroad".—Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.

11. The Indian Review, Volume XXXI, 1930, p. 428, "Mr. Sastri In England".

AGRICULTURAL LABOUR IN BIHAR

GIRISH MISHRA

BIHAR is the second largest state of India from the point of view of aggregate population (4,64,55,610) and the 3rd in order of density of population (694) ¹

During 1951-'61 there was an increase of 20 per cent in the population of the state. If we take the preceding 50 years (i.e. the period 1911-'61) the growth rate has been 64 per cent (i.e. an absolute growth of over 18 million). The increased population on the same land area has meant a higher density per square mile, the average figure going from 319 (in 1921) to 694 (in 1961). The all-India figure of 358 is far lower than what it is for Bihar.

Bihar is one of the most ruralised states in India. According to 1961 census, over 91 per cent of the total population, lives in villages. Bihar has only 153 towns while Andhra, Gujrat, M.P., Madras, Maharashtra, Mysore, Punjab, U.P. and West Bengal have 223, 181, 219, 339, 266, 231, 189, 267 and 184 towns respectively. In all the districts except Patna and Singhbhum, the percentage of the rural population to the total population is above 90 per cent.

The rate of urbanisation in Bihar is very slow. The percentage of urban to total population has risen from 4.5 to 8 (approx.) during 1921-61. But even this has not made any impact on the occupational pattern. According to 1961 census, of the total working population 53.87 per cent were cultivators, 22.97 per cent were agricultural labourers, 3.39 per cent were engaged in mining, quarrying, live-stock, forestry, fishing, hunting and plantations, orchards and allied activities; 5.50 per cent were working in the household industries; 2.22 per cent were engaged in manufacturing other than household industry; 0.56 per cent were employed in construction work, 2.72 per cent were working in trade and

commerce, 1.20 per cent were engaged in transport, storage and communications and 7.57 per cent were employed in other services. Most of the towns are over-grown villages and not true urban communities. The increase in the urban population during the last decades was not basically the result of the expansion of industries. Most of the cities in the Gangetic plain have grown owing to their being centres of Government administration with facilities for education and communications. No scope was provided for easing the pressure on land.

The proportion of earning populations actually dependent on agriculture increased from 78.7 per cent in 1931 to 87.3 per cent in 1951 while the proportion of earning population dependent on industry has gone down from 4.3 per cent to 2.5 per cent. This indicates, in a sense, increasing ruralisation. Thus, we see that Bihar's economy is not only highly ruralised, but it is also very undiversified.

The agricultural population in rural areas forms the bulk of the population. Cultivating labourers and their dependents are in a relatively large number in Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga. The predominance of agriculture is most marked in the North Bihar plain, particularly in the districts of Champaran and Saran.

In 1951, over 86 per cent of the total population was directly dependent on agriculture. The 1961 census revealed a significant change. Cultivators and agricultural labourers together with those engaged in forestry etc., were found to constitute a little over 80 per cent of the total occupied population in 1961. But this does not mean that the absolute burden on agriculture has gone down. In 1951, 11.38 million people were working in agriculture while in 1961, 14.78 million people were found to be working i.e. an increase of 3.39 millions.

The number of cultivators has increased by 27.1 per cent while the number of agricultural

1. This is true only if we consider the major states.

workers has gone up by 36.5 per cent. This reflects the inevitable process of pauperisation. The cumulative effect of intense demographic pressures, slow urbanisation, scarcity of non-agricultural employment and stagnant agriculture has been wide-spread causing rural unemployment and under-employment.² Not only the absolute burden of agricultural labourers on a limited area has gone up, but Bihar's share in the total landless agricultural workers has gone up from 11.7 per cent to 14.03 per cent. On the other hand Bihar's percentage share in the total net area sown has gone down from 7.71 to 6.07 and also the Bihar's percentage share in the total number of cultivators has decreased from 11.67 per cent in 1951 to 10.41 per cent in 1961.

From the above figures, the following facts emerge : (i) the net cultivated area in Bihar has failed to keep pace with the growth in the net cultivated area in the country as a whole ; (ii) the growth in the number of cultivators has been proportionately lower than that in the number of agricultural workers owing mainly to the conversion of cultivators into labourers ; because the other possibility of the settlement of labourers outside the state on a faster rate is not plausible. We shall see this while discussing emigration; and (iii) both in 1951 and in 1961, the land area available per agricultural worker in Bihar was lower than what it was for the country as a whole. In 1951 Bihar shared 11.67 per cent of cultivators and 11.77 per cent of agricultural labourers of the country but only 7.71 per cent of the total land area of the country. In 1961, it had 10.41 per cent of cultivators and 14.05 per cent of agricultural workers living on 6.07 per cent the total land area only. Further, in 1951, there were 32 cultivators and 15 agricultural labourers per 100 net sown acres in Bihar against the all-India figure of 25 cultivators and 10 agricultural labourers. In 1961, Bihar had 53 cultivators and 22 labourers per 100 sown acres against the all-India figures of 31 cultivators and 10 labourers.

In 1961, Bihar had 67,665 inhabited villages with the total rural population of 4,25,41,690. The total number of agricultural labourers in

Bihar was 44,18,475 consisting of 25,74,239 males and 18,44,236 females.

The district-wise distribution of agricultural labourers was as follows :

Districts	Total Population	Total number of agricultural labourers
Patna	29,49,746	2,96,363
Gaya	36,47,892	4,34,364
Shahabad	32,18,017	2,80,999
Saran	35,84,918	2,38,823
Champaran	30,06,211	4,56,763
Muzaffarpur	41,13,398	4,38,321
Daibhanga	44,13,027	5,42,889
Monghyr	33,87,082	3,64,618
Bhagalpur	17,11,136	2,01,227
Saharsa	17,23,566	2,29,110
Purnea	30,89,128	3,59,672
Santhal Pargana	26,75,203	1,24,396
Palamau	11,87,789	1,38,182
Hazaribagh	23,96,441	1,10,070
Ranchi	21,38,565	67,506
Dhanbad	11,58,610	24,797
Singhbhum	20,49,911	1,30,375

The bulk of the agricultural workers come from scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other backward castes. At most of the places, the poor people of the upper castes also work as agricultural labourers ; but they do not form a comparatively big proportion of their total population. The people in Bihar are not only extremely poor and illiterate but they are socially very backward. The local custom does not permit the upper caste people viz. Brahmins, Bhumihars, Rajputs and Kayasthas to handle the plough. Thus the land-owners amongst these communities depend mostly on hired or attached labour for most of the agricultural operations. This system has a bad impact on the productivity of land. The hired or attached labourers or the cultivators, without any ownership on land, cannot have any interest in making either permanent improvements in land or in putting adequate inputs.

During the British regime, the agricultural labourers of Bihar were semi-slaves. The land for settlement and the debt made them tied to the owners of land as 'Bandhua Kamias' (i.e. tied labourers). Shri Dinkar Desai quoting an

2. A Techno-economic Survey of Bihar—NCAER.

official report in his article published in 'Indian Sociologist, July, 1942,' wrote that the average agricultural labourer was not infrequently compelled in times of stress to mortgage his personal liberty. In return for a small sum of money which he might happen to need at that moment, he agreed to serve the man from whom he had borrowed. The money was not repaid, nor was it intended to be repaid, but the borrower remained a life-long bond-slave of his creditor. For his work he merely received an inadequate dole of food and to all intents and purposes, was in the position of a medieval serf. The serf is called by various names such as Kamia, Jan, Jana, Janouri, Banihar, Banihara, Asami, Harwar-Marwar, etc.

Without the permission of the landlords, the serf was not free to go anywhere or to work for others. The families of Kamias were also obliged to become the Kamias of the landlords concerned. They had to render 'begar' (i.e. forced labour) at a very low wage. They were economically very poor and socially and culturally extremely backward. As they came mostly from lower castes, they were forbidden from touching the body, meals and water of the upper caste-people. In short, they had to live a life of poverty, slavery and insult.

The freedom movement and the Harijan movement launched under the leadership of Gandhiji aroused a new hope in them and their struggle for a new life began.

After 1947, each caste got the right to equality without any discrimination. Facilities in respect of education, settlement and employment were provided. After the abolition of zamindari, forced labour has disappeared from most of the places. The exaction of forced labour is punishable under Article 23(1) of the Constitution. Thus they are legally free but economic compulsions are still there. Laws have been enacted to protect them from the clutches of the money-lenders and provisions have been made to give them land for settlement. Vinoba Bhave's movement was also directed at ending landlessness.

But in spite of all the laws and pious hopes, no basic change has taken place in their economic conditions. Still they are just like slaves groaning under the weight of indebtedness.

It is sometimes said that the people in the state are relatively lethargic and are prone to be satisfied with a low standard of living rather than exert for economic betterment and as a result of this, the cultural practices are poor and intensive cultivation rare. There is some truth in these impressions but I do not believe that they reflect in any way on the inherent qualities of the people.

Let us now consider the situation in detail.

A sample survey of land-holdings and cultivation was carried out in the state in 1954-55. The number of individual holdings was estimated at 6.1 million comprising agricultural land of 17 million acres. The average size of an individual holding was thus 2.8 acres but the most common holding was under one acre. Individual holdings of sizes up to 5 acres constituted about 85 per cent of the total number of holdings but they comprised less than 15 per cent of the total area, while the number of holdings above 10 acres formed less than 5 per cent of the total holdings but comprised 30 per cent of the total area. The number of holdings below 5 acres formed about 78 per cent of the total holdings with about 35 per cent of the total area in 1951-55 as against 77 per cent of the total number of holdings with about 32 per cent of the total area in 1950-51. Broadly speaking, in 1951-55, 78.8 per cent of the rural families owned agricultural land, while 21.2 per cent were landless. The unequal distribution of land is a contributory cause to inefficiency in agriculture. If cost accounting is applied, agriculture is not a profitable industry except for the people with large land holdings. As the uneconomic holdings predominate, profitability is negligible. There has arisen a contradiction in agriculture. The cultivators holding less than 15 acres of land cannot pay more to the labourers because theirs is a losing industry. On the other hand, the agricultural labourers cannot even keep body and soul together with the traditional wage.

In Bihar, there are two types of agricultural labourers: (i) Kamias and (ii) Chhuttas (i.e. free labourers). We have said something of the Kamias. Besides them, there are Chhuttas who are not tied to any particular peasant. They may enter into an agreement to work for a landlord for a specific period by borrowing some

money or a piece of land. At some places, it is agreed that the money will be deemed to have been paid off after a year or so. Most of the village craftsmen have also joined the ranks of the chhuttas for whole-time or part-time work because their crafts are not in prosperous conditions.

During the pre-independence period, the labourers had to sign 'Kamiauti' agreements to get loans for marriage ceremonies, thus tying themselves to the landlords. Though in the eyes of law, Kamiauti system has been abolished, in practice it still continues. The hereditary Kamias still exist. The great-grandfather borrowed money on the occasion of the marriage ceremony of the grandfather and made him a Kamia, the same thing was repeated in the case of the marriage ceremony of the father and so on. The agricultural labourer during the old days, used to get 1 to 1.25 mds of rice and pulse, one sari, one kurti (or 'Jhula') and hardly three-four rupees for his son's marriage from the land lord. The entire borrowing amounted to 20-25 rupees (approximately). The debt was never paid back in the father's life-time and was shifted to the son and thus went on accumulating. At some places, we find three living generations as Kamias. Even if the Kamias want to pay back the loans, the landlords find some excuse to refuse acceptance. The agricultural labourers are compelled to leave their hearth and home because of the intensified oppressions. In villages, a 60-year old labourer will have to tolerate all sorts of abuses. Even a child of the landlord will address him in filthy language and he will have to bear it silently; but in the towns, he has greater freedom. None can compel him to ply his rickshaw, if he does not want to. His earning is comparatively higher. Hence the labourers leave the villages. This may be called 'distress migration'. The young, healthy, and more adventurous people migrate from the villages leaving behind children, women, old, unhealthy and the less enterprising part of the population. It is not easy to measure the impact of such migrations on the local economy, but since it is forced on the people by sheer economic impulse resulting in the above pattern, it is bound to be adverse. The landlords put obstacles in the way of their working elsewhere

in the same area. The rich peasants combine together and apply social and economic sanctions against them. In some areas, the old Kamias are as much as 60 per cent of the total population.

These days, the landlords often take thumb- impressions of the labourers on pieces of blank paper thus the labourer is always in the clutches of the landlord.

The following table shows the percentage distribution of agricultural labour households with and without land.

Period	Percentage of Agricultural Labour Households	
	With land	Without land
1950-51	64.11	35.80
1956-57	61.22	38.78

Source:—Agricultural Labour in India, Vol XIV Bihar (1962).

The proportion of households without land increased from 36 per cent in 1950-51 to 39 per cent in 1956-57. The growth of this class may be accounted for by the system of land tenures, by the increase of absentee landlords, by the transfer of land from the hands of their creditors, by the deteriorating man-land ratio, by the displacement of village crafts and industries due to the spread and use of machine-made products, by the gradual transformation of the old village economy resting on custom and payment in kind into a price economy based on contract. It is also seen that in a normal decade when there are no famines or epidemics, the landless labourers tend to increase faster than the rest of the rural population. In villages we witness an agrarian structure of a pyramidal character, with a small number of landlords owning large tracts of land and at the bottom thousands of farmers owning small plots and landless labourers. According to the report of the Bihar Unemployment Committee (1960), the total redundant population depending on land was 43,78,400. This surplus agricultural population sunk in abject poverty is one of the formidable obstacles to the planned economic development of the state.

There has been a large increase in the proportion of attached labour households, to some extent, owing to the employment of farm servants

in large numbers, on account of the resumption of lands for personal cultivation by big land-owners as a result of the land reforms.

During the 1956-57 Agricultural Labour Enquiry, earning strength of the household was composed of earners and earning dependents. An earner was one whose income was sufficient for his own maintenance, and an earning dependent was one whose earnings were considered to be inadequate for his own maintenance. The family size in 1956-57 was 4.8 indicating an increase of 0.3 persons over that of 1950-51. The wage-earning strength, however, had declined from 2.2 in 1950-51 to 1.85 in 1956-57. Of the total earning strength of 1.85 persons in 1956-57, 1.18 were men, 0.57 women and 0.10 children. Men and children maintained same relative importance at both the points of time, while women showed a decline in their number from 0.9 in 1950-51 to 0.57 in 1956-57.

For the bulk of the labour in rural areas agricultural employments are the main source of livelihood. Employment in agriculture is seasonal, intermittent and on a limited scale. The holdings are of small size. Hence the increasing pressure of population on land results in the deterioration of employment opportunities. The agricultural labourers are compelled to search for employment outside the agricultural sector. They have to migrate to find employment in industries and other sectors. Not only this but the employment available in agriculture is meagre, uncertain, seasonal and at low wages. "Wages in this field of primary production are at a low level, firstly because of low farm incomes due to defective organisation, and secondly due to the unorganised nature and ineffective bargaining position of the agricultural labourers".³ The landlords often succeed in their efforts of disrupting the labour movement by arousing caste feelings, instituting concocted criminal cases and exploiting their internal dissensions. The police officials and revenue officials usually are hand in glove with them.

The demand for labour on the farms depends on various factors viz. the nature of crops grown, soil fertility, the size of cultivated holdings,

climate, intensity of cultivation and the general agrarian prosperity. There are few agricultural units which employ labourers throughout the year. Most of the units employ casual and seasonal agricultural labour. From the point of view of supply, the labour available on farm is usually over-abundant. Agriculture is usually conducted on family basis. There is always under-employment and unemployment in it. During the peak seasons such as sowing, transplanting and harvesting, large numbers of labourers get employment; but during other periods they have to sit idle or go out in search of employment. Thus the insufficiency or non-availability of work is the main cause of under-employment and unemployment. Disguised unemployment is also there, but it is very difficult to determine its extent with sufficient accuracy. The Kamaias are in relatively constant employment. The women and children are employed in less strenuous work. They seek employment only to supplement the family income. They are paid at a lower rate. Their employment results in pulling down the volume of employment as also earning capacity of adult male workers.

The wage rates vary from region to region. They depend upon rainfall, soil fertility, irrigation facilities, the crop pattern, the size and distribution of holdings, the proportion of different categories of households, the development of rural industries, industrial prosperity of the region, mobility of labour, custom, the type of labour, and the age and sex composition of labourers. Agricultural wages are usually lower than industrial wages owing to low agrarian prosperity, excessive supply of labour on farms and the unorganised and illiterate nature of agricultural labour.

Wages are usually paid in cash, kind and cash-and-kind. If a labourer is employed for the whole day, it means he has to work for 10 to 12 hours with a break of 1 to 1½ hours in the noon.

In 1956-57, 27.21 per cent of the total wage was paid in cash, 65.29 per cent was paid in kind and 7.50 per cent was paid in both kind and cash.⁴ The system of cash payments is

3. Agricultural Labour in India Vol. XIV
—Bihar Page 24 (1962).

4. Agricultural Labour in India Vol. XIV
Bihar (1962) P. 34.

mostly in vogue in the cash crops producing areas of the districts of Champaran (sugarcane and jute), Muzaffarpur (sugarcane and tobacco), Darbhanga (sugarcane, tobacco, jute and chillies), Saharsa and Purnea (Jute) and that of payments in kind are generally observed in the districts of Bhagalpur, Gaya, Patna, Shahabad and Hazaribagh where cereals are extensively sown.

According to the Second Agricultural Labour Enquiry, the wage rates for both men and women declined considerably in 1956-57 over those of 1950-51. Wages of casual male workers had dropped down to 91 P in 1956-57 from 126 P in 1950-51 i.e. by 28 per cent, while wages of women declined by 33 per cent. from 111 P in 1950-51 to 74 P in 1956-57. The decline in wages may be somewhat smaller if we make allowances for differences in the procedures of conversion of wages paid in kind into cash and also for the differences in prices of foodgrains.

The following table constructed on the basis of figures supplied by the Second Agricultural Labour Enquiry shows the wages of casual adult male workers, women workers and child workers in different operations in 1956-57 :

	Ploughing	Weeding	Trans-planting	Harvest- ing	Sowing
Adult Male	94 nP	89 nP	101 nP	92 nP	—
„ Female	—	61 nP	85 nP	73 nP	87 nP
„ Child	53 nP	71 nP	83 nP	73 nP	88 nP

The wages are paid mostly in terms of inferior corn except during the peak seasons. At some places a glass of cane-juice or a chhatak of wet gram with onion or gur is provided as breakfast. For lunch, the labourers usually get bread prepared with barley or 'madua' flour or 'sattu' prepared from Khesari, maize or barley. Wages are paid according to "small weights" or "katcha seer." The complaints regarding short weights are often made.

Though minimum wages have been fixed in the state under the Minimum Wages Act, 1948 and notifications made from time to time, there is no machinery to enforce them. Hence they exist only on paper. The usual rates are 2/3rd of the minimum wages fixed by the

Government. Transplanting wages for men are 2 to 2½ seers of paddy with lunch. For harvesting the labourer gets one in eight bundles of harvested crop in Champaran district to one in twelve or sixteen bundles of harvested crop in the districts of Hazaribagh, Palamau, Gaya, Darbhanga, Monghyr, Patna and Shahabad. The labourer has to perform all sorts of work from harvesting to processing of grain. He gets some corn in the form of 'lodha,' 'antia,' 'bichhia,' 'muthia,' etc.

Formerly, the big zamindars used to give 'khijmati' jagir to 'ponies' (such as washerman, barber, potter, etc.) and servants. The labourers had some land for 'bari' or 'kheturi' (i.e. kitchen gardening). After the abolition of Zamindari the labourers have lost them.

Still at some places some land is given to the labourer on yearly basis, the produce is meant for the consumption of the labourer and his family. From an enquiry conducted by the Bihar Rajya Khet Mazdoor Sabha in 1963, about 25 per cent of the agricultural labourers have got 4-5 Kathas of land as jagir. The rest of the labourers have got a few kathas of land on crop-sharing basis. Generally, the landlord takes 2½

seers of the produce per katha in the name of 'Khalihan' and 'Bihan' in some of the districts besides his usual share of 50 per cent of the total produce. Some of these landlords take away the entire quantity of chaff and hay. It is in the interests of the landlords to give Jagir and 'batai' land. With the produce of this type of land, it is easy for them to get back their loan. The labourers are always afraid of the seizure of the crop as they do not have any documentary evidence to establish their ownership.

According to the Techno-Economic Survey of Bihar (NCAER), agricultural employment is

5. One acre=15 to 30 Kathas of land.

available to male workers for only 167 days in the year while the all India average is 189 days. Non-agricultural employment is available to male workers for only 33 days and is mostly found in rice pounding, flour grinding, fuel splitting, building, trade, railway stations, mines and factories. Chhotanagpur provides the least agricultural employment (132 days) in a year and greater opportunity (56 days) for non-agricultural work.

Annual average earnings in agriculture in Bihar are estimated at Rs. 210 and for the lowest paid unskilled workers in industry at Rs. 445. The average level of annual earning of agricultural workers in agricultural and non-agricultural operations together is lower in Bihar (Rs. 217) than in U.P. (Rs. 393) and West Bengal (Rs. 412). According to the Second Agricultural Labour Enquiry, the average annual income of all agricultural labour households recorded a fall of Rs. 115 or by 21 per cent in 1956-57 over that of 1950-51. The per capita income of casual and attached households was Rs. 119 and Rs. 153 in 1950-51 which declined to Rs. 84 and Rs. 94 respectively in 1956-57.

The average annual consumption expenditure of agricultural labour households by consumption groups is as follows. This does not include expenditure on ceremonies: 31.7 per cent of the total expenditure on food, 4.6 per cent on clothing and footwear, 3.2 per cent on fuel and lighting and 5.5 per cent on miscellaneous items. The average expenditure comes to about to Rs. 617.

The incomes of the labourers are normally insufficient and their requirements for making outlays for purposes of consumption and production necessitate borrowings. Debts contracted by them mostly turn out to be non-productive—for consumption purposes, for marriages and other ceremonial occasions. The high debts multiplied themselves at higher rates of interest, and coupled with the wide gap between normal income and domestic expenditure aggravate the economic conditions of the labour households, thus making debts a regular feature with them. The proportion of indebted households increased from 42 in 1950-51 to 68 in 1956-57. This rise in the proportion of indebted households was mainly due to high expenditure and lack of scope for

supplementing meagre incomes from wage employment, by other subsidiary occupations and self-enterprises. The average debt per household was Rs. 97 in 1956-57. Taking the indebted households alone into consideration, the average debt of casual and attached households was Rs. 119 per household was Rs. 142 in 1956-57. 66 per cent of the total debt was incurred for consumption expenditure. Spending on social purposes like marriages, births, and other social and religious ceremonies accounted for 232.5 per cent of the total debt in 1956-57. The main sources of borrowing are agricultural money-lenders and shop-keepers. Foodgrains are lent at 'Sawai' (one fourth of the principal as rate of interest) or at 'Dedhi' (one half of the principal as rate of interest) or 'Chhada' and 'Murkati'. According to Report of the Bihar Rajya Khet Mazdoor Sabha in some parts of Gaya and Monghyr, if somebody borrows one maund of paddy in August-September, he will have to pay $1\frac{1}{2}$ maunds of paddy in November-December or $2\frac{1}{4}$ maunds of Rabbi in April-May. If one borrows inferior corn, one will have to pay back in superior corn. When loan is given in terms of cash, the rate of interest is usually 6 paise per rupee per month. The rate of interest varies from 37.5 per cent to 75 per cent per annum. At times the loan given in kind is converted into cash. Suppose one maund of paddy was borrowed in August-September and at that time it cost Rs. 16 and in November-December, it was agreed to pay 2 seers per rupee as Chhada and paddy worth Rs. 16 at an agreed price usually much lower than the market price. If it be Rs. 10 per maund in our case, one would have to pay 32 seers as chhada and one maund and 24 seers of paddy for Rs. 16. It all comes to about 2 maunds and 16 seers in all. The rate of interest is 140 per cent for three months only. There is an increasing need for subsistence credit in times of under-employment. A very large number of debtors with uneconomic holdings are practically rural insolvents. The largest amounts of mortgage loans by private money-lenders are in the prospering districts of Shahabad, Muzaffarpur, Champaran and Saran. The amount of distress sale is large. Generally the standing crop is sold. The agricultural money-lenders take away the entire produce at the barn and the labourer comes back empty handed and with a large portion of

the unpaid debt on his back. He has to sell at the lowest price prevalent and has to buy again at the maximum price. Thus he is exploited intensively. Cost of living is rising—expenditure on ceremonies, education, medical treatment, clothes, fares, umbrella, footwear have gone up. Even primary education (in spite of its being 'free') is not within their reach. A student of class IV has to spend more than Rs. 16 on books, not a single book costs less than Re. 1. This leads to concentration of land into the hands of a few people. The small peasants depending entirely on agriculture are losing their land and are swelling the ranks of the agricultural labourers.

The co-operatives and the development works have benefitted only the privileged classes. Administrative inefficiency, corruption and red-tapism are widely prevalent. The personal enquiries conducted by Prof. Thorner (published in the Economic Weekly some years back) lend support to this assertion. To quote Dr. P. C. Joshi, "... The principal beneficiary has been largely the traditionally privileged and economically powerful section of land-owners and farmers . . . on account of its superior social and economic position re-enforced by its political connections it has derived the main advantage from development programmes . . ."

The rural works programme initiated to benefit the labourers has failed to make any impact on their conditions in this state owing to the provision of having to contribute 50 per cent of the expenditure by the labourers and lack of interest on the part of the Government of Bihar (upto 1963 the programme could be initiated only in 30 blocks while the target was 80 blocks).

Bihar Money-lenders Acts of 1938 and 1939 prohibit exorbitant rates of interest and insist on the compulsory registration of money-lenders. There is hardly any machinery, however, to implement their provisions. One major defect in them is that only those money-lenders whose business involves loans of more than Rs. 500 require registration. If a man has a wife and four sons, he can give loans upto Rs. 3,000 and handnotes can be executed in his name and the names of his wife and sons (upto Rs. 500 in each case).

The land reforms have resulted in the confiscation of jagir land, prohibition on the use

of forests for taking fuels and tending animals, reclamation of waste land etc. As most of the fallow land has been reclaimed, the labourers, usually the women folk have difficulties in regard to urinals and latrines. There is no road for taking animals from the house. There is no land for skinning animals and burning the corpse.

Emigration has registered a fall. It dropped from 419 per 10,000 of the population in 1931 to 381 in 1951. This decline was largely attributed to the slackening of demand for unskilled labour in the tea-gardens of Assam and in the fields, factories, mills, dockyards of West Bengal. The number of emigrants has further declined since 1951. Neither the economy of West Bengal nor the plantations of Assam has been able to absorb the continuous flow of emigrants from Bihar.

Agricultural labourers migrate to towns at times with families, to take to jobs like rickshaw pulling, building and construction projects, laying of roads and repairing them, cart driving and work in factories, mines and forests. They have little inducement at home between December and April when there is much work in the fields. They migrate to West Bengal and Assam.

In the matter of education privileges have been given only to the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes. Among the backward castes, the poor people have not benefitted.

The Bhoodan and Gramdan movements have failed to do anything for the people. Most of the land donated are disputed, rocky and "non-existent" and the rest has not been fully distributed as yet. Village industries have not made any significant impact because of administrative inefficiency.

North Bihar has been neglected in the matter of industrialisation; only sugar mills working for 3-4 months a year exist. There is scope for paper mills, jute mills etc. but the Government has not done anything.

There are two major problems viz. land for settlement and drinking water. The Government has declared its policy to settle the fallow and "gait mazrua" land with the people belonging to the scheduled tribes and the scheduled castes for construction of their houses. Petitions are lying with the revenue officials but nothing has been done for years. The labourers, at many places, have been evicted from their home-

estate land by the landlords for they have no documentary evidence to establish their ownership. At the time of Zamindari abolition large scale tampering with records took place. The verification of records ('field bujhavat') has not been conducted properly.

Besides this, the Government has not made any provision for the settlement of the new members of the agricultural labour family and the homeless people.

In the district of Champaran, the land belonging to the Bettiah estate was settled not with the poor people of the district, who actually possessed it; but with the rich people of the district and the political leaders having hundreds of acres of land from the outside.

Most of the 'tolas' (i.e. wards) of the labourers particularly scheduled castes and scheduled tribes go without a well or tube-well. At some places, the wells meant for them have been sunk in front of the houses of the rich people. The wells have not been properly sunk in their wards. Most of them dry up during summer. Materials and bricks of the third rate quality have been used.

"The lack of interest and laziness among the labourers are due to moist, enervating and malarial climate and the extreme conditions of poverty for many generations, when after a full day's work people do not get two square meals. Droughts and floods make the only available occupation of farming completely uncertain and unremunerative, and lack of basic medical and public health facilities expose the under-nourished people to many diseases. It is no wonder that the people are apt to lose faith in work and become fatalists.prejudice and ignorance prevent people from using modern techniques.Many people do not take to highly remunerative activities such as poultry, piggery and fisheries development purely on caste considerations. Though they are full of potentialitiestheir adoption is restricted to a few communities only."⁶

Radical institutional reforms are the need of the hour.

6. The observation of the Joint Study Team on Eastern U.P. which apply fully to Bihar.



WATER, HISTORY AND THE INDUS PLAIN

GEORGE C. TAYLOR, Jr.

Water—underground or in rivers, lakes and glaciers—has for millennia markedly affected the trend of human affairs throughout the world. In the Indus region of southwest Asia, it has been a vital factor in man's social and economic evolution. Stretching in a great arc around the northern and western flanks of the Indian subcontinent, this vast region of mountains and plains covers some 350,000 square miles (910,000 square kilometers), all of which are drained by the network of the Indus River and its tributaries.

The geologic evolution of the present river system probably dates back to Early Tertiary time, about 65 million years ago, and began with folding and upthrust first of the mountain chains of the Hindu Kush and Himalaya north and northeast of the Indus region and later of the Karakoram and Sulaiman ranges in the west. Concurrent with these mountain-building movements a great trough began to subside in the earth's crust between these mountain belts and the Indian peninsula to the south. The upbuilding of the mountain chains continued during Tertiary time through the Pleistocene and on into the Recent Epoch until the summits of the higher peaks rose to their present heights of 25,000 feet (7,500 meters) or more above sea level. Meanwhile headwater torrents of the Indus and its tributaries cut deeply into the soft rock strata of the rising mountains and carved an intricate network of intermontane valleys, canyons and gorges, many of which are now several thousand feet below the mountain tops. The erosive action reached its climax in the Himalaya and the Hindu Kush where weathering and running water stripped away thousands of cubic miles of rock. The eroded debris, transported down stream by river flow, was laid down as an alluvial fill in the subsiding trough—in fan-shaped aprons of interlocking gravel near the footslopes of the mountains and, farther down stream, in the vast, flat and seemingly endless

plains of the Indus that slope gently southwestward to the Arabian Sea. Ultimately this a graded fill of sand, silt and clay extended across a lateral distance of 200 to 400 miles (320 to 640 kilometers) and almost 1,000 miles (1,600 kilometers) from the Himalayan foothills to the Indus Delta. Near the edges of the trough the fill accumulated to depths of several hundred feet; over its center it attained a thickness of several thousand feet.

Most of the present morphology of the Indus region resulted from the activity of mountain building, forces weathering and running water. Glacial ice has played an equally important role in the evolution of the existing land forms, particularly in the Himalaya and the Hindu Kush where upper slopes are scarred everywhere by ice-work. During the Pleistocene these mountains bore numerous valley glaciers, some of which descended in continuous sheets, or piedmont glaciers. At times their tongues descended valleys to depths as low as 6,000 feet (1,800 meters), whereas present Himalayan glaciers all head at 10,000 to 15,000 meters. At least three and probably four glacial episodes left their records in Hindu Kush valleys and intermontane basins as moraine fan sheets, glacial lake beds and river terrace deposits. These glacial episodes correlate with pluvial cycles of high stream discharge and heavy sedimentation in the Indus Plain. Correspondingly, the interglacial episodes are related to the drier interpluvial cycles during which streams of the Indus system deeply eroded older alluvial deposits.

Archaeologists have discovered evidence of primitive man's occupation of the Indus region in a number of prehistoric sites in Kashmir and Punjab mainly on river terraces along the Soan River between the Himalayan foothills and the Indus River and along the Indus itself between Attock and the mouth of the Soan. The oldest



The Indus Valley extends for over a thousand miles from the Himalayas to the Arabian Sea

historic culture recorded in the region is the Harappa civilization, named for its principal archeological site on the Ravi River in Punjab. Reaching full flower in the time of Sargon of Akkad in Mesopotamia about 2300 B.C., the Harappa civilization may have had its beginnings as long as 4,500 years ago. The Harappans probably belonged to the same Dravidian stock that today forms the population nucleus of the southern part of the Indian peninsula. After a period of decline that was probably the result of a compound of man-made and natural disasters, Aryan invaders from central Asia finally overwhelmed the Harappans about 1500 B.C.

The Harappan culture covered a far wider geographic range than any other known pre-classical civilization, for archeological sites have been found scattered through the plains of the Indus from near Rupar at the base of the Himalayan foothills to the Indus Delta—a distance of almost 1000 miles (1,600 kilometers). The wide distribution of the sites and the characteristic uniformity of arrangement and physical design suggest that the Harappan people built a relatively sophisticated and disciplined socio-economic order.

The close association of their town and city sites with the river system of the Indus Plain indicates that the Harappans were essentially lowland floodplain dwellers and a riverine people. Of the more than fifty sites that have been identified most are located along active or abandoned channels of the Indus River in Sind and near its tributaries, the Ravi, Sutlej and Ghaggar in Punjab. The town planners and builders probably chose the original sites because the rivers formed routes for the movement of goods and for social interchange among the riverine communities; they supplied water for the manifold needs of the sophisticated urbanites of Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro, as well as for residents of the smaller towns; they furnished water for irrigation of wheat, barley and vegetable crops; they sustained food—fish, game, waterfowl—and they were defense lines against raiding nomads.

As is characteristic of men who occupy flood plains, the Harappans suffered from all the vagaries of the rivers along with they chose to live. There is evidence, for example, that the engineers and artisans of Mohenjo-Daro repea-

tedly shored up or rebuilt the city walls as a result of the ravages of the Indus as it swung in its channel and cut laterally against its banks. Harappa was apparently no less subject to the whims of the Ravi. The ruins of several large Harappan towns in Sind, along the banks of an abandoned channel of the Indus, are now several miles from the present, active river channel. It has been surmised that the towns declined and died following such shifts in the river. Moreover, gradual accumulation of sediment in river channels and adjacent flood plains near these cities and other Harappan towns necessitated repeated raising of protective walls, dikes and building foundations, and the constant adjustments of municipal sanitary drainage systems. At Mohenjo-Daro there is evidence that the Indus flood plain built up more than 15 feet (4.5 meters) during the occupancy of the city. Concurrent with siltation of the flood plain, capillary water from rising water tables seeped and undermined brick walls and foundations, which, as a result, required the construction and maintenance of protective seepage drains such as those at Harappa.

Irrigation may not have been generally necessary during the early stages of Harappan history when rainfall was relatively abundant. Later, however, as the climate grew drier, irrigation was most certainly required to sustain agriculture and was probably practiced near the rivers of the Indus Plain, although all traces of diversion works, distribution canals and field irrigation systems have been obliterated by subsequent erosion and aggradation of the Indus and its tributaries. However, pictorial representations found on Harappan clay seals show water-lifting devices similar to the Egyptian *shadoof* (a counter-posed sweep), indicating that this method of irrigation was probably used at least locally. The extensive granaries found at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro also suggest that large food storage facilities were needed to provide for shortages during prolonged droughts or seasonal deficiencies in water supply for irrigation.

From the fourth century B.C. until the Mogul period of the 16th to 18th centuries, irrigated agriculture in the Indus Plain was limited largely to the low-lying riverine tracts (active flood plains) where flood irrigation, locally known



Well inside paved courtyard among ruins of Mohenjo-Daro in Sind : A remnant of Harrapan culture

as *sailab*, was practiced along rivers of the region. Crops, mainly wheat and other cereals, were planted in moist lands exposed by the receding waters of summer floods. Under *sailab* irrigation, cultivated lands maintain their productivity indefinitely, and the method is still practiced in the active flood plains, most of which are not served by canals. Some irrigated agriculture was practiced locally from dug wells in the higher interfluvial tracts known as *doabs*. In pre-Mogul times, however, these areas were reserved chiefly for grazing. A system of permanent land tenure gradually evolved in and near the riverine tracts in Punjab, with peasant proprietors living in closely knit village communities. This system has survived despite successive waves of invaders, including the Jat and Gujar tribes, later Muslim conquerors from central and western Asia, and more recently the Sikh conquest in the pre-British period. Throughout this 2,000-year span, irrigation

works were built repeatedly by the occupants of the region, only to be destroyed by invaders or by the ravages of floods and siltation. During this time, however, there is no substantial evidence that the twin problems of waterlogging and salinization, such as now exist in Punjab, ever presented any great threat to irrigated agriculture. Presumably, the upbuilding or aggradation of flood plains in the riverine tracts kept pace with rising water tables, which may have been induced by irrigation, so that soil fertility and favorable salt balance were maintained.

Underlying the plains of the Indus is a vast ground-water reservoir, which is sustained and recharged largely by infiltration from rivers of the Indus system and by leakage from canal diversions. This reservoir has figured importantly in the water economy of the Indus region for 2,000 years or more, as mention is made of the use of wells in the great Hindu epics *Mahabharata*



The Mo_guls are credited with having introduced the Camel-driven Persian Water Wheel

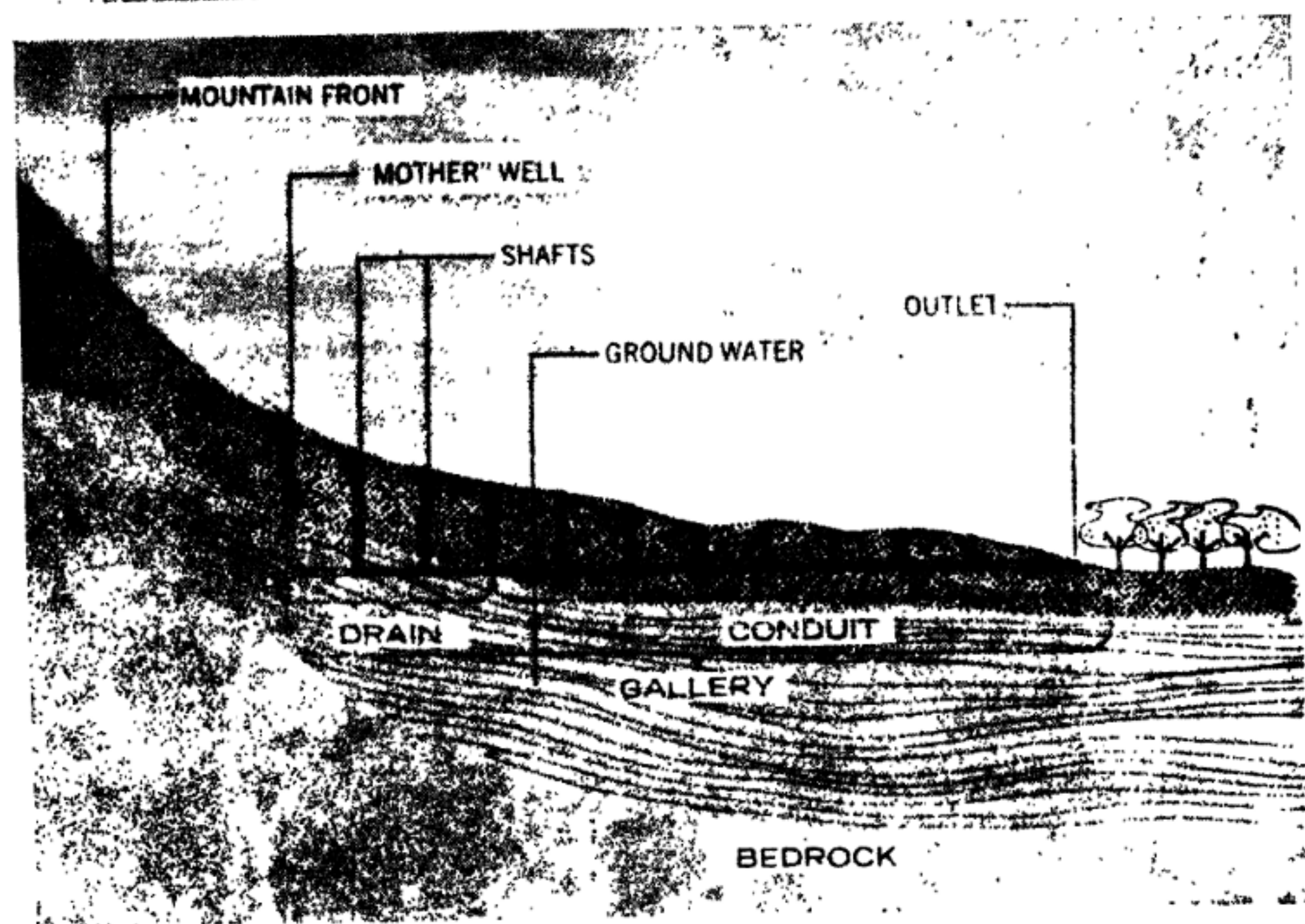
and *Ramayana*, which were presumably composed in the period immediately prior to the beginning of the Christian Era. Wells at some ancient Hindu temples have been used for hundreds of years for ritual ablutions. Many of these wells are essentially large-diameter (50 to 190 feet: 15 to 30 meters) infiltration pits dug down to the water table. They are square or rectangular and are bordered by the stone or brick-terraced slopes, or *ghats*, used by worshippers in their devotions. In the "bar uplands" of the *doabs* remote from the rivers in the Indus Plain, hand-dug wells, with hand lines and buckets, have provided essential water supplies for domestic and livestock use since time immemorial. In areas where the water table is less than 50 feet (15 meters) below the surface, small-scale irrigation is also practiced now, as it has been for centuries. A *mote* (leather bag, commonly of buffalo hide) is attached to a rope that is passed over a pulley, and a yoke of bullocks or a camel raises and lowers it to the water. The quantities of water obtained from single wells by this method of life generally range from about 200 to 2,000 gallons (300 to 7,000 liters) per hour, depending on the water level and the activity of the well operator. A second water-lifting device, still widely used in Punjab and Sind, is the Persian water wheel, which reportedly was introduced by the Moguls from Iran. It consists of an endless chain of earthen pots or small metal buckets that are passed over a wheel with a horizontal axis. A camel or bullocks push a horizontal bar around a vertical shaft geared to the wheel, and thus raise the water. Because of its greater efficiency, the water wheel can lift somewhat greater quantities of water than can be obtained by bullocks and *mote*.

There are still records of ground-water development in the 16th and 17th centuries during the period of Mogul domination. Mogul princes constructed many wells for military, household and irrigation purposes at forts, palaces and mausoleums near Lahore, Srinagar and elsewhere in Punjab and Kashmir. Intricate floral mosaics, faience and carved marble and sand-stone decorate the wells and draw works of some of the palace wells. Other wells were used for cooling the air of subterranean living quarters to which Mogul princes and their ladies repaired to escape the

scorching heat of the Indian summer. It is reported that in these water-cooled chambers they sipped sherbets made from ice delivered by post horsemen who rode in relays from the glaciers of Kashmir.

The Moguls also are believed to have imported the *kharez*, or *ghanat* (infiltration gallery), from Iran and Afghanistan into the Indus region. The *kharez* is constructed by sinking a series of vertical shafts spaced at intervals of about 100 feet (30 meters) in a line approximately parallel to the slope of the water table and as much as several miles long. Underground and between the shafts, horizontal drifts are excavated and connected to form a gallery whose grade is slightly less than that of the land surface and the water table. The first and deepest shaft, known as the "mother" well, and the next few shafts in the line reach the water table and tap the ground-water body. The up-gradient part of the gallery thus functions as a drain fed by the ground-water body, but the down-gradient part is simply a conduit carrying water by gravity to the land surface for irrigation or other use. Such *kharezes* may develop individual flows of as much as two cubic feet (.056 cubic meters) per second or more, but caving necessitates frequent cleaning to maintain flow. Many of these structures built in alluvial valleys of Baluchistan during the Mogul times are still in operation, but in the plains of the Indus their effective use was apparently impossible, owing to the prevailing flat gradients of both the land surface and the water table.

Until the latter part of the 17th century, the population in the Indus region stayed relatively stable because of repeated decimation by war, by famine and by pestilence. The establishment of Mogul domination, however, brought the beginnings of political order and improved conditions of sanitation and food supply, which were further strengthened under the British "raj" in the 18th and 19th centuries. As a consequence of political stability the population began to increase—slowly at first, but at an accelerated rate during the 19th and 20th centuries. The expanding population required an augmented food supply, which meant the intensification of irrigated agriculture, particularly in Punjab and Sind. The pressure of population on the land is reflected in the types and relative sophistication of the canal systems developed for irrigation.



The "Kharez" system of water supply which may also have been introduced by the Moguls may yield over 2 cubic feet of water per second, but needs frequent cleaning

Canal irrigation, in a modern sense, did not begin until the 17th century, with the construction of so-called inundation canals in the Punjab. These could divert water from rivers during periods of relatively high stage for distribution to bar-upland areas bordering the flood plains. The first canals of this type furnished water for the parks and gardens of Mogul princes. Typical are the Shalimar Gardens near Lahore, laid out in 1637 by the order of the Mogul emperor Shah Jehan. Because of the success of these canals, others were constructed for general agricultural purposes. By the middle of the 19th century a rather extensive network of inundation canals was in operation in Punjab, with the maximum development concentrated along the Sutlej and Chenab rivers. During the same period, extensive irrigation development took place in Sind by inundation canals that diverted water from the Indus. Because they could command larger parts of the *doabs*, divert water through a significant range of river states and maintain irrigation deliveries for a considerable part of the year, these canals represented a distinct advance over the ancient *sailab* methods. Such inundation canals could function, however, only during periods of relative high flow, so irrigation was limited to the summer high-water season and to relatively narrow belts near the rivers.

The final stage in the evolution of irrigation systems in the Indus Plain came about the middle of the 19th century with the introduction of "perennial" canals. Permanent diversion works known as barrages, or headworks, were constructed at strategic sites on the rivers to place the inundation canals under weir control. By raising water levels, the barrages allowed larger diversions from the rivers than were possible with the canals especially during the winter season, when low

flows could be exploited. Thus, irrigation was extended into the central parts of the *doabs*, and in many areas the canals operated throughout the year—hence the term *perennia*. They were carefully designed as to width, depth and downstream slope; the silt-laden water would move just fast enough so that silt would not choke the canal, but not fast enough to cause erosion. Today, the canal systems of the Indus Plain, including distributaries, have an aggregate length of over 10,000 miles (16,000 kilometers).

Each year the Indus River and its principal tributaries—the Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Beas and Sutlej rivers—bring an average of about 170 million acre-feet of water into the Indus Plain. About half of this water flows to the sea, but the rest is diverted into canal systems that now irrigate about 33 million acres (13.2 million hectares) annually. This constitutes what is probably the largest essentially continuous block of irrigation

development in the world. It forms the economic base for a population of some 35 million people, of whom 23 million depend directly on agriculture for a livelihood.

As canal irrigation involves diversion and redistribution of surface run-off, some disruption of the natural hydrologic regimen of the Indus Plain was inevitable. Moreover, the 19th century British engineers, concerned with construction of the canal systems, early recognized the potential hazards of salinization and water-logging that could result from irrigation and also saw the ultimate need to provide for adequate subsoil drainage and control of the water table. With these hazards in view, they established, as early as 1870, a program of hydrologic observations—including measurements of stream discharge and canal diversions and, more particularly, of ground-water levels—that have been continued to the present.



An "accursed mockery of snow." Salt incrustation cover the ground in the Rechna Doab near Lahore and is caused by excessive salinization due to insufficient drainage

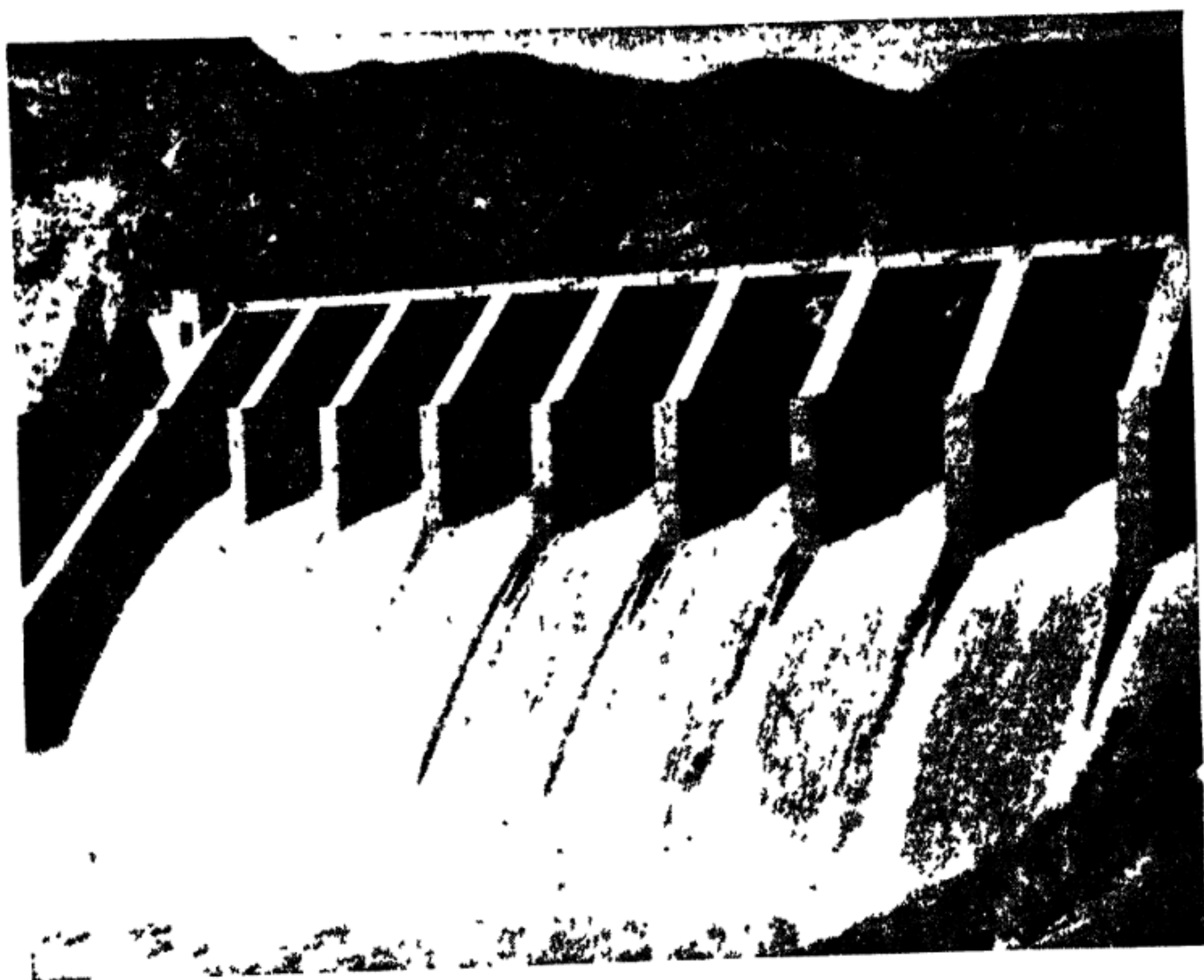
But, in spite of the awareness of salinization and waterlogging, these two dangers were largely ignored in irrigation development planning through the latter part of the 19th century and in the early decades of the present century. This indifference was probably the result of a compound of hydrologic, economic and political factors. At that time, for instance, the water table was relatively far below the land surface (as deep as 90 feet: 27 meters in some parts of Punjab in 1900), which led to procrastination in planning for drainage and water-table control. The problem of a growing population, with the attendant chronic shortages in food grains and the recurrent famines, demanded immediate solution. Consequently, emphasis was placed on intensified agricultural production to be made possible by the construction of new canals and the expansion of lands under irrigation. Political unrest and agitation for independence during the early decades of the 20th century also led the British raj to seek short-term solutions to then current economic difficulties rather than to attack long-term hydrologic problems.

As the first twenty years of the present century passed by, the water table beneath the Indus Plain rose relentlessly closer to the land surface as more and more water leaked underground as a natural concomitant of expanding canal systems and intensified irrigation. By 1925 the twin ravagers, waterlogging and salinization, had already begun to take their toll in diminished agricultural production in several parts of the plains. The day of reckoning had finally arrived, and water managers of the Indus irrigation system at last took stock and began to lay plans for drainage and for water-table control. Although the problem was now clearly in focus, engineering planners of the 1920's and 1930's were at first overwhelmed by the magnitude and technical complexity of the task before them and later dismayed by the enormous sums of money that would be required for adequate engineering control works.

Meanwhile, the inexorable rise of the water table continued, and more and more productive agricultural land was lost to effective use each succeeding year. Between 1930 and 1960, for example, agricultural land went out of productive at rates variously estimated at between 50,000

and 100,000 acres (20,000 to 40,000 hectares) per year. During the 1930's attempts were made to control waterlogging by building many miles of artificial drains and by improving the natural drainage channels. These measures proved largely ineffective. In the early 1940's a major reclamation project was undertaken in Chaj and Rechna Doabs, and some 1,600 wells were put down at various intervals along the main canals and their distributaries. Recognizing that leakage from the canals was the major cause of the rising water table, the plan called for intercepting the leakage by pumping from the wells and returning the water to the canals. The project, however, never became effectively operative, largely because of power shortages during World War II. Very shortly thereafter came the vast socio-economic disruption caused by the 1917 partition of British India and the creation of the independent states of India and Pakistan. Aside from the human suffering and privation caused by the shifting of religious minorities, partition brought about a complete realignment of political and economic structures. Most of the British engineers who had formerly managed the Indus irrigation system departed, and their Hindu colleagues opted for citizenship in the new Republic of India. Furthermore, the new frontier between West Pakistan and India, demarcated largely on the basis of religious constituencies haphazardly bisected the hydrologic basin of the Indus River and thoroughly disorganized the formerly smooth operations of the Indus irrigation system. Consequently, partition set in motion a whole chain of water allocation disputes, leading in some cases to armed border clashes between the two countries. As the bulk of the Indus irrigation system lay in Pakistan, it fell to the lot of a new generation of Pakistani engineers and scientists, directed by a few "old hands" from prepartition days, to cope with the steadily deteriorating agricultural economy brought about largely by waterlogging and salinization, and to reorganize the severed irrigation system.

By 1951 local and international experts recognized that ultimately the waters of the Indus system would have to be adjudicated between India and Pakistan to avert the threat of a full-scale war. An international water commission was appointed to review the problem. After nine years of negotiations, the commission finally came



Wasak Dam across the Kabul river in the northwestern part of Pakistan—the Country's largest

to an agreement and in 1960 the Indus Water Treaty was signed. The treaty gives India the rights to the waters of the Ravi, Sutlej and Beas rivers leaving the flow of the Chenab, Jhelum and Indus to Pakistan.

In 1953 the government of Pakistan had signed an agreement with a predecessor of the U.S. Agency for International Development (A.I.D.) to make a comprehensive investigation of the cause and effect relationships between irrigation practices and the natural hydrologic situation of the Indus Plain with particular emphasis on the Punjab region. The work was initially carried on the Pakistani personnel of the Irrigation Branch, West Pakistan Public Works Department, with the assistance of A.I.D.

technical advisors. In April 1960 the technical staff and the work were transferred to the newly established Water and Soils Division of the West Pakistan Water and Power Development Authority (WAPDA). The investigative work done during the past 10 years indicates that virtually all the Indus Plain is underlain to depths of 1,000 feet (300 meters) or more by alluvial sediments that are saturated with water to within a few feet of the land surface. In the saturated alluvium, which is composed of materials ranging from medium sand to silty clay, large-capacity wells that yield as much as 1,800 gallons (6,810 liters) a minute or more can be developed at almost any site. The ground water in Sind is generally of such poor quality that it is practically unusable for

irrigation. Its content of dissolved salts is so high that the water actually inhibits plant growth. Beneath about two-thirds of Punjab, however, water of a quality usable for irrigation saturates the alluvium to a depth of 500 feet (150 meters) or more. The volume of usable ground water in storage is computed to be about 2,000 million acre-feet. Studies of water levels indicate that while canal leakage is the principal cause of the present subsurface drainage problem, it is also the major component of ground-water recharge.

The hydrologic investigations point up the feasibility of utilizing ground-water withdrawals from tubewells for the dual purpose of providing (1) a much needed supplemental irrigation supply to augment presently inadequate surface-water supplies, and (2) subsurface drainage by lowering the water table and thus helping to reduce water-logging and salinization. Because of the natural limitations and inadequacies of sites for surface reservoirs to store summer runoff, most of which is now wasted to the sea, the vast underground reservoir of the Indus Plain offers the most promising storage facility for management of available water supplies. By pumping from wells for irrigation and drainage, ground-water levels

are depressed and capacity is created for the underground storage of surplus surface runoff that can be diverted underground by allowing it to leak through the canal system.

Beginning in 1961, two large-scale tubewell irrigation and drainage projects were placed in operation in Chaj and Rechna Doabs, and these have already demonstrated their effectiveness. Between 1961 and mid-1963, for example, the water table was lowered an average of more than three feet (almost one meter) in a 1,350,000-acre (540,000-hectare) project in Rechna Doab. Construction of similar projects in the future is planned at a rate of about 1,000 tubewells per million acres (400,000 hectares) per year. Eventually, about 33,000 wells will be required to serve all the Indus Plain.

As has been the case for millennia, the basic economic and social structure of the Indus region is largely dependent on irrigated agriculture, and will continue to be so for many years to come. The durability of this structure will depend substantially on the successful solution of the water-logging and salinity problems and on the effective management of the water supplies now available in the Indus Plain.

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CURRENT AFFAIRS

Defence Bias Of The Fourth Plan { (Contd. from p. 132)

Apart from taxes the other principal source from which additional resources for the Plan are expected to be derived is by stepping up savings which are now estimated to comprise about 10.5 per cent of the national income to 15 per cent by the end of the Fourth Plan so that the investment rate could be correspondingly stepped up from 13 per cent to 17 per cent. If savings are supposed mainly to be derived from consumer surpluses, it is essential that there should be such a surplus for the purpose. Prices would seem to comprise a crucial factor in the process and stepping up the rate of savings to the requisite level would seem to presuppose containing the price level within predetermined limits to conform with those of the peoples' living levels and disposable incomes.

We have been told from time to time by the Union Finance Minister of the several fiscal and monetary expedients which, according to him, should have been able to effectively take care of the problem of continuous and unrelenting inflationary pressures on the price level. All the measures which he has been able to conceive of in this behalf upto date have proved to be wholly impotent and useless and most of which have only had the effect of acting as deterrents against the growth of a healthy and self-sustaining capital market in the country. It was recently, however, that the Finance Minister appears to have been realising the need, especially in the context of a developing national emergency, for the Government to acquire a commanding and dominant control over the supply and distribution of all primary consumption commodities with a view to relieving the continuing and unrelenting pressure on the price level. What, however, he has omitted to admit at the same time, presumably with deliberate intent, is that the over-all taxation structure at present in operation has been mainly inflation-oriented and except within areas of a possible measure of control over the supply and distribution of certain categories of consumption goods which can only be of a limited extent in present circumstances, inflationary pressures on the over-all price structure are not likely to suffer substantial attenuation without a corresponding

revision of the taxation structure. An immediate statutory inquiry into the matter would seem to be one of the most urgent needs of the time.

Defence Oriented Economy

In the present context of a national emergency the matter would seem to have acquired an urgency and gravity of which awareness even at the highest Government levels seem to be only too feeble at present. In spite of the cease fire order reported to have been issued upon both India and Pakistan by the U.N. Security Council under the mandatory provisions of the relevant Articles of the U.N. Charter as we write, it is yet too early to envisage what course future events will follow with any amount of clarity. India, very much against her declared intentions to the contrary was forced into the very centre of a cold war with two neighbours simultaneously which have been periodically escalating into shapes verging upon a serious shooting war to prevent any relief from the pressures associated with a situation of grave national emergency. A cold war, such as we have been forced into, needs the reinforcement of social and economic resources no less urgently to the hazards of war than an actual shooting engagement. One of the primary requisites of an appropriate defence orientation of the national economy is the need to gear it to appropriate war time measures.

An Object Lesson

An object lesson as to how to do so may be derived from the manner in which the national economy of the U.K. was handled during the grave crisis of world war II. Presenting his war budget to the Commons, the then Chancellor of the Exchequer was reported to have claimed that he had devised his budget in such a manner that while the paramount need for adequate and effective national defence had to be covered, care had also to be taken that the living levels of the average citizen were not "unduly depressed" in the process. From figures available,

it appears that while in 1939 the consumption expenditure of the average Britisher comprised well over 89 per cent of his income, he paid about 6 per cent in taxes and saved only about 5 per cent; by the end of 1943 his consumption expenditure had fallen to only about 56 per cent, he saved well over 18 per cent, paid very nearly 21 per cent in taxes and contributed 5 per cent to national defence.

This significant fall in the British people's consumption expenditure was achieved in two ways: first by rationing all articles of primary consumption need to ensure that the less affluent were not deprived of their consumption by reason of the superior purchasing power of the more affluent and, secondly, by gearing the taxation structure to the needs of the war economy to prevent conspicuous consumption and to obviate, as far as possible having especial regard to the enormous and sudden rise in public expenditure, inflationary pressures in the economy. It would be untrue to claim that there was no inflationary pressures—it was, indeed inescapable in those circumstances—but it was possible to contain its impact within reasonable limits especially by removing all articles of primary consumption goods away from the influences of market forces. The over-all taxation structure was streamlined to provide the major proportion of tax receipts through direct and easily identifiable imposts, by avoiding any kind of indirect taxation imposts upon primary consumption commodities and by a wisely devised system of graduated—and, again, clearly identifiable—system of purchase taxes upon articles of conventional demand and, very steeply, upon luxuries.

All these various measures related to the taxation system proved effective disinflationary expedients and, although the Government's consumption expenditure had to go up by several thousand per cent during these years, it was possible to contain inflationary pressures upon the economy to practically a bare minimal extent. Sir Stafford Cripps during his very brief incumbency as Chancellor of the Exchequer complimented the national Government upon its sagacity in this behalf. The ability to contain inflationary pressures despite inevitable shortages and a huge influx of money supply, in very large

measure enabled this nation to not merely weather the heavy strains of the War but, more so, the crucial and, in a sense, the immensely more difficult period of reconstruction immediately following the War.

Things, deplorably, have been getting increasingly beyond control during the latter periods of planning and more rapidly with the onset of the national emergency since about the end of 1962. Recently a graver phase in the continuing national emergency has obtruded upon the economy requiring delicate and expedient handling. There are lessons to be derived from the experience of others in similar circumstances from which we should draw our own guidance. We should be able to clearly see that merely by pouring more and more resources into development projects without taking care to ensure corresponding yields in production on the one hand and by ensuring at the same time a measure of constant absolute values by rigidly containing the price level, we should only enmesh ourselves into a greater difficulties from which it will be difficult to extricate ourselves later when we are more deeply involved. This has become all the more urgent in the context of the present rather widely escalating emergency. It is to this aspect of our immediate problems to which, we feel, the Planning Commission and the Government alike should address themselves as a matter of the highest priority.

This does not suggest that the needs of development with appropriate emphasis upon defence orientation should be ignored. Quite the contrary in fact. But what should be made clear is the establishment of an appropriately stable "price climate" as one of the essential conditions-precedent to development, even more so when development needs must be given a heavy defence orientation.

The Fourth Finance Commission's Award

Although the Fourth Finance Commission were reported to have made their award during the earlier half of last month and the Government of India's decisions thereon communicated to the State Governments with expedition, details so far have been lacking as regards its actual content.

From newspaper reports, very sketchy as they have so far been, not much can be gathered except that the award, although it appears to have been only slightly more generous to West Bengal than on previous occasions, has nevertheless not been generous enough to take the State wholly out of its financial difficulties.

It is understood that against the previous (Third) Finance Commission's award to West Bengal of Rs. 112 crores the present award has been of the order of altogether Rs. 197 crores. It is estimated that West Bengal's additional revenue expenditure to maintain the Third Plan schemes would be a minimum of Rs. 110 crores. This would leave the State with an immediate deficit of Rs. 25 crores.

This, however, is only a cursory estimate. For with the increase in the growth rate, the State Government's non-plan expenditure will be bound to correspondingly increase and which will, in turn, be bound to widen the visible gap to a commensurate extent. Initially West Bengal estimated that its non-plan expenditure deficit in the Fourth Plan period would be of the size of Rs. 300 crores, including Rs. 39 crores on account of its commitments to pay an additional dearness allowance to employees. Under pressures from the Centre West Bengal subsequently revised this estimate and brought down the figure of anticipated deficit to Rs. 275 crores which was regarded as the very absolute minimum to which the State Government's non-plan expenditure could be cut down. So that, the award of the Fourth Finance Commission, comparatively generous as it is regarded to be, would still leave West Bengal with quite a heavy burden of deficits to carry.

Some satisfaction appears to have been derived from the Commission's recommendations, reported to have been accepted by the Union Government, that the States should be given a share of the revenue yields from Central excise duties on all commodities instead of only the 35 so far allocated for sharing out. From what information has been available, it is not quite clear as to whether the principle of allocation would be a proportion of the revenue derived from the sources concerned from within each respective area or an *ad hoc* share of the gross revenue of the Union fixed by the Finance

Commission as in the case of the Income Tax revenues.

It is contended that in making awards to States from the divisible pool of income tax revenues the fundamental principle to be followed is to provide a greater share of assistance to the economically backward states and should not, therefore, be expected to be related to the yield derived from the respective State boundaries. Even if such a contention could be accepted as valid, there would, nevertheless, be a very cogent case for relating the award to a proportion of the revenue derived from each State. While the more progressive States should not mind a certain proportion of additional assistance being provided to a more backward neighbour, the process should yet be conditioned by the need for maintaining the tempo of progress in the more developed State. This salutary principle, we are afraid, has never been accepted by the powers that be in allocating West Bengal's share in the divisible pool of income tax revenues. On the contrary invidious and quite unjust distinctions would appear to have been made so far as West Bengal has been concerned even in comparison with other more progressive states of the Union. From the little that is known about the details of the present award from the sketchy newspaper reports referred to earlier, it would appear that the same process as on earlier occasions has been continued in deciding upon what would be awarded to West Bengal in the present instance.

The Government at the Centre and some of their official agencies are known to frequently talk of "incentives to growth." West Bengal, as one of the industrially most progressive states of the Union has apparently been finding that the Union Government do not appear to be quite so keen on maintaining the incentives to growth in this State. In spite of being one of the industrially most rapidly developing states of the Union, its social overheads by reason, mainly, of lack of adequate proportions of input, have so far remained in a comparatively more rudimentary state of development. The State's agricultural potentialities have suffered severe truncation by reason of the Partition and it is one of the most densely populated states of the Union. This density of the population is in itself one of the

prime causes why necessary social overheads could not develop at a faster and more adequate rate. The State, moreover, has been heavily burdened with a huge load of displaced families from East Bengal and which, inspite of the Central assistance (which has been, in net terms only infinitesimal in proportion to the burden), has been causing a heavy strain on the economy of the State. In addition, the demographic pattern of the population would indicate that a fairly large proportion of it while earning its living from occupations provided by the State, do not do anything to contribute to capital formation or investment within the state as almost all of its surplus earnings are remitted to other states of the Union. All these facts, the truth of which is easily demonstrable would show that West Bengal deserves to be treated with more than ordinary measures of generosity in being awarded her share from the pool of Central revenues. It is not any narrow parochial sentiment which prompts us to say this,—this is a logical claim which, besides, is also sustainable on grounds of incentives to growth.

As a matter of fact, the methods by which the awards to states from the Central pool of divisible tax revenues have been determined by successive Finance Commissions would appear to have been following certain inexplicable predilections. While appreciating the need for a certain measure of necessary adjustments in the final awards to enable a certain equation between the more progressive and the backward states to be arrived at, such awards should legitimately follow certain ratios to each respective state's proportion of contributions to the total pool of divisible tax revenues. It is necessary to remember that the scope for progressive widening of the tax receipts of the states is necessarily circumscribed within well-defined limits and a share of the Central pool is vital for progress and development. It is equally important to realise that collections of central taxes within the states will be very vitally influenced by the interests of the states concerned in such collections. We are afraid neither the present Finance Commission as much as its predecessors, nor the Union Government have so far demonstrated any imaginative talent in handling this complicated problem.

India and the Commonwealth

Indo-British relations, ever since Independence, have almost continuously been passing through varying phases of periodical strain. But they had never before assumed the proportions that they are currently found to have acquired over the Labour Government's unashamedly partisan attitude towards Pakistan in the present Indo-Pakistani conflict. The British attitude over Kashmir has never been fair to India, but the posture of partiality in the past had never been known to have assumed the positively offensive content they are now found to have. Mr. Harold Wilson's gratuitously offensive criticisms of India's counter-operations across the borders of Pakistan, by stubbornly refusing to acknowledge Pakistan's responsibility in initiating the offensive and, especially, by refusing to recognise the fact that India's offensive operations against Pakistan were forced upon her as a minimum measure of self-defence, have made India naturally resentful of British opinion. The fact that the British press as a whole has also been echoing Mr. Wilson's criticisms and comments would seem to add to the growing conviction in India that British *bona fides* so far as India's position in Commonwealth relations are concerned, should be highly suspect. To quote excerpts from only one paper (*The New Statesman* dated September, 10 1965) reputed to be of a liberal view :

"At any time in the past 18 years, it has been possible to devise a reasonable solution for Kashmir which, granted mutual goodwill, could have been accepted by its inhabitants,—an adjustment of a cease-fire line, a supervised plebiscite or even the creation of a self-governing state guaranteed by both sides was a possible alternative. India always felt that any such resolution must involve surrendering territory, and to this extent she has always determined to oppose one. In an imperfect world, she was content with the *status quo*, and wanted to relegate the U.N.'s role to mere supervision of the cease-fire line. For this reason Pakistan believed, with some justice, that the *status quo* should be altered in her favour, had a positive incentive to resort to violence (italics ours) in order to reopen the question *au fond* The

intervention of China supplied the ground for necessary Pakistani confidence and India's rearmament made a showdown seem urgent Late in 1964 India placed Kashmir under Indian Constitutional Law, an infringement of the *status quo* Pakistan retaliated by vastly increasing the incursions into Indian-controlled Kashmir of armed irregulars. India then exercised the right of pursuit into Pakistan territory. At this point Pakistan committed her regular forces to a major offensive across the cease-fire line"

The whole quotation above would seem to be a highly intentional piece of wordy defence of Pakistan's indefensible part in the whole sorry tale composed of a mass of half-truths and innuendoes. For one thing when, in 1949 India agreed at the U.N. to a free and impartial plebiscite under international auspices, it was done on two distinctive conditions; first that the plebiscite should cover the entire area of the territory formerly under the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir; secondly, the plebiscite would only be held when the invading Pakistani army had vacated its aggression. The position was quite clear and unambiguous. The Maharaja of Kashmir had legally executed an instrument of accession to India and although the latter was agreeable to allow the people of Kashmir the right of self-determination and to decide for themselves whether they would want to be with Pakistan or India, she could not, in the meanwhile, abrogate her legal and moral obligations to maintain law and order in the territory. This Pakistan has never done and, thereby, forfeited her right to a demand for plebiscite. In the meanwhile the people of Kashmir elected a democratically representative government on the basis of universal adult franchise and on the choice of this freely elected government of Jammu and Kashmir the provisions of the Indian Constitution were extended to the State making it an integral part of the Indian Federation. All these are facts beyond dispute and naturally, at this stage and under the conditions at present prevailing, the question of a plebiscite for the area of Kashmir actively under the control of the State Government of Jammu and Kashmir cannot arise under any conception of legal or moral law. And what Pakistan was

unable to acquire by legal means or moral suasion she had put out to gain by the force of arms. But all this is by the way.

To return to a consideration of India's position in the Commonwealth. So long as Britain would continue to head the Commonwealth, events during the last 18 years have again and again been demonstrating, India would remain a member of the *entente* whose rights of equality with other members would always be deliberately eroded by the head of the Commonwealth. And it has already been demonstrated that the principle of perfect neutrality of all other members in the event of a conflict between any two members on which the Commonwealth was said to have been built, would be likely to be abrogated as it may suit the head of the Commonwealth. It is true that the Commonwealth is no longer an exclusively British association with a white majority. Nevertheless it is still dominated by a white minority and the practice of discrimination against coloured members of the Commonwealth by the whites has been becoming more widespread and even positively offensive. While Britain was obliged to agree to the expulsion of South Africa from the Commonwealth on account of *apartheid*, Britain herself appears to have been getting into closer relations with the expelled member. Her own immigration laws since have been acquiring an offensively discriminatory content especially in the measure they have been further tightened up by the present Labour Government of Britain. And Britain's partisanship against India in the Indo-Pakistani conflict has naturally occasioned further resentment against the country.

While one does not go to the length of advising that India should straightaway quit the Commonwealth, it is time that she should seriously re-examine her own position in the association and decide upon a future course of action which would be more in keeping with both her national interests as well as that of her dignity as an equal member of the association. It should seem quite clear that if the Commonwealth has to survive as an association of nations of all colours on a basis of complete equality with one another, the present British and colonial domination in its counsels must be effectively neutralised. It is not consistent that Britain should be allowed to follow

her present offensively discriminatory racial policies—and current reports from London indicate that they have begun to increasingly infect the common British mind and behaviour and to vitiate relations between whites and the coloured people all over Britain—and at the same time continue to play a dominating role in the Commonwealth's counsels. It should be clearly realised that the British gain far more from the Commonwealth by way of widening markets for her export industries, widening and often fabulously lucrative markets for employment of her own unemployables and in various other ways, than the other members, especially the under-developed ones, do from association with it. This and other facts point to the need for redefining Commonwealth relations at least to ensure that it remains a wholesome organization of common and equal benefit to all members. India could assume a leading role in the undertaking and if she and the other coloured members of the association found that in spite of their overwhelmingly large majority they were unable to make any substantial breach in the white dominance in its counsels, as there is every apprehension that they may, India could then take counsel with them as to whether it was not possible to scuttle the Commonwealth to form their own separate *entente* independently of Britain.

Food Policy Again

When only a month ago the Chief Ministers' Conference in New Delhi under persuasions from the Prime Minister virtually sabotaged the week-old recommendations of the All India Food Sub-Committee, we voiced the apprehension in these columns that the hope of the emergence of a wholesome and effective national food policy had thereby, again receded into the background.

A Rational Food Policy

At the risk of reiterating what we had already said on the subject in course of earlier discussions, we would like to, once again, clearly state what, in our view should be the essential elements of a rational and national food policy. While it is true that increase in

cereals production, ever since the beginning of the Second Plan period and throughout the first three years of the Third Plan had failed to keep pace with the accelerated rate of increase in the net population of the country, we have earlier endeavoured to demonstrate that the quantum of cereals production in the measure in which it was reported to have been achieved according to published official statistics, should nevertheless be just enough to cover a daily 16 oz. adult ration for the entire population, although practically no surplus would be left thereafter. This, is by no means, a comfortable position for any country and it is essential that concentrated efforts should have been made and effective measures applied to increase food production to attain a comfortable surplus position in supplies. There is another very important aspect of the matter which should also have engaged serious attention. While the gross production of all cereals taken together would enable an over-all daily 16 oz. adult consumption allocation to be just about covered, the production of the finer grains such as rice and wheat would not be able to bear the stress of the gross demand even by a very substantial margin. With increasing urbanisation in the peoples' outlook and food habits the stress of demand on finer grains was bound to, as it has been proved to have, steadily increase and, thereby, create a climate of actual shortage which would materially distort the food supply position as a whole. With such obvious shortages in the supply position and with something like Rs. 3,000 crores of *unaccounted money* operating in the market, the apprehension of heavy speculative pressures upon the foodgrains market was as they have proved to have been *very real* and which have been having the effect of materially distorting the supply and prices of food. This has been happening every year since 1962-63 and in spite of the very substantial production increases of the last harvest season, which attained an all-time peak, and the very large food imports, food prices have continued to soar higher and higher with the onset of the current year's lean season. The onset of the national emergency derived from the recent Pakistani armed invasion of the country, the situation has considerably aggravated and the retail price level of rice in the free market in areas just outside the

rationed cordon of Greater Calcutta area, jumped up by something like 33 per cent within the first ten days of September from the level prevailing earlier which, again, was something like 50 per cent higher than what it was at the new year. The difference between the statutory retail price of rice charged by the Government's rationing system and the open market price at the new year, it should be underlined, was something like 31 per cent and today even after the upward readjustment of Government prices for the so-called purpose of "more realistically relating it to the free market price" the difference works out to something like 127 per cent.

A little closer study of the matter would be bound to reveal certain significant facts. First, that by allowing free scope of the over-all consumption demand in the country to heavily concentrate upon the finer grains like rice and wheat, speculative elements with the adequate *unaccounted* finance at their disposal have been given corresponding scope to increasingly distort both the price levels and the supply position in these commodities. Secondly, price fluctuations and supply shortages (for, we have already demonstrated that the supply was only marginally sufficient and was, therefore, extremely sensitive to even the lightest speculative pressure) in the finer grains reacted adversely, as they were bound to do, upon not merely the coarser grains but, generally, upon all articles of primary consumption needs, resulting in an over-all shortage in all varieties of food articles and correspondingly increasing rises in the price level. This is a situation in which very understandably Government's ability to exert any considerable influence upon the supply and price elements, depending as they have to mainly upon the trade for the purpose, cannot be of very great moment.

Two conclusions, one a corollary of the other, are an inescapable lesson of the situation; first that the over-all consumption pattern of food cereals must, in the present pattern and quantum of production, be induced to take to a mixed diet of fine and coarse grains to enable consumption demands as a whole to be contained within the gross available supply quantum from home production; and, secondly, in order to be able to do so, Government must

acquire a commanding position over both supply and distribution. These were, in effect, the tentative conclusions to which both the Union and the State Governments had arrived during the critical months of last year which appeared to have been relegated to cold storage, if not entirely abandoned later when with the new harvest the supply position eased to a more comfortable level. Almost identical recommendations distinguished the labours of the Food Subcommittee late in July last and which appeared to have been sabotaged only the following week when the Chief Ministers of States met to consider the matter finally under the Chairmanship of the Prime Minister.

Total Procurement And Rationing—Only Answer

In fact the only effective answer to the food problem in the nature it has been developing over the years of the Third Plan period, can be total procurement and statutory rationing in all urban areas and industrial complexes and modified rationing in rural areas, especially those areas where local production fall short of basic minimal local consumption demand. It is only in this way that a commanding position may be acquired by Government and without such an element of command by Government the heavy speculative pressures on supply and prices, whether it be by the traditional trade or by other elements that may have obtruded in the racket, can never be contained. One can easily appreciate Government's reluctance to so heavily commit themselves in the matter having regard, firstly, to the many lags in their administrative machinery which they may understandably feel to be so far insufficiently equipped to carry such heavy and basic responsibilities and, secondly, to their reluctance to disturb the present sweet relationship they have with the trade and to whom they may have to go once again in the very near future for assistance to see them through the coming general elections within the next two years.

Imports Of Food Grains

The question that has to be very carefully considered in this connection is whether the

Government should continue to import food grains from abroad. The very crux of the situation which demands that Government must acquire adequate and wholesome command over the supply and distribution of food grains, postulates that food imports should be continued at least for such time as the Government have not been able to build an adequate buffer stock which alone could enable them to maintain their command over supplies and the corresponding commitments relating to distribution for any length of time. Although every effort should be made to cover consumption demand to within the quantities derived from home production,—and we have seen that during normal seasons they can be just about met fully—the need for a buffer stock to provide for crop failures in any one season or the sudden emergence of a national emergency like the one through which we have been currently passing would appear to be overwhelming. As a matter of fact this would seem to be the most crucial element in successful rationing and in spite of several successive past recommendations in this behalf, beginning with those of the Ashoke Mehta Committee, not much has been achieved so far. And until such an adequate buffer stock has been built up or until such time as our home production begins to yield sufficient surplus over basic consumption needs to enable adequate carry forwards from it to such a buffer stock, imports will continue to be an inescapable necessity.

National Approach

But the success and wholesomeness of whatever measures Government may devise and apply to deal with the food problem must depend upon a basic and over-all national approach that is brought to its solution. The facts that the States are autonomous and must be left with a large amount of discretion to deal with the matter and, further, that most States are known to have only a very narrow and regional approach to the question, concerned with their own deficits or surpluses only as the case may be, horribly complicates the whole situation. One of the glaring examples of such a regional approach was made evident that when the question of introducing

statutory rationing in all urban areas with a certain minimum specified population was first mooted, all those states which were in a comfortably surplus position, stubbornly opposed such a proposal at least so far as their own states were concerned. It is true that also some states which were heavily in deficit in food production also opposed the proposal, but their opposition stemmed mainly from the apprehension that the Union Government or the Governments of the surplus states would be unable to meet their supply commitments to those deficit states. The woeful fact was all too apparent that a national approach to the problem as a whole was lacking and without which any satisfactory solution would be absolutely impossible.

The Vulnerable People

The fact now is beyond any dispute that if the more vulnerable sections of the population who, according to a four year old estimate of the Planning Commission constitute 70 per cent of the total national population and of whose total consumption budget something like 75 per cent was absorbed by the cost of food grains (at price levels then prevailing—wholesale price levels generally have since risen by 37 per cent and of food grains by some 58 per cent), have to be saved from utter starvation and worse, rationing on a nationwide level is the only possible remedy. We would, once again, underline the need for an *integrated national* approach as well as nationally universal measures to deal with the matter as well as to cover all kinds of food grains fine and coarse, within its measures.

National Emergency And Food

“Out of evil” they say, “cometh good.” The explosion of the armed conflict with Pakistan, evil though it is in spite of its being forced upon us, has brought at least one good thing in its devastating wake. It has been very heartening to see that in the context of the emergency the Government have been compelled to decide upon almost immediate introduction of rationing in all urban areas with populations of 100,000 and more. We feel that eventually the machinery of rationing will have to be further extended

to all non-agricultural areas in the country and more adequate and elaborate measures will have to be taken to extend modified rationing also to the more vulnerable rural areas in the country. In addition to rice and wheat all cereals of the coarser varieties would have to be brought under the purview of rationed distribution and Government must also acquire an overwhelming command on other subsidiary but essential articles of food such as pulses and gram, edible oils etc. This should not be conceived as a short-term measure but must be regarded as something which will have to stay permanently with us during any foreseeable future. For one reason and another we have been living in the midst of a continuing national emergency and we must reconcile ourselves, by the look of things, to continue to live with it indefinitely in the future. What is now conceived as a measure to meet a temporary national emergency must, therefore, be refurbished and reinforced to operate with developing measures of efficiency indefinitely in the future. We shall have to continue, it looks likely, to fight for our national existence against powerful external aggressors and insidious internal elements at future. And it is a time-honoured adage that not merely an army but also a people as a whole, has to march "on its stomach."

Development And Food

But it is not merely to fight an external aggressor, but even to fight our relentless battle against poverty and sickness, disease and destitution, adequate machinery must be provided and brought into operation so that our food resources can be utilized to the maximum advantage of the nation. It is only when we have been able to lay a sound foundation of an adequately surplus agriculture that we may hope to ensure a steady, integrated and balanced tempo of industrial development which must be an essential element in our over-all economic development. And among agricultural produce food grains production even now occupies and will always continue to occupy a most crucial place. It may be underlined in this connection that even after a decade of what may, in comparative terms be

regarded, as massive industrialization, agricultural production, by value, continues to account for over one half of the gross national product, and of gross agricultural production, food grains production alone accounts for over 67 per cent of the total. In other words food grains production in the country accounts for over 33 per cent or more than a third of the gross national product. This, on the face of it, is a poor index of development along more modern and sophisticated lines. But the paradox is that unless the incidence of production in agriculture with corresponding emphasis upon food grains production assumes a level where the foundations of an adequate surplus over basic consumption demands has been ensured, the conditions of a more rapid and evenly balanced rate of industrial progress cannot be said to have been properly laid down. The history of economic development of all the developed countries would indicate that a foundation of an adequate agricultural surplus has always preceded and never followed rapid industrialization. The only exception has been the process of reconstruction of the warshattered economies of Central and Western Europe where agricultural and industrial reconstruction have been induced to follow a simultaneous and mutually complementary process. It should be realized, however, that the cases of the Central and Western European economies have been those of reconstruction and not of building up from scratch as it is in the case of India and those of other developed economies as that of the U.S.A. for instance. Prime Minister Shastri demonstrated a measure of basic common sense, even if his pronouncements in this behalf may not have been supported by specific knowledge of the world's economic history, when he counselled concentration of effort, investment and outlay on agriculture during the initial year of the Fourth Plan, even if that may have to mean halting the Plan over a temporary period. Massive concentration upon agricultural production with especial emphasis upon laying down a sound basis of surplus food grains production is the only possible way of meeting not merely current pressures upon the economy, but also for creating the conditions-precedent for initiating a process of concentric and all-round growth towards a self-generating and self-sustaining take-off.

ANNIVERSARY OF THE DEATH OF RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY

(Note By Ramananda Chatterjee in *The Modern Review*, Sept., 1908, P. 266)

Seventyfive years ago on the 27th of September Bristol witnessed the death of Raja Rammohun Roy, the greatest Indian of modern times. With perhaps the exception of the recent movement of the industrial regeneration of the country, Rammohun Roy laid the foundation of all the principal modern movements for the elevation of our people. In one of his works he holds up to his countrymen the prospect of a possibly independent India and of India the Enlightener of Asia. He believed that the people of India "have the same capability of improvement as any other civilized people". He did not believe that Asiatics were naturally an inferior race. In the course of one of his numerous religious controversies, "A Christian" having indulged in a tirade about persons being "degraded by Asiatic effiminacy", the Raja reminded him that almost all the ancient prophets and patriarchs venerated by Christians, nay, even Jesus Christ himself, were Asiatics. Mr. William Adam, a Baptist Missionary whose association with Rammohun Roy led him to adopt Unitarian opinions bears the following testimony to his love of liberty :

"He would be free or not be at all..... love of freedom was perhaps the strongest passion of his soul,—freedom not of action merely, but of thought.....This tenacity of personal independence, this sensitive jealousy of slightest approach to an encroachment on his mental freedom was accompanied with a very nice perfection of the equal rights of others, even of those who differed most widely from him."

It is only meet that his countrymen

should celebrate the anniversary of his death all over India every year.

In view of the progress recently made by Japan and the probable political emancipation of Persia and China, it may seem improbable that India should be the enlightener of Asia. But we must bear in mind that in this world thought rules supreme ; and no nation in Asia has yet arisen to dispute India's paramount position in the realms of thought. In that region what her position was in the past may yet again be hers in the future. We are confident that it will be so.

The estimate of the Raja's personality by his biographer, the late Miss Sophia Dobson Collet, an Englishwoman and a Unitarian Christian, may not be accepted in its entirety by Indians, but is on the whole pretty accurate. It has been quoted before, but will bear quotation once more.

"Rammohun stands in history as the living bridge over which India marches from her unmeasured past to her incalculable future. He was the arch which spanned the gulf that yawned between ancient caste and modern humanity, between superstition and science, between despotism and democracy, between immobile custom and a conservative progress, between a bewildering polytheism and a pure, if vague, Theism. He was the mediator of his people, harmonizing in his own person, often by means of his own solitary sufferings, the conflicting tendencies of immemorial tradition and of inevitable enlightenment. He embodies the new spirit which arises from the compulsory mixture of races and faiths and civilizations,—he embodies its freedom

of enquiry, its thirst for science, its large human sympathy, its pure and sifted ethics, along with its reverent but not uncritical regard for the past, and prudent, even timid inclination towards revolt. But in the life of Rammohun we see what we hope yet to have shown us in the progress of India, that the secret of the whole movement is religious. Amid all his wanderings Rammohun was saved by his faith..... He was a genuine outgrowth of the old Hindu stock; in a soil watered by new influences, and in an atmosphere charged with unwanted forcing power, but still a true Scion of the old stock. The Raja was no merely occidentalized oriental, no Hindu polished into the doubtful semblance of a European. Just as little was he, if we may use the term without offence a spiritual Eurasian. If we follow the right line of his development we shall find that he leads the way from the orientalism of the past, not to, but through Western Culture, towards a civilization which is neither Western nor Eastern, but something vastly larger and nobler than both. He preserves continuity throughout, by virtue of his religion which again supplied the motive force of his progressive movement. The power that connected and restrained as well as widened and impelled, was religion.

"Rammohun thus presents a most instructive and inspiring study for the New India of which he is the type and pioneer. He offers to the new democracy of the West a scarcely less valuable index of what our greatest Eastern dependency may yet be-

come under the Imperial sway of the British commonalty. There can be little doubt that, whatever future the destinies may have in store for India, that future will be largely shaped by the life and work of Rammohun Roy. And not the future of India alone. We stand on the eve of an unprecedented intermingling of east and west. The European and Asiatic streams of human development, which have often tinged each other before, are now approaching confluence which bids fair to form the one ocean-river of the collective progress of mankind. In the presence of that greater Eastern question,—with its infinite ramifications, industrial, political, moral and religious,—the international problems of the passing hour, even the graves of them, seem dwarfed into parochial pettiness. The nearing dawn of these unmeasured possibilities only throws into clearer prominence the figure of the man whose life story we have told. He was if not the prophetic type, at least the precursive hint, of the charge that is to come."

Rammohun Roy was all that he was, because he did not knock at the door of the West as an intellectual and spiritual foundling or orphan or beggar. He was an oriental first, who had made his own the best that Hindu and Islamic culture could give him. He then extended the hospitality of his soul to the best that Western culture had in its store. The saying that to him who has, more shall be given, was literally fulfilled in his case. The West can give us its best only if we can meet it on equal terms—to give as well as to receive.

ALBERT SCHWEITZER

LAKSHMI CHATTERJI

A few days ago, Dr. Albert Schweitzer, physician, missionary, and philosopher, passed away in his jungle hospital in Lambarene, where he had lived for the last 50 years. Born in Keyzersburg, Haute-Alsace, in the year 1875, he was destined to be one of the greatest humanitarians the world has seen. A remarkably talented man, Dr. Schweitzer's independent and somewhat unconventional views often brought him into conflict with the more conventional thinkers of his day. From early youth, this independence of spirit and mind, made life often difficult for him, and the young Albert's scholastic and musical careers did not prosper, till he found teachers who were capable of appreciating his ways. From this time the youth steadily displayed both a brilliant mind as well as unusual talent for music. During the course of his University career, the student Albert showed a great passion for acquiring knowledge. He read History, Literature, Music and the Natural Sciences voraciously. In fact, during these years, he displayed not the slightest signs of pursuing a medical career. He achieved considerable fame as an Organist on the other hand, and as an expounder of Philosophic theories, although it is recorded that about this time, he conceived ideas of devoting himself to the service of his fellowmen. This decision was due to a sudden awareness of the extent of human misery around him when he was himself leading a very happy and contented life.

It was not till the year 1904 however, when he was almost 30 years of age, and had already acquired a doctorate in

Theology, that he decided to become a doctor of medicine. By this time he had held various high positions such as that of Curate of St. Nicholas, Strasbourg (1899),



Albert Schweitzer

Privatdozent at Strasbourg University, (1902-1912), as well as held the additional posts of Principal, Theological College of St. Thomas (1903-1906), and Organist at the Societe J. S. Bach, Paris (1905-1911). His decision to follow a medical career was made after reading an article which emphasized the tremendous toll Leprosy takes of human life in many parts of Africa. A man of considerable determination, Albert Schweitzer pursued the medical course for seven long years at the medical faculty of Strasbourg hereafter, over and above his work in various University posts connected with the Humanities. In fact so hard did he strive towards the achievement of his goal, that apart from his medical studies and his work at the University, Dr. Schweitzer lectured widely during

these seven years, giving countless organ recitals, the proceeds of which he later used to build his hospital in Africa as well as to meet some of his initial expenses when he arrived in Gabon.

The Schweitzers sailed for Lambarene in 1913, a small development in French Equatorial Africa, and it was here that he built his world famous hospital, where for many years he treated innumerable cases of leprosy. This hospital has been the target of much criticism. To begin with it was a temporary building where the patients lived in thatched huts; sanitation left much to be desired while electricity was introduced much later on. Even when contributions poured in from all parts of the world, Dr. Schweitzer refused to allow many fundamental changes, because he wanted the jungle folk to feel at home when they came to him for treatment. In these surroundings however, he performed countless operations and from this unpretentious hospital almost no sufferer was turned away.

A man of great sincerity and a deeply religious man, Albert Schweitzer's life was guided by his religious and philosophic principles. From his University days, in his quest for the "Universal conception of the ethical", he had read meticulously the philosophies of many Faiths,—Hindu, Jain, Christian and Buddhist,—but the desired principle was not apparent in any of these studies. He found it through his own efforts, later, during his early years in Africa, and this principle he defined as the "reverence for life". In his book, "Philosophy of Civilizations", he stresses the fact that civilisation is the result of reverence for moving urging will in which all Being is life that man cultivates. Thus, for example, he says, "reverence for life means to be in grasp of the infinite, inexplicable, forward-moving urging will in which all Being is

grounded.....All living piety flows from reverence for life and the compulsion towards ideals which is given on it." Again, "reverence for life demands therefore as the ideal of the material and spiritual being of man that with the completest possible development of all his faculties, and in the widest possible freedom, he should struggle to be honest with himself, and to take a sympathetic and helpful interest in all the life that is around him....", because, "reverence for life will not allow the validity of the purely individualistic and inward conception of civilisation,.....it is increasingly compelling him to be concerned about all the life that is about him, and to feel responsible for it." It was this sense of responsibility towards humanity that formed the guiding principle of Dr. Schweitzer's life. The urge to preserve life, particularly among those who were helpless, such as the disease-riddled and poverty-stricken masses of the African jungle, thus became a moral obligation to him.

A man of varied interests, Dr. Schweitzer's depth of knowledge in many fields is reflected in his writings. Perhaps his most famous book was "Bach; the Musician-Poet". This was published before he left for Africa, and was extensively read at the time of its publication. Later, he enlarged it to twice its original size, and this two-volume biography of the composer, analysing his mystical genius, is still generally acknowledged to be the starting point of the modern Bach revival. Furthermore, he was among the first to state that the clarity of Bach's music was obscured by its presentation by oversized orchestras. As an Organist, he was acknowledged as one of the leading exponents in the years when he gave countless performances in many European cities and, in fact, he also had a tremendous knowledge of the technique of organ building. He is said to have been responsible for proposing certain general

regulations for organ builders, which have since then been accepted by the Trade.

Apart from his interest in Music, Dr. Schweitzer contributed greatly also in the field of Theology and Philosophy. His "Christianity and the Religions of the World", expressed certain views regarding Hindu philosophy which roused a storm of protest from those who felt he had misunderstood the essence of Hindu Theology. Dr. Schweitzer criticised Indian mysticism as being "life and world-negating." Thus he is of the opinion that "the religious thinkers...of India...do not take a world-and life-affirming, but a world-and life-denying, view of it. Their world-view is pessimistic-ethical, and contains, therefore, incentives only to inward civilisation of the heart, not to outward civilisation as well." Again, "the philosophy of the Indians.... appears in a three-fold shape: as ethics of resignation, as ethics of universal pity, and as ethics of world-renunciation." With this viewpoint he then contrasts the optimistic-ethical view of the West, which is a contribution of many forces, though fundamentally these are all derived from some Christian principle or other. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, in his book entitled "Eastern Religions and Western Thought", while refuting Dr. Schweitzer's above mentioned view, has expressed the opinion that the distinction that Hindu thought is world-and life-negating and Christian thought is world-and life-affirming cannot be historically sustained. Furthermore he is of the opinion that the contrast is really between religion and a self-sufficient humanism.

Dr. Schweitzer's "Quest of the Historical Jesus" was considered to be a milestone in modern theology, while among his other well-known works are his autobiography "My Life and Thoughts"; "On the Edge of the Primeval Forest"; "From my African Notebook", as well as innumerable lectures

on both philosophic and musical subjects. Among the various lectures Dr. Schweitzer delivered until 1955 when he remained permanently in Lambarene, were the Hibbert Lectures delivered at Oxford in 1934, and the Gifford Lectures at Edinburgh University in 1934 and 1935. He was shown great honour by many nations among whom were the French for he was elected to the French Academy in 1915, while he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for 1952.

By his decision to serve humanity in Africa, Albert Schweitzer gave up the opportunity to establish himself in Europe as both a speculative philosopher, and a greater exponent of music. His friends had discouraged him from taking this step, but he would not change his mind. Albert Schweitzer was absolutely convinced of the rightness of his decision. Success dissociated from spiritual satisfaction was not enough for him. Had this been so, then he would not have left the comforts of his University life, full of honours, and material satisfaction, and furthermore in a secure European background. Instead he chose to spend his life in the jungles of Africa, carving out a life satisfactory to him and fulfilling his spiritual and moral needs. Deeply aware of the needs of humanity, which only man can satisfy, Dr. Schweitzer declares that "feeling ourselves responsible to the civilised way of thinking, we look beyond peoples and states, to humanity as a whole. To anyone who has devoted himself to ethical world-and life-affirmation, the future of men and of mankind is a subject of anxiety and of hope. To become free from this anxiety and hope is poverty, to be wholly surrendered to it, is riches." Albert Schweitzer's life was a testament to this ideal, and was therefore undoubtedly "wholly surrendered to this anxiety and hope," and so "full of riches".

INDO-PAKISTANI CONFLICT

A Diary of Diverse World Views and Comments

U.S.A.,—Time, September 10, 1965.

Kashmir

It began after dawn with a thunderous artillery barrage that sent the villagers of Chhamb and Dewa in the southwestern tip of Kashmir scurrying for shelter. As the sun rose higher over the semidesert land—flat, dotted with brush, a low mountain range to the north—Indian troops peered anxiously towards the border. What they saw sent them in a hasty retreat to the mountains: over the arid earth came 70 U.S. built Patton tanks and, in the dust cloud behind the lumbering giants, a full brigade of Pakistani infantrymen.

No Contest

Dewa and Chhamb were swiftly captured by the armored column, which rolled forward some eight miles against light resistance and halted by the banks of the shallow Munwar Tawi River. The Indian counterattack came from the sky—28 British made Vampire jets bombed and strafed the armored force, destroying an estimated ten tanks before Pakistani supersonic F86 Sabres streaked to the rescue. It was no contest: four of the slower Indian planes were shot down, and the rest scattered.

The air-tank battle last week abruptly escalated the Kashmir trouble from a border skirmish to the brink of all-out war. The contending Asian powers are evenly matched. India's army is the larger (867,000 to 253,000), but the Pakistanis are much better equipped. In a contest of

quantity versus quality, India could probably overrun populous but poorly defended East Pakistan in a matter of weeks but might meet disaster in the arid uplands of West Pakistan.

Bloody Welter

The struggle has been 18 years in the making, and the basic issue is religion. After the British left the subcontinent in 1947, Pakistan and India emerged as independent nations in a welter of blood. An estimated half a million people were slain in the Hindu-Moslem riots, and hordes of panicky refugees fled toward the nearest friendly border. Each princely state could supposedly choose which nation it wanted to adhere to. But when the Moslem ruler of the predominantly Hindu Hyderabad opted for Pakistan, Indian troops marched in and reversed his decision. When the Hindu ruler of the predominantly Moslem Kashmir chose India, Pakistan also sent in troops. The result was a 14-month war that was finally brought to an end under United Nations auspices, with India holding two-thirds of Kashmir and Pakistan the remainder.

Since then the opposing armies have been glowering at each other across the cease-fire line, and have occasionally exchanged shots. The U.N. peace-keeping force under Australia's General Robert Nimmo has neither the authority nor the men to prevent outbreaks and is barely tolerated by both sides. The U.N. has four times ordered a plebiscite in Kashmir in order to determine the wishes of its inhabitants. India has always refused and,

in 1957, a handpicked, Kashmiri puppet legislature declared the state an "integral" part of India. Kashmir's Sheikh Abdullah, who belatedly objected to Indian domination and also called for a plebiscite, has spent most of his time in an Indian jail.

Fiery Pass

Last month when guerrilla warfare broke out in Kashmir, India announced to the world that the guerrillas were actually infiltrators from Pakistan. Just as loudly, Pakistan insisted that they were native Kashmiri "freedom fighters." Whatever their identity, the Indians have killed or captured more than a third of the estimated 3,000 "infiltrators." Deciding that this was not enough, India then moved to strike at the "infiltration routes" themselves. Indian troops crossed the U.N. cease-fire line and occupied half a dozen abandoned Pakistani outposts. Seemingly encouraged by the silence of Pakistan's President, Mohammed Ayub Khan, India stepped up the tempo. In the Poonch-Uri area, the Indians advanced fully 25 miles. Toward the end of August, four battalions of crack Indian troops drove the Pakistanis from two vital passes and claimed to have killed 62 and captured 14 of the enemy.

India became delirious with victory. News of the Indian advances was wildly cheered in Parliament. The Government radio announced the "liberation" of 5,000 people and the establishment of Indian civil administration in the "liberated" areas. While they were at it, Indian troops decided to "correct" the cease-fire line where it bulged toward the Kashmir capital of Srinagar: the salient was reduced from about 80 miles to 16. In New Delhi a top official announced: "The United Nations has not been able to see to it that the cease-fire line is observed. India has taken the task upon itself."

Question of Objectives

The open seizure of Pakistan-controlled territory left Ayub Khan almost no choice. Either Pakistan would hit back or be exposed to the world as a paper tiger. Last week Pakistan made its military answer and also chose the ground on which it would fight. Its 70 tanks were deployed on the favourable flatlands of Chhamb rather than in the rugged mountain country near Srinagar.

It was not yet clear whether the Pakistani drive had the limited objective of smashing Indian forces in the immediate area around Chhamb, or whether it had the far graver purpose of crossing India's international boundary itself to strike at the vital road that connects Jammu to Srinagar. In New Delhi, Defence Minister Y. B. Chavan declared flatly that Pakistan had invaded Indian territory, and officials spoke ominously of a nearby Indian armored division capable of moving into the Chhamb area within 24 hours. It might well move with caution, since India's armored equipment consists mostly of aged British Centurions and U.S. World War II Shermans—no match for Pakistan's Patton tanks.

It is this disparity that brought a stiff Indian protest to Washington last week, complaining that Pakistan's modern planes and armor were supplied by the U.S. with the explicit understanding that they would never be used against India.* (*Pakistan has received some \$5 billion in U.S. aid, about \$1.5 billion of it in military hardware. Of the \$5.2 billion India has received from the U.S., virtually none has been of a military nature.) Ayub Khan responded that "we will spend our time dealing with the enemy rather than putting the American weapons in cotton wool." Uncertain just what was happening in the Chhamb area,

U.S. military officers flew to the fighting scene to investigate the charges.

Talk of Honor

Ayub Khan ignored the angry howls from New Delhi, warning that Indian aggression "cannot and shall not be allowed to go unchallenged." Dismissing charges of infiltration, he said bitterly. "We are doing no more than what we have always pledged ourselves to do, which is to support the people of Kashmir in exercising their right of self-determination as pledged to them by the United Nations and Pakistan as well as India. India has dishonored her pledge. Pakistan shall honor it."

With both sides openly contemptuous of the U.N., Secretary-General U. Thant abandoned as useless his month-long "quiet diplomacy" by which he hoped to achieve behind-the-scenes mediation. He publicly called for a return to old positions and mutual respect for the cease-fire line. It was obvious last week that no one was listening, and observers could only reflect that when nations begin talking about their honor, they are in a mood for a long fight.

BRITAIN

THE ECONOMIST, September 4, 1965.

PAKISTAN CAN'T WIN

What do they do now? The Pakistanis have spent 18 years trying to get a settlement in Kashmir of the kind which, by and large, they have a right to, one satisfactory to themselves. At the start they very foolishly tried a tribal invasion which first threw the Maharaja of Kashmir into India's arms and then was beaten back. They tried the United Nations and a plebiscite; no plebiscite was ever held because the United Nations could not get

the two countries to agree on the conditions for one. They tried a military alliance with Britain and the United States, which the Indians thumbed their noses at. They tried direct talks with India, and discovered unsurprisingly that India was not interested in working out solutions satisfactory to Pakistan. They tried a flirtation with China, and found that, even when the Indians were reeling from one Chinese attack and in deadly fear of another, Mr. Nehru was not going to safeguard his other frontiers by making concessions, however hard Mr. Duncan Sandys twisted his arm. They tried to use the popular appeal of Sheik Abdullah for their own purposes, which are not his, and saw him rearrested. Last month they tried force.

And again they will probably fail. The guerrillas from across the cease-fire line have taken a beating. The Pakistanis may have expected nothing else; they know the dispositions of the Indian army well enough, and can surely not have believed that the guerrillas would be aided by a popular uprising against 100,000 Indian troops concentrated in a valley about the size of Sussex. It is more likely that the Pakistanis, who still claim to have nothing to do with the original violence, intended it mainly to reactivate the dispute. That, indeed, has been achieved, but with what result? By Thursday it looked as if the result might be outright war, a war which Pakistan would probably lose. Even if the fighting halts short of that, the Indians are now totally determined not to negotiate, let alone compromise; Kashmir, they say, is Indian and that's that.

Assuming, hopefully, that a big war can be avoided, President Ayub Khan then has four choices. He can mount further guerrilla operations on his own. He can look to world opinion to cajole India into talks. He can invite the Chinese to wave their big stick on his behalf. Or, as far as

Kashmir is concerned, he can shut up shop. The last solution is not as impossible as it sounds. President Ayub, after all, in seven years has achieved exactly nothing for the Kashmiris, whatever he may have attempted, and yet he has survived in power in Pakistan. It would be politically possible for him—so long as no one spotted what was going on—to let the whole matter drift. But it is not a solution he is very likely to accept.

What about more guerrilla operations? Here he would face the constant risk of retaliation against Pakistan itself. The Kashmir valley is small, snow-bound in winter, heavily occupied by Indian troops and not notoriously inhabited by militantly minded heroes. The best the Pakistanis could seriously hope for would be a series of pin-prick intrusions across the cease-fire line rather than a sustained guerrilla movement.

World opinion? If that means the United Nations, the Pakistanis must be permitted a bitter laugh. India has international commitments, now ageing, to the United Nations; yet even when these commitments were fresh it was essentially Indian reluctance that aborted every attempt to arrange a settlement in Kashmir. The Indians cannot now rely as securely as they once did on a Russian veto to prevent any disagreeable decision in the Security Council. But let the United Nations say what it will, and assume for the sake of argument that it is something entirely satisfactory to Pakistan, who will enforce its decisions? Not certainly a conscience-smitten Indian Government. The Pakistanis would undoubtedly like to use this forum and any others available (the Conference of New Emerging Forces, the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization, Old Uncle Tom Cobley's Peace Foundation, and all) to belabour India. They may have

a limited success. But by itself that would not get them very far.

Who else will help? Not the Americans, who are now as vexed with President Ayub as they once were with Mr. Nehru. Not the Russians, who could only lose by throwing over India in favour of Pakistan, even if they were so minded. Not the British; even if they were as biased as the dimmer citizens of New Delhi chose to hint, their economic influence over India is not worth a row of beans (whereas the economic hostages they have given India are at least pumpkin-sized).

And so back to China, the one world power that is not only in a position to harm India but would not mind doing so. Here President Ayub has two questions to ask. How far can he afford to go along with China? And how far the Chinese will go along with him? The answer to the second question is not nearly as obvious as it might seem. When the Indians and Chinese were fighting in 1962, President Ayub went out of his way to make it possible for the Indians to switch troops from the Pakistani frontier to the Chinese one. Most people have forgotten this. Have the Chinese?

Conversely, though there is often talk in New Delhi of Sino-Pakistani plots, on the first of the two occasions this year when India and Pakistan have been at each other's throats—the fight in the Rann of Cutch—the Indians felt able to move troops from the Chinese border towards Pakistan. The Pakistanis say they are doing the same this time. The Chinese have been making some threatening noises about alleged Indian intrusions from Sikkim, though these began long before the Kashmir trouble. But they have remained conspicuously silent about Kashmir. Fighting there broke out on August 9th. Of the 1,200 odd news stories the New China News Agency has put out in London since then, several have been about India. Exactly one, five days

late, described the Kashmir fighting, without overt comment, while others ostentatiously avoided mentioning the topic. The Chinese long ago endorsed Pakistan's support for Kashmiri self-determination. But it hardly looks as if they, any more than anybody else, are going to rush in to do anything about it.

The Chinese may of course be preparing to attack or threaten India on their own account. But if they are not, President Ayub, if he wants their active support, must presumably pay a price for it. Whatever it was, this would almost automatically be a price that further alienated the Americans; and for all his brave response to recent American pressure, he is not in a very good position to alienate them. The Chinese may have offered Pakistan one loan of \$60 million; the Americans, military aid excluded, provide nearly six times as much every year. Economic arguments apart, President Ayub has wisely never shown any enthusiasm for cutting his links with the West, however interested he is in acquiring new ones with the communist powers.

Pakistan's president also has to consider the hidden risks of supping with the Chinese. His is a Moslem country, largely run, with some signs of success recently, by capitalists and landowners. This might survive an alliance with China, but it might very well not. At least in East Pakistan, communism though banned, has some influence. How would President Ayub respond to an Indian warning that a grab at Kashmir might mean an Indian grab at East Pakistan? By inviting Chinese armies to march to its defence across India's north-east frontier and stay there? (Heaven knows what India would want with East Pakistan, but that is another story). Suppose the Chinese army took another crack at India. Left on their own, the Indians would—probably—be defeated; the natural result if India survived at all in

its present form, would be a more nationalist Indian government than ever. More likely, India would not be left on its own. Does Pakistan want a great-power war on its doorstep? And would it be left at liberty to grab Kashmir while everyone looked the other way?

Yet short of grabbing it militarily while India is tied up elsewhere, what chance has Pakistan of getting any Indian government ever to relax its hold on Kashmir? The mere fear of China did not do the trick in 1963. Why should it work now, when the Indian army is stronger and the Indian Prime Minister, whoever he may be, politically weaker? With one-quarter of India's population, a divided country, weaker armed forces and a far weaker economy, the Pakistanis can do nothing likely to weaken India's resolution enough without appalling risks. However just his cause, and on balance it is just, any Pakistani president must ask whether these risks are worth taking.

The only other hope of an agreed settlement appears to be a spontaneous outburst of good will. The **Eastern Economist** will cease to speak of "Pakistan, the jackal state": **Dawn** will delete its far more numerous references to Indian "imperialism", "atrocities" and 'genocide.' Those fundamental common interests which periodically enthuse Whitehall (and which do exist) will enthuse Rawalpindi and New Delhi too. Is it impossible? After all, as both quite often say, Indians and Pakistanis are brothers. So they are. So were Cain and Abel.

The Observer, September 5, 1965

Kashmir Vultures At Work

Despatch from Kashmir dated Sept. 4, by Patrick Seale

The Foreign Minister, Mr. Zulfikar Bhutto, said in a fiery broadcast last night;

"The 100 million people of Pakistan have given a solemn pledge to the people of Kashmir. This pledge they will redeem."

The route of the war lies through open, densely populated farming country. Tall Punjabi women are harvesting maize. The gold in their noses catches the sun and glints between the stalks. Every few miles a mud-brick village waves the soldiers by. Naked boys splash about with water-buffaloes in the green slime of stagnant pools.

But at the cease-fire line the smiling fields turn suddenly into a no-man's land of scrub and grass. No one has ploughed a furrow here or grazed a cow for 17 years.

Huddled Prisoners

But one's attention is soon returned to war by a huddle of Indian prisoners squatting blindfolded beneath a tree by the tail-fin of a plane lying in a vegetable plot.

When the Pakistan task-force raced across the cease-fire line last Wednesday morning, it aimed for the small town of Chhamb, India's principal strong point astride the Punjab plain. Chhamb was a brigade locality defended by India's 191st Infantry Brigade, supported by a squadron of tanks, a regiment of field artillery, a medium of battery and a company of machine guns. Pakistan infantry went in at dawn supported by tanks. It is, indeed tank country, firm and open, protected on the right flank by treacherous rice paddies and on the left by foothills which Azad Kashmir irregulars secured.

Within six hours Chhamb's concrete bunkers were overwhelmed. The Indians fell back leaving behind 15 French AMX tanks and 13 guns.

Four Indian Vampires called up by the beleaguered garrison were brought down

by Pakistan F-86's in the first air battle of the war.

Sept 4. By first light this morning Pakistan's bold swoop into Kashmir was still unchecked. The mobile task-force which burst across the cease-fire line before dawn last Wednesday was, to-day, 20 miles inside Indian territory. It is still advancing.

Just 30 miles ahead lies the glittering prize of the new all-weather Jammu-Poonch road, the main life-line for India's armies in Kashmir.

And India has not yet counter-attacked. Her troops caught off-balance by the speed and suddenness of the Pakistan thrust are still falling back. Pakistan's morale is high and the staff is jubilant. But this weekend could be deceptive.

To threaten Jammu, Pakistan must take Akhnur, where Indian defences are strong. All night Pakistani reinforcements have been roaring up through dense dust-clouds towards the battle area and the sound of artillery.

This is no frontier skirmish but, perhaps, the opening engagement in an all-out war.

Pakistan has attacked where India least expected her to—in the extreme south-west corner of Kashmir where the great Punjab plain meets the foothills.

It is a massive retort to India's three sallies across the cease-fire line last month at Kargil, Tithwal and Haji Pir Pass. But the objective this time is not just the capture of an isolated eagle's-nest fort.

Challenge to India's Whole Position in Kashmir

Pakistan has mounted a sophisticated text-book exercise in mobile warfare. Her striking force on Wednesday was small—little more than a brigade—supported with tanks and artillery. But it was hard-hitting and fast-moving.

During 20 hours at the front and travelling up and down the groaning lines of communication, I have seen only one infantry section of 10 men actually moving on foot. Everyone else was on wheels.

There were wireless trucks by the score. Sappers were laying field telephone lines like men possessed. There were no stragglers, no chaos, no pockets of the bewildered.

It was a great game until in the shadow of a blasted bunker one suddenly came upon a shattered body, and a vulture pecking at the long hair of a Sikh.

Pakistan's early success lies in the surprise of her attack and in the mobility and fire-power of her attacking force. It lies also in the skillful use she has made both of **Mujahid** guerrillas and irregulars raised and trained in Pakistan's slice of Kashmir.

The **Mujahids**—Arabic for holy warrior—are para-military units in civilian clothes. I saw pockets of them trudging across the country in the rear of the main mechanized advance. Their role in the past three weeks has been vital. Since August 9—the date of the main guerrilla crossing of the cease-fire line—they have harried and softened up Indian outposts in a series of daring night raids. This systematic demoralization must have contributed to Pakistan's success this week.

U.S.S.R.

Indian's Stand On Kashmir Appreciated

Pakistan's massive violation of the cease-fire line by sending armed invaders into Jammu and Kashmir was the main subject of discussion between the Soviet Deputy Prime Minister Mr. K. T. Mazurov and Indian leaders here today.

The Soviet Deputy Premier showed "appreciation and understanding" of the Indian position and expressed "Concern over the situation that has been created."

(Statesman report, dated Aug. 22)

(The above quotations from some British and US news periodicals give in a nut-shell the unofficial Anglo-US slant on the Indo-Pakistani Conflict which would not appear to be distinguished by a sense of either fairness or impartiality. The comments of the US **Time** especially would seem to have been very cleverly designed to use half-truths, if not quite deliberate prevarications, to create a climate of prejudice against India. In our next issue we propose to reproduce more of such materials so that our people may have a clearer picture of Anglo-U.S. opinion on the Indo-Pakistan Conflict which, certainly was not of India's seeking.

—Ed. Modern Review)

MECHANISM OF SMELL

L. REPIN

Titus Lucretius Carus was the first to evolve a theory on the mechanism of smell. This happened more than two thousand years ago, but little has changed in the matter. Titus Lucretius Carus held that all fragrant things exuded special corpuscles—tiny particles of specific form. Each substance had its own form of corpuscle, he thought, and it was these "figures" of odour that produced complicated reactions when they contacted the pores of the olfactory epithelium. Just what reactions they were Lucretius did not know. It was only at the very end of the last century that the experiments of the Scotsman Moncrieff and the Englishman Aymur seemingly confirmed the hypothesis of the ancient scholar. They too, however, failed to answer the main question. Assuming that the molecules of fragrant substances have various configurations that produce the smell, just how do they do this? What are the processes of the nerve channels?

The first earnest attempt to explain this process was made at the biophysics laboratory of Professor Grant Demirchoglyan at the Academy of Sciences of Armenia. Now let us have a look into the scientific efforts made to explain this mechanism of smell and the assumptions gained therefrom.

Power of Smell

We are surrounded with an enormous variety of smells all over our lives. Some of them are customary and no longer surprising. Others are impossible to get used to, for they inevitably bring an indescribable freshness of perception. What a pity that we are able to perceive only a small part of the illimitable scale of smells.

The world seems quite different to animals and insects for these have incredibly subtle olfactory mechanisms. Butterflies can smell one another over distances of several kilometers. Man, too, is surprisingly keen to some materials: most of us can at once detect the smell of ionon. We can even perceive such significant concentrations of the stuff as might seem amazing, at a first glance: on the part of ionon to 30,000 million parts of air!

It is hard to imagine that such subtle smell "locators" could be built by man in, say, a chemical laboratory or in a factory. The scientists have been giving more and more attention to the world of insects, trying to fathom the secret of their incredibly subtle powers of smell.

The Sense of Smell and Olfactory Mechanism

A group of Swedish scientists directed by Professor R. Granit, now President of the Swedish Royal Academy of Sciences, made an interesting experiment five years ago. As a result they learned that action produced by odorous substances on the olfactory receptors was accompanied by queer bio-electrical signals. Professor Demirchoglyan concluded that these signals could be used as a research medium with which to penetrate the "holy of holies" of the olfactory mechanism. The scientist made the interesting suggestion that the inner structures of all the sense organs were built along a single principle though of highly intricate elements.

Studying the olfactory receptors in the last century, the Russian scientist Dogel

classified them as staffs and bulbs—exactly like the visual ones. It would seem that the receptors of the signals are the same though the senses are different. It would seem, too, that nature has been chary here, trying to use as little of its highly varied “construction” elements as it can. This precisely is the riddle, and perhaps its solution as well.

Here is one of the experiments made: On a laboratory table we see a frog with surprised popping eyes. A very fine micro-electrode protrudes from its head: it has been ushered into the sphere of the olfactory epithelia. A simple device stands nearby: a dosimetre releasing equal portions of volatile substance—of butanol. The oscillograph screen each time records a slowly rising signal: a vivid line reluctantly rises and subsides as unhurriedly. This is irrefutable proof that electrical impulses appear in the olfactory epithelia of the frog under the effects of the butanol. The experiments can produce those impulses to any desired extent at any moment. The dosimetre-frog-oscillograph system functions as smoothly as a well tuned mechanism.

Demirchoglyan and his assistants V. Ogandjanyan and E. Avetisyan noticed that the tension of the “olfactory” biocurrents was far greater than in the similar experiment with the optic retina, for the instruments then had registered only a fraction of a millivolt, instead of several millivolts as now. It is difficult, as yet, to say whether this implies that the processes are far stronger in the olfactory apparatus than in the optic, or whether the processes in the former are simply cruder. That does not really matter here. The chief thing is that Professor Demirchoglyan's premise about the kinship of the inner structure of the senses seems to have been confirmed.

There was yet another remarkable confirmation. The olfactory epithelia consist mainly of albuminous substances whose

chief component is the “sulfhydryl groups.” Working on these groups, the researchers learned to change their quantity in the epithelia. Much to their surprise the signal on the oscillograph screen was also changed. The less there was of the sulfhydryl group, the weaker was the signal. The scientists achieved such precise control with the biocurrent that they could reduce the signal to zero if they wished. There was no reaction to the irritant then: only a white luminous dot ran across the screen of the oscillograph.

From this one could deduce but one thing: the sulfhydryl group was the chief link in the structure of the olfactory organ. Professor Demirchoglyan's premise was confirmed by the fact that similar albuminous groups were also responsible for vision, for no sooner were they blocked in the retina than sight partially failed. Had nature really built the senses with the same “bricks?”

The sulfhydryl group evidently plays the chief role. But where isn't there any other, equally important substances? To determine this Villi Ogandjanyan made the following experiment. He extracted the frog's epithelium and prepared an extract with it—something like a solution. After this, he determined the concentration of “sulfhydryl groups”, free the “Jiin smells” from a bottle and switched on the dosimetre of butanol. Then he measured the concentration again and found that the molecules of the sulfhydryl group had sharply increased in number. The same thing happened every time: these albuminous materials grew in quantity when affected by odorous substances. Which meant that the sulfhydryl group molecules were linked with other substances and were simply released when exposed to a smell. As for all the other substances of the epithelium, these did not change in quantity. Thus, there was another, this time quantitative

confirmation that the sulfhydryl group was chiefly responsible for the sense of smell.

Experiments to Continue

In Yerevan I asked Demirchoglyan what experiments his laboratory proposed to make in the near future.

"We would like to compile something like a chart of odours to determine which part of the olfactory epithelium reacts to different smells. It is possible that they do not fulfil such specific functions. These suppositions have cropped up before. To clear up the matter we shall attach an external electrode to each group of receptors. There will be fifty in all. Each electrode will

register the sum of the reactions of all the receptors. I think we shall learn much that is interesting. After this, and that's a matter of the very near future, we intend to make a similar experiment with a human being. The experiment was far more complicated where vision was concerned. The olfactory experiment is absolutely safe and painless. This, for all we know, may be the method that will help doctors to examine a patient's sense of smell quickly and accurately. We will first see what the experiments will show. Then we will continue with the next phase of our research—the study of the hypersensitive hemoreceptors of insects. The prospect of creating instruments with such an olfactory sense is highly attractive."

LADY ABALA BOSE

A Tribute

SQBHONA NANDI

It is a matter of great privilege that **Nari Siksha Samity**

I should have this present opportunity of paying my tribute of respect to the memory of the Late Lady Abala Bose, whose birth centenary has only recently been celebrated. My feeble powers of both assessment and expression may not, I am deeply conscious, be adequate enough for presenting a comprehensive picture of the incomparably versatile interests and the many and varied contributions to diverse fields of human endeavour that distinguished her life of great achievements. Mine will, therefore, have to be more in the nature of a personal anecdote, for she has been like unto a mother to me from as early as when I was only a little slip of a motherless child, a relation which remained unaffected throughout the long decades that followed and the many and varied vicissitudes through which life has taken me.

Among those great pathmakers who had helped to bring about an epochal transformation in the position and status of Indian womanhood in contemporary society, enabling it to claim perfect equality of rights and privileges with man in every field of human activity, the late Lady Abala Bose must be regarded to have been a most distinguished one. Her contributions to organising institutional relief to distressed and helpless Bengalee women have been informed by an equal measure of heartfelt compassion and great foresight, balanced judgment and unusual organizational talents. She was both a great educationist and a devoted worker for the cause of social welfare.

The position of women in Society in those days was really very distressing, especially among that large class of illiterates who, when widowed or orphaned, were left completely helpless and without any kind of equipment to face life. With characteristic compassion tempered with an unusual measure of realism, Lady Bose clearly visualized that education was the primary requisite which alone could rescue these helpless women from their most unenviable and, often, most humiliating plight. But such a scheme of education must also have for one of its basic objectives the business of equipping them eventually with the ability to support themselves. This alone would awaken their sense of self-respect, self-reliance and contribute to their larger social usefulness. Instead of remaining helplessly and humiliatingly dependent upon family or social charity, they could thus be transformed into active and useful members of a progressive society.

To conceive of such a scheme was, with Lady Bose, to launch heart and soul into the arduous task of planning to give it practical shape. She was fortunate that she had, in the late Krishnaprasad Bysack, a loyal, devoted and an indefatigable worker for the cause. Under Lady Bose's inspiring leadership and Krishnaprasad Bysack's devoted labours, the Nari Siksha Samity was born. Within a very short while a number of primary schools were established in and around Calcutta and in many of the outlying villages of the country.

But a difficult problem soon raised its head; the schools were there, but where-



LADY ABAI A BOSE

from would they draw their teaching staff? With most people this might easily have proved such an insuperable problem that the whole enterprise might well have been abandoned in sheer frustration. Not so with Lady Bose. She often used to admonish her despairing fellow workers with the adage that "problems were made to be overcome" and this one she did overcome with characteristic purposefulness. She had a band of raw recruits for her schools piloted through the Junior Teachership Training Course and thus had a nucleus staff as a sort of initial jumping-off ground. Those who constituted the nucleus of the staff found in the process a message of hope, a sort of meaningfulness in their hitherto meaningless and debasing existence. Those innumerable women condemned by illiteracy, child-marriage, the purdah system and widowhood etc., to a position of humiliating serfdom found in this institution a new light of hope; theirs was not a wholly useless existence as they had so long been led to believe it was, but could be a self-sustaining, useful one and they also could, with a little courage and effort, earn the right not merely of self-reliance but also the respect and regard of society as a whole. The whole thing started such a chain-reaction that the womanhood of Bengal as a whole, even in remote villages, won a new poise and a new meaning in life.

Education, Lady Bose realised with her characteristic clarity of thinking and vision, was a basic requisite. But an equally urgent and eventual requirement for the economically helpless woman was to set up the necessary institutional measures for equipping her with the qualities that would enable her to earn her living. The residential Vidysagar Bani Bhabana she established fulfilled just such a purpose. Away from Calcutta also she established similar institutions in a number of mofussil centres

where training in various crafts were provided. This helped a large number of women to find a self-reliant footing in society and which eventually spread to wider areas of self-sustaining endeavour. Daughter of an eminent and affluent family and the wife of one of the world's most eminent creative scientists, Lady Bose's infinite fund of compassion for the suppressed and the underprivileged womanhood of the country led her to exert herself unremittingly in these fields of endeavour to the very last days of her amazingly full life.

Brahmo Balika Shikshalaya

And, on top of all these varied and onerous responsibilities, there was her constant concern for the Brahmo Balika Shikshalaya of which her father the late Durgamohan Das, was one of the founders. It would seem to be obvious that all her endeavours in diverse fields of women's welfare stemmed from an abiding faith that the future of the womanhood of the country had to be built upon the solid foundations of a wide-based education. She firmly believed that with an appropriately firm foundation of education to sustain them, our women would acquire that measure of self-confidence and courage which alone would enable them to assume their rightful position in society.

While applying herself to the cause of women's education, Lady Bose's attention was inevitably turned towards necessary reforms in the methods of children's education. She was deeply concerned with the need for reorganising children's education on modern scientific lines for she believed that the future of the nation would depend on the measure in which the child was educated to think and act for itself. It was with this end in view that she introduced the modern methods evolved

by Madam Maria Montessori in the kindergarten sections of the Brahmo Balika Shikshalaya. It was no easy task she had set herself, for any change in traditional methods always calls into being a great deal of opposition; but with characteristic determination and with her unfailing courtesy and sweetness of disposition she was able to overcome all such opposition. She believed, and believed with all her heart and soul, that it was the right kind and method of education alone that could induce that element of self-reliance, self-discipline and that innate sense of courtesy and good manners, into the child, without which no race could earn greatness. All her endeavours in the field of education was sustained and nurtured by this invincible faith.

Sense of Patriotism

Lady Bose epitomised in her life and her unremitting activities in diverse fields of endeavour her abiding faith in the glorious history of India, her ideals and traditions, and a true sense of patriotism. Her endeavours in the especial fields of women's welfare were not motivated by any narrow concern for members only of her own sex, but stemmed from that larger conviction that an illiterate, unreliant womanhood would pull the whole nation backwards. With woman holding her own alongside of men alone would ensure that balanced progress which could lead to eventual national emancipation. It is this sense of the woman's role in the nation's development and progress that led her to concentrate her efforts in this field of endeavour. Even until the very last stages of her existence on earth, hers remained a completely dedicated life. Only a few days before she passed away she told me that there was so much more to be done for the women of the country and deplored that

her time was fast running out and she was no longer able to apply herself to the cause with her wonted vigour and energy. What would especially underline her greatness of soul and the measure of her wholehearted dedication is that she never desired nor looked for any encomiums or public approbation for all that she did and endeavoured to achieve. She was the soul of integrity and honour and was a complete stranger to any sense of conceit or vanity, a very rare quality in any human being.

Family Background

But to speak about her public activities alone would not present another and a no less distinguished aspect of her life and character. Daughter of the late Durgamohan Das, eminent advocate and social reformer of his times, Lady Bose inherited in very large measure the wide catholicity and progressive outlook of her distinguished father. It was mainly due to the abiding faith in the woman's appropriate role in social progress of Durgamohan, Dwarkanath Ganguly. Pandit Shivrath Shastri and others, and as a result mainly of their unremitting effort, that the doors of the Indian Universities—among which the Calcutta University naturally played the role of the earliest pioneer—were thrown open to women for the first time in the world's history of university education. Lady Bose had not acquired any formal university degree—her career as a medical student was cut short by her marriage with Acharya Jagadish Chandra Bose—but the kind of education which brings forth the innate humanity of a person, she had imbibed in large measure from her illustrious father. Her elder sister Sarala Roy, wife of the late Dr. P. K. Roy, was the founder of the reputed educational institution, the Gokhale Memorial School for girls. Deshabandhu Chittaranjan was a first cousin. It

was from such a background that Lady Bose came and it was small wonder that she should, in the living of her own life, endeavour to carry forward the ideals and patriotic fervour of her own people.

Wife And Helpmeet

While a medical student in Madras, Lady Bose was married to Acharya Jagadish Chandra Bose, then a young professor at the Presidency College, Calcutta. She took her responsibilities as a wife and mistress of a family with characteristic seriousness and devotion. Those who have known the late Acharya Bose, know how Lady Bose unfailingly stood firm and immovable between her husband and the demands of a worrying world. The creative genius in Jagadish Chandra might never have reached the zenith of its great achievements if his wife had not so devotedly tended him—almost as a mother tends her helpless child—and afforded him absolute protection from all the many worries and distractions of life. She was a most devoted wife and a helpmeet to her eminent husband in the real sense and would always be at his beck and call so that her husband may give his undivided attention to the great and creative work upon which he was engaged. Those who had known Lady Bose and the onerous calls upon her time so that her great husband could bestow his singleminded and devoted attention to his scientific investigations, often wondered how she could find the time to do so much for her people and her country. Truly, she was a living exam-

ple of absolute devotion to all that she undertook to do, both as a wife of a constantly demanding savant and as a dedicated social welfare worker and educationist.

But even in the midst of so much to occupy herself, she invariably found time to devote to duties of a more intimate and personal nature. A sick friend or a bereaved family could always depend upon finding her by their side bringing solace and consolation, affection and heartfelt concern, in ample measure in their hour of need. Needless to say that she was most fortunate in having her great husband's unstinted support and approbation in all that she endeavoured to do both in respect of her public activities as well as in her more intimate personal relationships. I have personally received in abundant measure her affection and kindness.

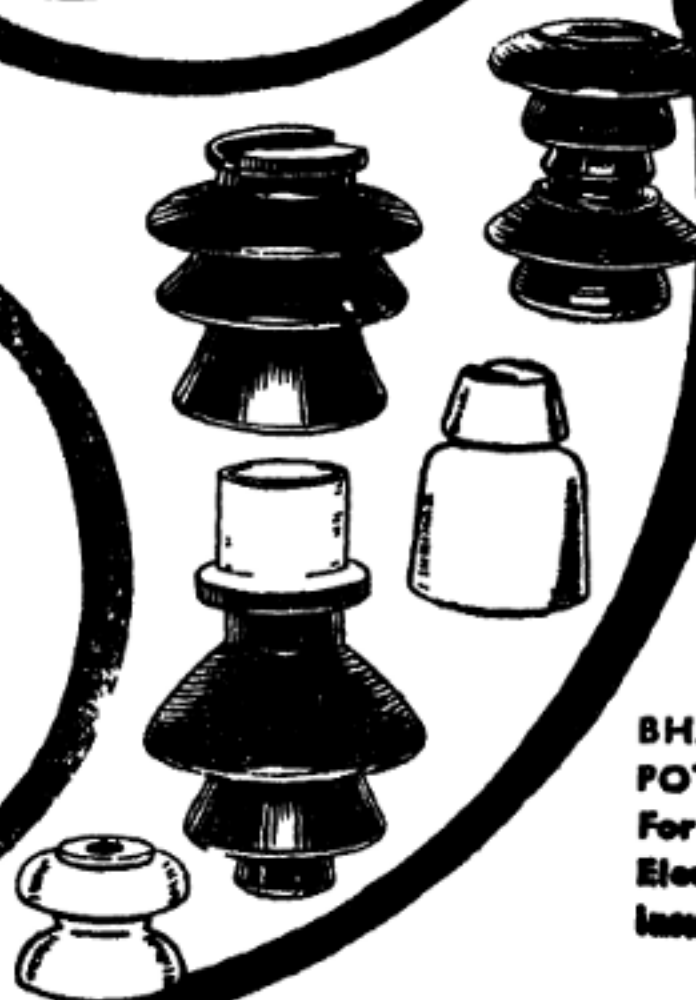
In her life Lady Bose epitomized an amazing synthesis between traditional heritages of her own country and her history and the elements of a modern progressive outlook. The thinking of the ancient saints and seers of her own land deeply inspired her. But to that was added her attachment to all that was progressive and beneficial in modern thinking. And all her thoughts, all her endeavours in diverse fields of human activity were all converged upon service to country and to humanity. Her devoted service to the cause of social progress and for carving out for the womanhood of the country her rightful place in the process, will always remain engraved in indelible letters in the history of our times.

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Authors and publishers of Gujarati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia : Gandevi, Dist. Surat, instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

THE INNER PATH TO GOD (Two Thousand and one Thought Jewels) - By Swami Premananda. Published by Vantage Press Inc, 120 West 31st Street, New York-1, N.Y. First Edition 1964 Price \$3-50 Pp 123.

Swami Premananda, born in Calcutta and a graduate of the Calcutta University, went to the United States of America in 1928 to assume the duties of the self-revelation Church of Absolute monism of Washington, D.C., is author of several books on Vedic and Oriental Philosophy which includes the Dharmapada, the path of the Eternal Law. He has lectured extensively at Universities, before service, Civic and educational groups, as also at Christian Churches of almost every denomination. Writing, Work, Service and Masonic activities (he is a 33rd degree Mason, a shriner, a proficient ritualist in higher Masonic degrees and is the one and only Swami to receive the distinction with which he has been honoured by a Masonic body) are his abiding interests.

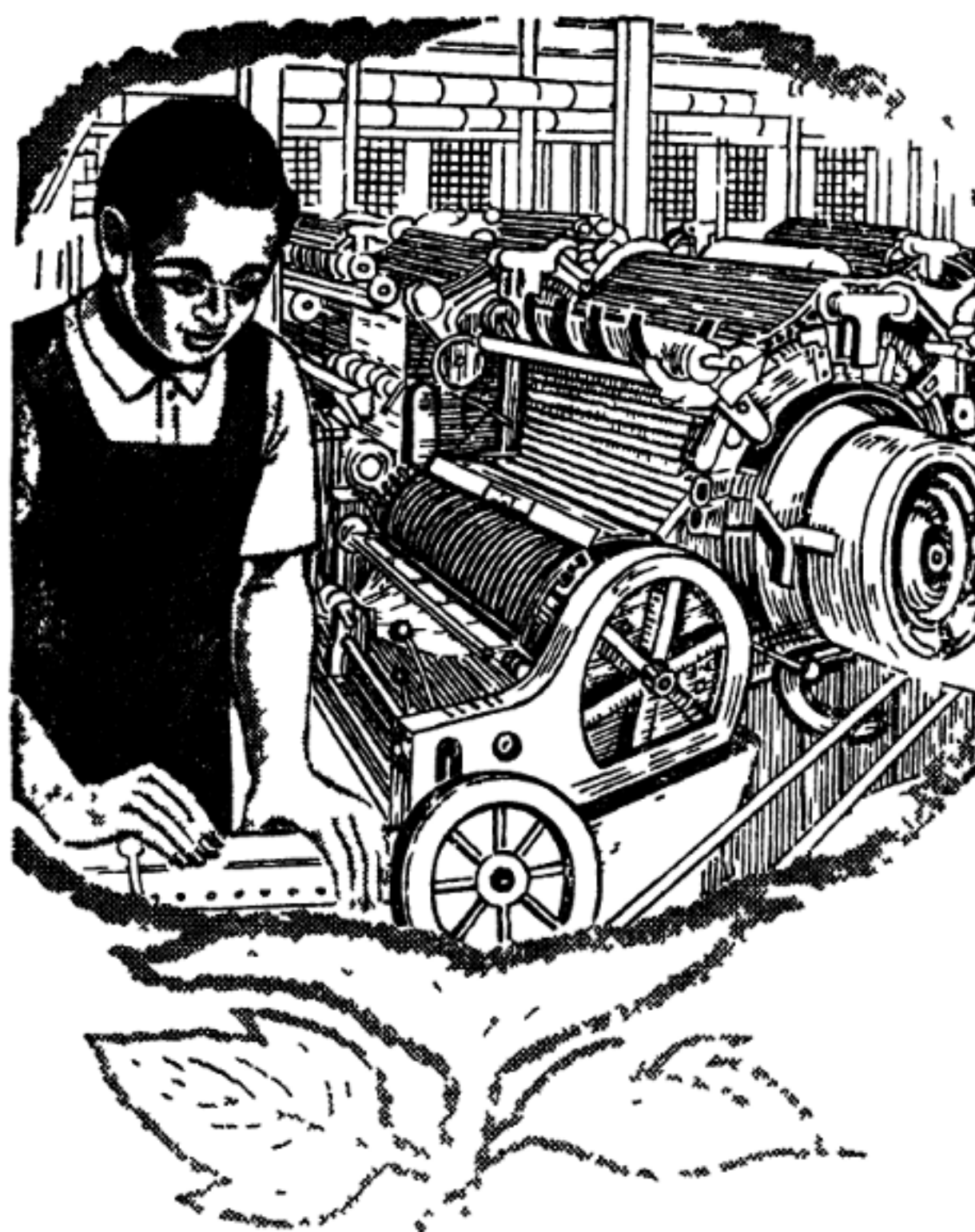
The work under notice, written in heightened prose—which is at once elo-

quent and poetic,—outlines the step-by-step process by which the self comes into ultimate awareness of self-less oneness and absolute freedom.

Swami Premananda, in his simple but profound thought jewels, reveals the inner path by which mortal man can attain immortality, pointing out the path that leads from misery and sorrow and pettiness to the ultimate peace and supreme job of self-realization. Some quotations from the book will not be out of place here.

Of *Awakening* he says: "I was alone on the lonely mountain when I heard Thy voice in the Song of a spring bird. I opened my eyes and beheld Thy form. I looked within and found Thee in my heart. The Light of the New Dawn has touched my soul and I am awakened with the vision of Thy all pervading Universality and Thy transcendental Infinity"

Of *Beauty* he writes—"Thou dost stand before me in the light of the dawn. in the loftiness of the mountain and in the vastness of the shoreless sea. Thou speakest unto me through the song of the bird and the silent music of the wavering



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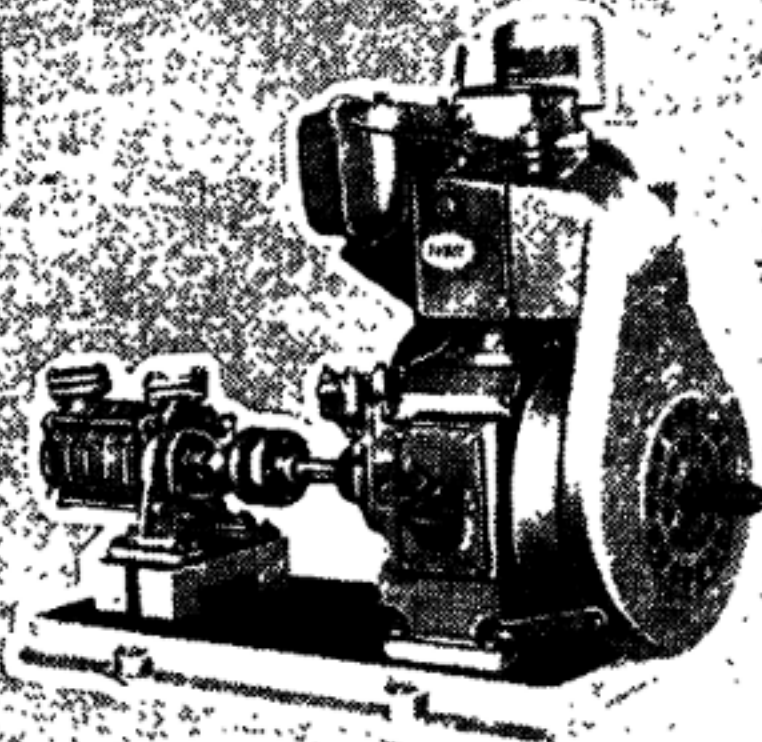
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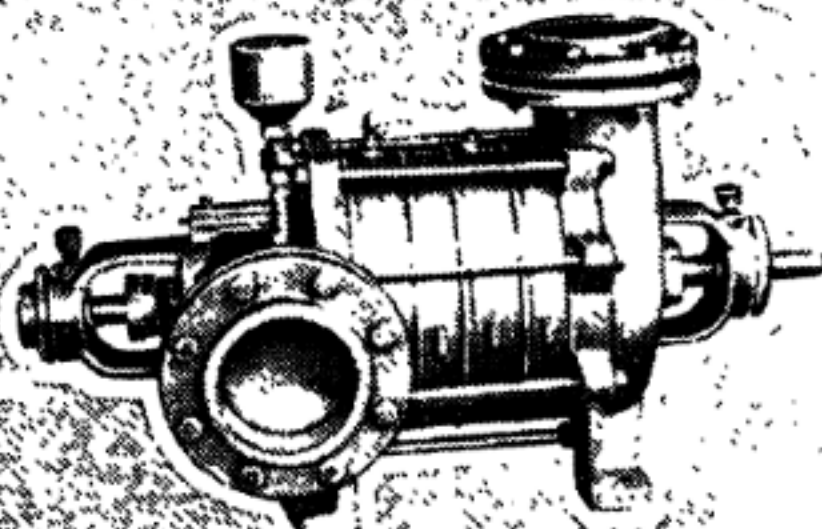
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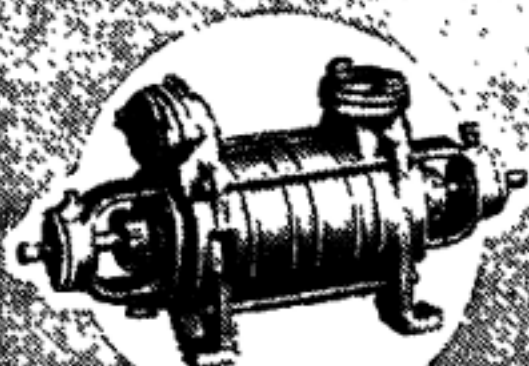
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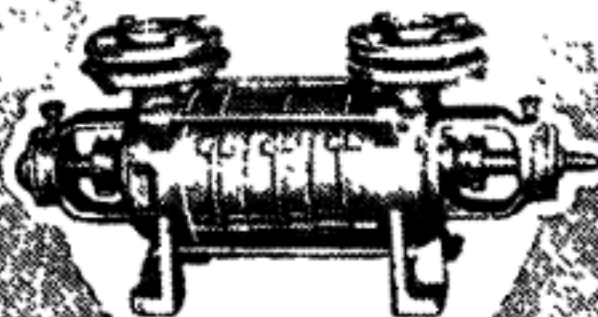
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leaves. Thy voice comes to me through the cosmic vibration of the universe. Thou art ever near to my being. Let me draw my soul close to Thee".

Of *Death* he thinks :—" . . . My adoration of Thee is only the fulfillment of Thy love for me. When I leave this world of light and shadow, my Lord, only one thing will I take with me - it is Thy love enshrined in my soul. As the river flows to the mighty sea, even so with all my being, my body, mind, heart and soul, let me reach out for Thy love, peace and perfection. As the river flows to the mighty sea, even so life leads the soul to immortality."

Of *Truth*, the Swami writes : "Man's first responsibility is to God and to truth. Only that life is unrighteous which is not built upon truth. Wisely speak the truth but with pure and loving

heart. Noble words from an unrighteous heart are the worst sacrilege. Obedience to truth is the attainment of self-liberation ; only a man of truth is really free. Identification with truth is the invincible shield against fear. Fear is the inherent weakness of the sensory mind as courage is the innate power of the Soul "

The reader will find enough power and beauty, and may be—he will also get some vision of the ancient wisdom of the East in this book as these 'thought Jewels' embody the basic principles of Jnana or 'wisdom Yoga'. One feels happy to see such a book in today's utterly materialistic world—when human values and love of truth have become things of contempt

C K H

Editor—ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

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WHOLE No 707

NOTES

Civilising Indians

A statement made by a blustery liar needs no answer, yet if such lies give rise to doubts and questions in the minds of persons who are not very well informed about the subject matter of the lies it will serve a useful human purpose to clear up such probable doubts. There was a time when the British in order to justify their plunder of militarily weaker lands talked at length about civilising the looted countries. And they also published false accounts of the culture and civilisation of their victims with a view to create contempt for these poor sufferers in all those who came to know of Britain's aggressions upon other nations. Very recently the Chinese have been "liberating" and probably "civilising" too, their political and military victims in Tibet. So that this story of carrying civilisation at the sword point is as old as the hills and there is nothing new in finding a justification for one's marauding adventures in one's alleged longing for carrying the light of true knowledge etc. to the darkest corners of the earth. The fact that these darkest corners always have the largest quantities of gold too need not worry those who listen to these colourful lies.

It is nice to be told by all kinds of people that they are and have been making efforts to

civilise you. If they did not try to filch your purse too in the process of carrying out their noble work it would be better for you. A purer heart with a fuller pocket somehow appeals to one's plans for self improvement. But pick pockets are believers in a give and take method of carrying civilisation to empty souls. They try to put something in the souls as they take more things out of the pocket that are associated with the souls. We find in history that certain tribes have excelled in warfare and making ferocious incursions into other lands. While their ferocity and military might lasted they looted palaces and temples, razed cities to the ground and burnt down great libraries and centres of learning and culture. The great library of Alexandria and the University of Nalanda can be cited as examples. In India thousands of temples have been destroyed with their untold wealth of art and manuscripts by marauders who thought they were the store house of the only true wisdom that humanity had. In fact they only looted, destroyed and committed every low crime men were capable of and had virtually no knowledge or culture of any kind. After centuries of domicile in India and constant mixture of blood, knowledge and culture the descendants of these marauders became 99 per cent Indian physically and developed a synthesised culture which was again,

99 per cent Indian. Whatever came from outside was mainly Persian and developed in that country in spite of and contrary to the teaching and preaching of fanatical priests of a vicious cult.

The UNESCO are now trying to bring back into circulation the Sacred Books of the East which were first published by the Oxford University Press in 1891. Great names are associated with these books. Max Mueller, George Buhler, Julius Jolly, Rhys Davids, Hermann Oldenberg, Hermann Jacobi, G. Thibaut and M. Winternitz are names which cannot be turned down by dollars or knocked out by Patton tanks. The greatest scholars that humanity has known in recent times give us these fifty volumes among which the Indian texts are all much more than 1000 years old. These books are landmarks in the field of human civilisation which cannot be uprooted by force or by the combined effort of all the hars in Pakistan. We are giving the list of these books below.

The Upanishads	Vols. 1 and 15 in the Series	Translated by	Max Mueller
The Sacred Laws of the Aryas	Vols. 2 and 14		George Buhler
The Sacred Books of China	Vols. 3, 16, 27, 28, 39 and 40		Julius Jolly
The Zend Avesta	Vols. 4, 23 and 31		J. Darmesteter and F. H. Mills
Pahlavi Texts	Vols. 5, 18, 21, 37 and 47		F. W. West
The Quran	Vols. 6 and 9		F. H. Palmer
The Institutes of Vishnu	Vol. 7		Julius Jolly
The Bhagavad-gita	Vol. 8		K. T. Teluk
The Dhammapadam and Sutta-Nipata	Vol. 10		Max Mueller and E. Cosell
Buddhist Suttas	Vol. 11		Rhys Davids
The Satipatthi Brahmana	Vols. 12, 26, 41, 43 and 44		F. T. Teluk
Vinaya Texts	Vols. 13, 17 and 20		Rhys Davids and Oldenberg
The T'ao Shou Hsin Tsan K'in	Vol. 19		S. Beal
The Saddharma Pundarika	Vol. 21		H. Kern
Jaina Sutras	Vols. 22 and 15		H. Jacobi
Manu	Vol. 25		G. Buhler
The Grihya Sutras	Vols. 29 and 30		Oldenberg and Max Mueller
Vedic Hymns	Vols. 32 and 46		Max Mueller and Oldenberg
The Minor Law Books	Vol. 33		Julius Jolly
The Vedanta Sutras	Vols. 34 and 38		G. Thibaut
The Questions of King Milinda	Vols. 35 and 36		Rhys Davids
Hymns of the Atharva Veda	Vol. 42		M. Bloomfield
The Vedanta Sutras	Vol. 48		G. Thibaut
Buddhist Mahayana Texts	Vol. 49		Cowell, Max Mueller and Takakusu
Index	Vol. 50		M. Winternitz

Seven books have reference to the civilisation of China, eight to that of ancient pre-Islamic Persia, two to Islamic religion and thirty-two to the philosophy and religion of India. It would appear from this that the intellectual world appreciated Indian civilisation to a greater degree than that of any other nation of Asia. The reason for this will be found in the complex and many-sided nature of Indian civilisation. Apart from philosophy and religion, India achieved rare distinction in various other fields of culture. Art, architecture, town planning, engineering, music, dietetics, animal husbandry, agriculture, economics and metal work can be mentioned off hand to prove the versatility of Indians. Civilisation means the way of life and the thoughts and preferences of human beings. Rapaciousness, however successfully practised, cannot be called civilisation. India developed her languages, thoughts, arts and crafts in a manner which attracted the admiration of the scholars of all nations. It does not therefore really matter if some low and degraded types speak ill of India in order to achieve a criminal purpose. India has also been receptive. She has absorbed the culture of other nations with a grace and skill of creative synthesis which is not found in other civilisations of a similar level of development. This synthesis has always been more creative than imitative and anyone who tries to belittle India for her receptiveness in the field of culture merely parades his sinful ignorance and stark malice. The three great Moguls, Akbar, Jehangir and Shahjahan who had been the most prominent patrons of Indo-Persian collaboration in the field of art and culture, were Indians in an outright fashion. They never thought they belonged to some other nation like some unworthy sons of mother India of today whose fake ancestry so easily bewitches their witless minds.

Those who think that they or their forefathers had civilised India by their temporary conquests of various areas of this vast sub-continent, really have no knowledge or understanding of the subject they try to discuss. In fact the various nomadic and semi-barbarous tribes and hordes that entered India from time to time never influenced India culturally to any extent. Rather, they soon developed newer ways of life and changed their own cultural outlook quite pro-

foundly. That is, they themselves became civilised by settling down in this ancient land of *Rishis* and *Ashramas*.

Certain types of apparently cultured persons with a slavish mentality, whom we have already referred to like to think that they are not-Indians and therefore of a superior breed. This is an entirely wrong idea. Anthropologically, there is not much to choose between Indians of different types including those who call themselves Pakistanis. The same racial, linguistic, cultural and religious communities are found all over this sub-continent. There are even as many followers of Islam in India as there are in Pakistan. The Pakistanis owe a special debt of gratitude to the British for the latter created Pakistan by their intrigues and by their open support of the two nation theory which was of their own manufacture. Even the word Pakistan was "made in England". It is therefore, with a view to give the Pakistanis confidence in true knowledge that we quote from Dr. A. L. Basham's book "The Wonder that was India" (A Survey of the Culture of the Indian Sub-continent before the coming of the Muslims). Dr. Basham is Reader in the History of India in the University of London. He is an authority on Indian culture and civilisation and his book has run into several editions. He begins his book by quoting from the Syrian astronomer-monk Severus Sebokhit, who wrote in A.D. 662:

"I shall not now speak of the knowledge of the Hindus of their subtle discoveries in the science of astronomy—discoveries even more ingenious than those of the Greeks and Babylonians of their rational system of mathematics, or of their method of calculation which no word can praise strongly enough—I mean the system using nine symbols. If these things were known by the people who think that they alone have mastered the sciences because they speak Greek they would perhaps be convinced, though a little late in the day, that other folk, not only Greeks, but men of a different tongue, know something as well as they." This idea of monopoly of knowledge, civilisation and culture have obsessed other communities too after the Greeks. The best known sufferers have been some European linguistic groups. The Arabs were very highly civilised; but they never displayed that type of intellectual arrogance. They borrowed from the

Hindus and acknowledged their debts unhesitatingly. But certain pseudo-Arabs living in one part of this sub-continent like to think that they have been civilising India for about a thousand years or so. The fact that more than 90 per cent of their own people are on the lowest rungs of civilisation does not worry them. "We do not know, but we can teach" is their motto.

Dr. Basham says, "The whole of South-East Asia received most of its culture from India.... by the 4th Century A.D. Sanskrit was the official language of the region, and there arose great civilisations, capable of organizing large maritime empires, and of building such wonderful memorials to their greatness as the Buddhist Stupa of Borobodur in Java, or the Saivite Temples of Angkor in Cambodia.....Northwards Indian cultural influence spread through Central Asia to China.... The whole of the Far East is in India's debt for Buddhism, which helped to mould the distinctive civilizations of China, Korea, Japan and Tibet.

"From Goethe onwards most of the great German philosophers knew something of Indian philosophy. Schopenhauer, whose influence on literature and psychology has been so considerable, indeed openly admitted his debt, and his outlook was virtually that of Buddhism. The monism of Fichte and Hegel might never have taken the forms they did if it had not been for Anquetil-Duperron's translation of the *Upanisads* and the work of other pioneer indologists.... Emerson, Thoreau and other New England writers avidly studied much Indian religious literature in translation, and exerted immense influence on their contemporaries and successors, notably Walt Whitman.....

"The Sages who meditated in the jungles of the Ganges Valley six hundred years or more before Christ are still forces in the world."

Helplessness of U.N.

The Security Council of the United Nations is apparently quite powerless to maintain its own prestige and dignity. If a representative of a member State behaves in a filthy and offensive sessions of the Council and the rimanded nor punished for highly placed international

body of accredited agents of Sovereign States, things must be had indeed for the council. Any parliamentary body has statutory arrangements for protecting its dignity and honour. No one can go unpunished after violating the rules of conduct and behaviour in Parliament. If a man offends the rules of behaviour in a Court of Law, he is hauled up for contempt. There are rules of conduct in embassies, in the Councils of all lawfully formed bodies, in schools and colleges and even in a club. But only in the Security Council of the United Nations Organization an appointed representative of a Member State can get up and use abusive language without being sent out or punished for breach of etiquette. The U.N. can surely afford to make changes in its rules and regulations so that its sessions are held in a manner befitting its honourable position?

Kashmir is India

When India was partitioned by the British they demarcated different areas to form Pakistan and the rest remained India. They could only allot such areas to Pakistan and India as were entirely and totally under British rule. The various Indian States were not dealt with for allocation to Pakistan and India in this manner for the reason that the British had no unqualified sovereignty over these States. These had treaty relations with the British Crown which did not give the suzerain power the right to give away territory to other States. The British therefore left the Indian States as they were and arranged that the States could accede to Pakistan or India according to their choice, subject to certain basic considerations. Whether the British had the right to even arrange things in that manner could be questioned. One may certainly assume that when the British gave up their sovereign rights over British India; they immediately ceased to have any powers over Indian India. So that the Indian States became free to do what they liked, and Pakistan and India too acquired a freedom to negotiate with the States as to their future relations with the new-born nations. But neither Pakistan nor India earned the right to make any insidious attacks upon the peoples of these States who had their human rights

to protect which they could call upon any power they chose to. Pakistan always believed in unlawful attacks upon the rights of others. So, she organized Razakars in Hyderabad and Kawalis in Kashmir and launched attacks upon the people of these States in order to conquer them and make them slaves of Pakistan. The Nizam of Hyderabad said nothing while his subjects suffered pillage and rapine until the Indian police action restored to them their human rights. In Kashmir the Maharaja called in the Indians and his Muslim Minister Shaikh Abdulla, fully endorsed his action. So that while Pakistan tried to capture Kashmir by conquest the Indian soldiers lawfully defended the State against forcible annexation by Pakistan. Her intentions were very clearly shown up when Pakistan managed to hand on to a portion of Kashmir by means of a cease fire through the U.N. She never allowed the people of the so-called Azad Kashmir any freedom or the right of self-determination. This part of Kashmir is under Pakistan's dictatorship and that in spite of all Pakistan's cries for a plebiscite in Kashmir which is democratically governed is an integral part of India. Pakistan's attitude towards Kashmir is further clarified by her gift of 2000 square miles of Azad Kashmir to China. Did Pakistan hold a plebiscite in Azad Kashmir before she made a gift of this vast area to China? There are many Muslim countries in the world. But nowhere are religious minorities treated in the manner that Pakistan has treated her Christian, Buddhist and Hindu nationals. Murder, dishonour and expropriation have been their share of Pakistan Islamic theocracy. For sheer fanatical savagery no State has ever surpassed Pakistan. A state which has shown no respect to any moral standards at any time can only be declared outlaw by all civilized countries. Yet Pakistan gets support and aid from U.S.A. and U.K. because these nations want for themselves the freedom of Kashmir for strategic reasons. Pakistan must go out of Kashmir entirely. We cannot sacrifice our territorial rights to provide military bases to other nations.

Whom to Believe?

It is difficult to believe anybody or anything in the modern world. Not very long ago

Sri Vijay Lakshmi Pandit went to France to meet the French Dictator Gen. de Gaulle. She came back after a 'very successful meeting' with the General and we were told how well she had impressed the French leader and that we could be absolutely sure of French support to India's stand in the Security Council regarding discussion by the Council of the political situation in Kashmir is apart from the cease fire and withdrawal of armed personnel from the various areas where India and Pakistan were fighting. But later we found France was not supporting India at all. Rather she was supporting the opposite camp which wanted to force a plebiscite in Kashmir. Now did we misunderstand Sri Vijay Lakshmi Pandit's report of her talks with Gen. de Gaulle? Or did she misunderstand Gen. de Gaulle?

Next comes the matter of this Afro-Asian Conference. For weeks now we have been listening to what was going to happen in Algeria on Nov. the 5th and how that was going to destroy China's power and position in Africa and Asia. Now we know China has successfully induced a majority of the members of the A.A. Conference to postpone the meeting is desired by China! Many friendly nations have turned perfidious suddenly and torpedoed India's solid position in the society of Afro-Asian Nations. Why must India hawk international fellowship through fairly inefficient agents when she gains nothing by it? She lost much by this kind of activity in the days of Pandit Nehru. She should give it up now and learn to stay at home for strength, stay at home for supplies and stay at home for self-respect.

Guardian of the Muslims

Whether Pakistan serves Islam or not is a matter for speculation. Some say Islam is not practised by Pakistani Muslims with that devotion and ardour which we find in Indian Muslims. We do not know if this is true. But we do know that Pakistan serves and obeys the Non-Muslim powers which help her and her and sustain her in all her poverty and in all her misdeeds. These powers are not very much interested in Islam, so we presume they demand that Pakistan should occasionally

engage in some nefarious activities which are not in keeping with the tenets of Islam (or of any religion). Plunder, looting, arson, rape etc. are all prohibited by Islam. Pakistan appears to thrive in an atmosphere of rapine. Then there is the question of Communism and China. Pakistan's fellowship with a non-godly power surely does not put that Islamic dictatorship high up among the Muslim communities of the world. The fact that Pakistan has handed over 2000 sq. miles of Muslim occupied territory to China and the fact that she is entertaining numbers of pig-eating non-believers in her pure and holy *darbars* cannot again endear her to her Muslim brethren. So that when Pakistan claims guardianship over all Muslims with special reference to Kashmiri Muslims, one has to point out how unsuitable Pakistan is for such morally responsible work. If she got control of Kashmir, she would probably hand over large areas of the state to Communists and Non-Muslims. She would also appoint *Insars* to loot and rape non-Muslim minorities. She has in the past killed thousands of Ahmadiyahs and burnt to death thousands of Shias who were all Muslims. Pakistan's treatment of Baluchis, Pakhtoons and the East Bengal Muslims has not been Islamic to say the least about it. For Islam observes complete equality and brotherhood among all Muslims. Pakistan on the other hand packs up East Bengal with Punjabis and other types of Muslims to the exclusion of Bengalis. In Baluch and Pakhtoon countries the *Emirs* and *Omraos* of Anglo-American Pakistan are always of a reliable breed which can be trusted to obey and follow the paymasters.

The point therefore is that Pakistan is not an Islamic Republic. It is therefore not entitled to claim any guardianship over Muslim populations of any area. It cannot even carry the confidence of the Pakhtoon, Baluch, Bengali, Ahmadiyah and Shia Muslims. When Pakistan says she wants to rule over certain countries in order to establish an Islamic form of government there, she really means that she wants to hand over the government of those areas to the Anglo-Americans and perhaps partly to Communist China. She has already done so in Azad Kashmir and West Pakistan where there are American Military bases and where the Chinese

have been allowed to occupy forcibly seized Indian territory. Pakistan was created by the British in order to carry on a shadow imperialism over this subcontinent. She was aided in this work by America because the latter country wanted bases against Russia. China was permitted to occupy Tibet and Parts of North West Kashmir so that she could be a counter to Russia. But the dragon cannot be tamed and trusted. It may attack a friend as it can a foe. But a stronger China would make a problem for Russia. Anglo-American Pakistan is only catalytic in the chemistry of power politics.

Sockarno

We have already pointed out that President Sockarno of Indonesia was one of those unprincipled men who were in power in the political world of today. He takes help from persons and parties and then shamelessly discards his friends and supporters. In the present case political parties in Indonesia are not very sure of their President and each party has some Pro Sockarno leaders. So that the unprincipled President can play a double game and play off the parties against each other very successfully. He can also have China and may be the U.S.A. too on a string upto a point and neither break nor link up with them. These powers also are quite capable of playing a quadruple game. As we are placed we have done wisely in not sending any defunct Indian politicians to impress or win over Sockarno. For he cannot be won over by any one. Neither by any Indonesian leader or political groups nor by any foreign powers. He is by nature a true diplomat who never says "no" to anybody or to any proposal and never means 'yes' really and truly for any length of time about any subject that he chooses to discuss. In fact had his nation been powerful he would have been a real danger to the world. No one can predict what will happen in Indonesia. And surely, we do not wish to.

Rationing

It has now been decided to introduce statutory rationing in all cities with populations of 1 million or more by Jan. 1966 and in all cities of

towns of one hundred thousand inhabitants or more (upto 1 million) by May 1966. By rationing our government understand the supply of cereals only and the undertaking will be to supply 16 oz of cereals per head per day. This quantity of food is neither adequate in calories nor in dietetic constituents. The assumption therefore is that the people will buy other food materials in the market to supplement the cereals. These will be vegetables, pulses, oils, sugar, milk, fruits, eggs, fish, meat, etc. etc. Poor people in India who live on rice, wheat, pulses, maize, etc., usually eat much more than 16 oz of these per day. In some families in Calcutta a servant usually eats up the rations of three or more persons every day. The reason being the fact that the servant is not given meat, fish, eggs or milk. These articles of food are very costly and have only limited supplies. If therefore large numbers of people are expected to live on 16 oz of cereals which they will not be able to supplement with meat, fish, eggs, milk, etc., on account of poverty the people will be undernourished and will fall ill after some months of semi-starvation. Rationing must always keep in view the problem of a balanced diet. This problem has not so far become a live one because of the limited number of the persons who live on rationed food. The wider application of rationing will make things different.

Rights of Civilisation

Truly civilised people do not impose their will upon their neighbours. The Rhodesian whites are claiming the right to rule over the local population by virtue of their superior civilisation. The Africans, they say, are not civilised. We cannot discuss what civilisation is for the reason that there are all sorts of civilisations in all sorts of places and the relative merits of the civilisations are not measurable. But we can certainly say that people who think they are superior in civilisation to others are usually not so, and even if they were superior that would not give them the right to rule over their less civilised but more numerous neighbours. For if such rights were conceded, then minority rule will become the established thing in all countries. Democracy as opposed to aristocracy guarantees

the human rights of the peoples of the earth. Aristocracy restricted these rights to the few who could display greater wealth, more expensive ways of living, superior manners and other spectacular qualities.

Lad Kashmir

When Pakistan invaded Kashmir in 1947 she had no territorial rights to justify her action. Kashmir was not British India and the British could not decide the future of Kashmir. The Maharaja of Kashmir could or those who ruled Kashmir lawfully. Both the Maharaja and the Government of Kashmir acceded to India when Pakistan infiltrators started their invasion of Kashmir. The Indians pushed the Pakistanis out. But the U.N. stepped in to save Pakistan. They allowed Pakistan to occupy a part of Kashmir in the name of cease fire. Pakistan must be made to get out of this part of Kashmir. For they have no right to be there. They have even shed little pieces out of this area to hand over the same to the Chinese. The Chinese must also hand back those areas to India.

Human Element in a Crisis

How important the human element is whenever any work requires to be done at double speed or with half the usual number of workers or absolutely flawlessly has been proved during the recent fight with Pakistan. The men who fought were as nearly perfect fighters as can be expected. They had weapons, transport and other supplies which could not be as they should have been for the reason that Pakistan's invasion of India was premeditated and planned over a long period, but India had to fight back when attacked by a more numerous soldiery armed with superior weapons. The Indian Jawans and their officers proved their merit by individual effort, valour and staunchness unequalled by anything seen on the battle field so far. The men in the army and air force have shown by their coordinated acts of valour that the human element is more important in a crisis than weapons or instruments. These examples must be emulated by the political party members, the Government servants and the lay public in order to solve all

those national problems which beset our economy at the present time.

On the food front, the Government servants can do a lot of work by getting out of their chairs and personally supervising the cultivation of all available land. The men who are called Chowkidars, the men who act as V.I.Ps of the Panchayats, the men who are Circle Inspectors, O.C.s of Police Stations, incharge of Thanas, Sub-divisional Officers, District Magistrates, Commissioners or anybody else who can do a bit of field work, must be made to go out, move about and use their personal influence and weight to see that every inch of cultivable soil is put under cultivation immediately. They can also do their bit to encourage fish culture, poultry farming, market gardening etc. There are wide areas, even now, completely under water hyacinth which may be reclaimed for fish culture if the villagers put in organised *shramdan*. In this work all those who call themselves congressmen and bask in the glory of political power, may make some useful contribution to the nation's economy and welfare. The members of the public too, among whom may be included the businessmen, shopkeepers, moneylenders, professional persons, religious teachers and other important men and women, should organise themselves to improve the economy by man power as far as possible. Outside aid should not be sought unless found absolutely necessary. In fact, everybody must do something personally apart from inducing and encouraging others to do things.

Those who are in no position to help food production can do work to improve the nation's foreign exchange position. Gold collection is going on and should be helped. But not many people have any gold to lend or give. There are other things which, have a ready international market. Silver, copper, brass or bronze, waste zinc, lead or other metals, particularly scrap iron and steel can be collected and sold abroad to

get foreign exchange. There are endless silver, copper and brass utensils which can be turned to money. Small quantities of other scrap can be given to Central Committees set up for the purpose. These may yield more foreign exchange than the gold bonds.

Study of Soil for Food Growing

There are millions of acres of land in India which the Indian cultivators avoid because their favourite crops do not grow on those lands. That however does not mean that those lands are no good at all for anything worth growing. In this world of ours there are various kinds of fruits, grains, oil seeds, nuts, vegetables and other edibles which can be grown on soils which are not good for paddy, wheat, maize, sugarcane, potatoes and the other favourites of our countrymen. There are yams which grow in the driest sandy soils and we have seen quite succulent yams growing in apparently impossible stretches of desert-like land in West Bengal. A Committee of experts should visit dry and arid places in various parts of the world to see what can grow in the "cultivable but not cultivated" lands in India. Lands which are not cultivable can also produce edible stuff. Enquiry and study will soon enable us to discover what we can grow in our arid and non-productive lands. The French grow thousands of tons of edible mushroom in the sewers of Paris. Mushroom is a delicacy and its cultivation should be studied. The Himalayan area can be used for fruit growing on an extensive scale. Groundnut and soyabean can be grown in many places where nothing is grown now. And where nothing can be grown, shrubs of a thorny variety of berries can be planted which provide food for goats. Jungle fowl and partridges live well in such bush country. Efforts must be made to utilise all resources.

A SCENE FROM THE BIBLE

I. J. DAS

Few stories in the Bible perhaps are nearly so touching as that of Joseph. With the exception of chapter 38, it occupies the last thirteen chapters in the Book of Genesis. Coming at the very end of Genesis, it presents a worthy picture of the last of the patriarchs and forms a logical link with the ensuing Book of Exodus.

What is more natural than that a father should shower on a son born in his old age, and of a most beloved wife, to win whose hand, he had slaved for fourteen years, every mark of his tenderest affection? Jacob's love for his other sons, though genuine, is a love in common, his love of Joseph is one of preference. But this very love or preference rouses the fiendish jealousy of his ten brothers. Joseph's narration of his dream, moreover, fans them into a fury. "Shalt thou be our king? Or shall we be subject to thy dominion?" The matter of his dreams and words ministered nourishment to their envy and hatred. They would go to the extent of even murdering their brother. "Behold the dreamer cometh. Come, let us kill him!" But how will they report it to their father? Is love ingenious to find or make ways of getting to the thing loved? Then so is its opposite, hatred, in striking at its object. "We will say 'Some wild beast hath devoured him'."

If the fire of hatred burns fiercely in the hearts of them all, the flame of love burns brighter still in Ruben. He is moved at the prospect of a fratricidal crime, and has a mind to restore Joseph safely to his father. Hence his plea with his brother, not to defile their hands with the blood of a brother. Let them leave him in a deep pit where he may die a natural death.

Juda is a true pragmatist. What would it profit them to let Joseph die? Why not sell him to the caravan of merchants who were just going into Egypt? So it is done. And the merchants in turn, sell him to Puthiphare, General of Egyptian army.

Now begins a romance ancient in its seduction, but strange in its onesidedness and failure. For Joseph was of a beautiful countenance and comely to behold. Puthiphare's wife is weak and capricious, and an easy prey to every pretty face. In her seduction of Joseph, however, she meets with rebuff. But with her, every rebuff will have its revenge. She falsely accuses him to her husband—of lusting after her!—and Joseph pays for his purity and innocence with fetters and prison.

Now, Joseph is a dreamer in a nation of dreamers. Not only does he dream himself, but reads a meaning into the dreams of others. The butler's dream, for instance, prefigures release, the baker's vision presages death, and the Pharaoh's dream, plenty and famine. It is as a seer, and an interpreter of dreams that he gains access to the royal presence, and wins over the King's grace. Where other divines had failed, Joseph succeeds, and is made Governor over all Egypt.

Poverty and plenty is the lot of us humans. Abundance and depletion come to us in succession. But when did we hear of such opulence and such dire necessity? And where of such a provident saviour as Joseph? He has brimmed the barns of Egypt with corn enough for the seven years of famine. For "the thoughts of his heart are from generation to generation, in order that he may snatch their souls from death,

and feed them in time of famine." Rightly then does the Pharaoh direct the famished peoples to "go to Joseph."

So universal is the famine, and so consuming its rapacity, that all the world looks for corn to the granaries of Egypt. Joseph's brothers too must go to Egypt, if they are to have the wherewithal to live. And this is where the most touching part of the story begins.

Whereas Joseph recognises them, they do not recognise him. He therefore puts on a masterly pretence of a stranger's harshness and suspicion, talking to them through an interpreter "You are spies. You are come to view the weaker parts of the land." He examines and cross-examines them concerning their pedigree, and requires them, under pain of death, to bring their youngest brother. They, least suspecting him for Joseph, indulge in self-recrimination for having dealt so cruelly with their brother. "We spilt the blood of our brother, and behold, blood is required of us." Now this is too much for Joseph to bear. His tender heart melts into tears, and he cannot restrain them. So "he turned himself away a little while and wept." Who will not be moved at the tears of Joseph?

Joseph must needs employ a stratagem to take his Benjamin to himself—Simeon will be held a hostage until they bring their youngest brother, and thus prove the innocence of their motives. But how much that parting would cost to the old man their father! "You would bring down my grey hairs in sorrow to hell." Plead as Juda might, Jacob would not let them take his Benjamin to Egypt. In time, however, all their corn is consumed, and they have to go to Egypt, if they are to survive. But Jacob's sons would not set out, unless it be with Benjamin. So Jacob must let them have their way.

Princely hospitality awaits them; but it is too great for them to understand. Their minds are too gross to rise above their

littleness. They fear that some harm is intended for them. When Joseph makes his enty, they bow down to the earth and offer him their obeisance. Then is fulfilled the content of his dream for which he was sold into slavery, and it will be fulfilled more than once hereafter. His pretentious inquiry of their father and their youngest brother stimulates the reader to a muffled snile. "Is the old man, your father, in good health? Is that your younger brother of whom you spoke to me? God be gracious to thee, my son." But soon that smile scalds into tears. For, once again, Joseph is brimming with emotion. However, it is not yet time to reveal his identity. So he goes out and weeps in secret. Joseph weeps and which of us can hold back his own tears?

Yet another stratagem must be employed in order to retain Benjamin with himself—putting his silver-cup in Benjamin's corn-sack. So he could be searched, convicted and withheld. When they are on their way home, they are overtaken, and examined. Where else could the cup be, it not with Benjamin? And what foul ingratitude for such generous treatment! They return, prostrate themselves before Joseph and beg his clemency—Juda most of all. May he accept Juda as a bondsman and let Benjamin go; else, their poor father would die of grief.

Joseph can contain himself no longer. He sends out all the Egyptians. They have no place at the brothers' knowing one another. "Then lifting up his voice with weeping, he said 'I am Joseph your brother whom you sold into Egypt. Is my father yet living'? . . . And falling upon the neck of his brother Benjamin, he embraced him and wept; and Benjamin in like manner, wept also on his neck. Joseph kissed all his brethren and wept upon every one of them. 'Be not afraid; let it not seem to you a hard thing that you sold me into this country; for God sent me before you into

Egypt for your preservation. Not by your old man's life! At first he could not believe it. He thought, he was waking from a dream or a deep slumber. But when he saw Joseph, his response was truly paternal. "It is enough for me, if Joseph my son is yet living. I will go and see him before I die."

IMPORTANCE OF INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

Though the history of the tariff in India that the Report of the Commission contains is extremely meagre and defective and the survey of the present economic position of India that the Commission have made is wholly misleading, it has to be admitted that the conclusion to which they have arrived after a consideration of the particular advantages which an increased development of industries in India may be likely to bring appear to be attuned to a different key. The Fiscal Commission hold that the industrial development of India has not been commensurate with the size of the country, its population and its natural resources. They accept without hesitation the conclusion drawn by the Indian Industrial Commission that

"The industrial system is unevenly and in most cases inadequately developed; and the capitalists of the country, with a few notable exceptions, have till now left to other nations the work and the profit of manufacturing her valuable raw materials, or have allowed them to remain unutilised," and fully endorse the observation made by the authors of the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms that

"The economics of a country which depends to a great extent on agriculture must be unstable."

The Fiscal Commission sum up their conclusions in the following words.

"We have no hesitation in holding that such a development (a considerable development of Indian industries) would be very much to the advantage of the country as a whole, creating new sources of wealth, encouraging the accumulation of capital, enlarging the public revenue, providing more profitable employment for labour, reducing the excessive dependence of the country on the unstable profits of agriculture and finally stimulating the national life and developing the national character."

Ramananda Chatterjee in *The Modern Review*
for February 1923, Page—266.

Current Affairs

KARUNA K. NANDI

FOOD SELF-SUFFICIENCY AND DEFENCE EMERGENCY

Recurring crises in foodgrains supply and prices in the country have become practically an endemic feature of the Indian economy ever since the end of 1962. The position appears to ease somewhat with the new harvest every year and deteriorates with the onset of the lean season, developing the attributes of a crisis during the months immediately preceding each new harvest. Official thinking on the problem has consistently been marked by a measure of complacency leavened with indifference to the basic implications of the problem. It has been seeking to explain away these recurring crises by the plea that increase in food grains production, ever since the end of the First Five Year Plan period, had been failing to keep pace with the rate of increase in the country's population. Plitudinous *shibboleths* have, of course, had to be uttered alongside of such explanations, that the high priorities would have to be accorded to agricultural production and its necessary producer bases, such as fertilizers and irrigation potentials etc. These have so far remained largely wishful and not much progress has been evinced in the matter during very nearly the last one decade or so.

The 1962-63 Food Crisis

It was only with the onset of the rather more than normally severe crisis in both prices and supply that made its appearance almost immediately following the 1962-63 rice harvest and the rather sorry tale of the failures of the Third Plan that the matter was subjected to a certain measure of examination in the course of the reappraisal of Plan progress. Faced with the

rather awkward question as to why and how agricultural priorities came to be neglected in both Plan formulation and implementation, the Late Jawaharlal Nehru was reported to have come out with the rather extraordinary defence that as he liked the feel of large machinery, he somehow allowed these to have precedence over basic agricultural requirements, or words to the same effect, to a meeting of the Planning subcommittee of the Congress Parliamentary Party. At the Bhubaneswar session of the Congress the matter again came to the fore and pious resolutions to accord agricultural production, especially food grains production, the highest priority in developmental efforts were adopted. But, again, matters were allowed to slide back to the limbos of indifference and neglect until last year's severest ever crisis developed.

Last Year's Crisis And Government Policy

It was under the compulsion of this crisis and, presumably, because the pressure on food grains prices has been laying corresponding stresses upon all primary consumption commodities and which, in turn, have been creating vital distortions in the economy as a whole, that the Union Government were obliged to turn their thoughts upon the vital need to evolve an integrated and national food policy for the country. Certain tentative decisions were announced, the most important of them being the setting up of a statutory distributive machinery covering the major urban and industrial areas and, with a view to containing the developing speculative pressures upon the supply and price structure of food grains, to evolve necessary machinery enabling Government to acquire a dominant position over supplies. It was in this context that the constitution of the Food Grains

Corporation of India was conceived and it was also being contemplated that the Government would enter the field of the food processing industry especially the rice milling industry in a large way. The States did not seem to welcome any of these decisions with any measure of enthusiasm. The surplus producing States felt that they did not need to bother and most of the deficit States with the sole exception of West Bengal under Shri Prafulla Sen's leadership felt that in the absence of an adequate buffer stock at the disposal of the Centre on which they would have to entirely rely to cover their supply deficits it might prove worse than foolhardy to assume the responsibilities of statutory distribution. While these decisions and speculations were in the process of examination the new rice harvest came in which proved to have been the largest during the last decade and longer and which had the effect of easing the crisis to almost near normalcy. Supplies having become quite plentiful and open market prices having slumped with the new harvest by almost 33 per cent of the pre harvest level it had reached. With the easing of the crisis the sense of urgency which had compelled official thinking to the need to enunciate an integrated national food policy also receded into the back ground. Except for the West Bengal Government who stubbornly held to the decision to introduce statutory rationing in the Greater Calcutta metropolis immediately and eventually to certain selected urban areas and industrial complexes the thought of rationing appeared to have been wholly discarded. The Union Government likewise appeared to have dropped their earlier decision to partially nationalize the rice milling industry. The decision however to make Central levies upon the surplus States with a view to covering the needs of the deficit areas as well as to build up the initial nucleus of a Central buffer stock against future lean years were not discarded and a programme of massive imports of wheat and also some rice from abroad was drawn up with the same end in view. But on the whole matter of food the earlier sense of urgency appeared to have been more or less lost flowing presumably from the complacent confidence especially when later the new wheat crop proved to be an all time bumper one that the worst of the crisis had been passed over at least, for some time to come.

The Current Season

Such confidence however proved to have been prematurely generated when even as early as during the initial weeks of the onset of the normal lean season foodgrains supplies began to become scarce and prices to steeply shoot up again. Within a very few weeks the situation became so acute that despite massive imports the Food Grains Corporation was wholly unable to even begin to lay by the initial nucleus of a buffer stock. As confessed some time ago by the Corporation's Chairman imported grains had to be straightaway transported from the ships' holds to the consumers' kitchens. The pressure has been so intense. This led to some public clamour especially within the party echelons of the Congress and the matter occasioned something of a near storm at the last Bangalore Session of the Party Plenary Conference. An All India Food Subcommittee manned by some Chief Ministers of States and others met soon after Bangalore in New Delhi and made certain recommendations the most important of which was the one advising the introduction of statutory rationing in all urban areas and townships with populations of 10000 and more immediately and for the eventual and gradual extension of the area covered by rationing to include all towns with populations of upto 10000. The Subcommittee had reportedly failed to arrive at any consensus on the question of procurement and left the matter to be decided by the States concerned. Central purchases from surplus States it was recommended should be handled by the Food Grains Corporation alone by mutual agreement between itself and each State concerned. Only five days after the Food Subcommittee made its recommendations at the Chief Ministers Conference held in New Delhi to ratify them the very cornerstone of these recommendations that is introduction of statutory rationing in all urban areas with populations of upto 10000 immediately and 10000 eventually and the formulation of some sort of official procurement machinery at States levels would appear to have been *deliberately sabotaged* by the Prime Minister himself when he counselled that rationing should be confined to cities with populations of over 100000 (of which there are only eight in the whole of India covering a gross population of

17,000,000) and recommended that the initiative in the foodgrains market should be mainly left with the open market trade, the State only assuming a comparatively small share so as to contain speculative pressures upon supplies and prices.

Indo-Pakistani Armed Conflict And Food Crisis

It was in such a context in the food situation in the country that Indo-Pakistani relations exploded into a violent armed conflict. Although a cease-fire has been effected for the time being, it looks likely to be an uneasy and, at least, an unstable one. Food assumes a significance in the context the implications of which should be unmistakable to even the least discerning. It is encouraging that two vital matters have, at long last, come to be acknowledged by the Government; firstly, the need to reach a level of self-sufficiency with the least possible delay and, consequently, to accord food production the highest possible priorities in Plan formulations and financial allocations as part of the necessary defence orientation of Planning in the context of the national emergency; secondly, to realize the urgency of the need to obviate the country's dependence upon imported food grains. The latter need may become increasingly urgent as the attitude of the country from which we mainly derive our imports of food grains under especially favourable terms and conditions becomes clearer. In the U.N. and elsewhere, the tendency of the country concerned to accord more favoured treatment to Pakistan, despite the latter's violations of the conditions under which arms assistance was being given to it by the former, may make the continuance of food exports to India dependent upon certain political conditions unacceptable to us. In that event we may have to allocate foreign exchange for imports from elsewhere which, if the need for imports could not be obviated by a rapid and wholesome advance in home production, could only be made available in our present balance of payments and reserves position by diverting the same from vital defence priorities. The need, at the same time, to extend the area of statutory rationing to all urban regions with populations exceeding 300,000 in the immediate future, also happily appears to have been recognized. It must be

realized that even while all towns in the country with populations of upto 300,000 have been brought under statutory rationing, it will take care of only about 43,000,000 persons or less than 10 per cent of the country's population. Of the rest very nearly 95 per cent or over 76 per cent of the total population of the country belong to agricultural households. Of these 10 per cent or a little more are landless hired labourers who have to depend on the open market for their consumption requirements; 12 per cent own holdings of less than one acre and are able to produce no more than their own consumption requirements for 3 months in the year; 31 per cent own less than 2.5 acres and are able to produce only enough to cover their own consumption requirements from 3 to 9 months in the year. Assuming that of the two latter categories consumption purchases of foodgrains cover, on an average, half a year's requirements, it would appear that on the whole 26.2 per cent of the national population among rural agricultural households are dependent entirely on market supplies for their food grains consumption requirements and 20 per cent of urban households are equally so dependent. The present scheme of covering 43,000,000 persons by rationing would take care of the needs of only less than 10 per cent of the national population. The rest would be left to the tender mercies of the speculators and the profiteers unless Government were able to evolve some kind of an effective machinery to acquire a dominant position over supplies and ensure a stability and reasonableness in the price level.

Priority for Procurement

One of the dominant priorities of the situation should, accordingly, be a wholesome and effective machinery for procurement; in fact this should be a basic logic of statutory rationing for urban and modified rationing for suburban and rural areas. On this issue the Union Government does not appear so far to have any clearly enunciated policy, although it is assumed that the Union Food & Agriculture Minister, Shri C. Subramaniam, has long been urging the wholesale nationalization of the food trade as being one of the fundamental expedients towards a

wholesome and enduring solution of the food problem. It is not clearly known what may have been holding his hands from taking and implementing such a decision, possibly the States and, especially the Party at the States level, may have been generating pressures to prevent such a decision. It is generally assumed that the bulk of the election finances of the ruling Party are derived from the food grains trade which, it is logical to assume also accounts for the largest bulk of what our Union Finance Minister insists upon describing as *unaccounted money* in the country. It is perhaps natural for the Party at the States level to feel reluctant to encourage any process of expropriation that would adversely affect this small but very affluent sector in the community for, in the ultimate analysis it is at that level that election successes are mainly decided. It may also be at least in part that Shri Subramaniam's colleagues in the Union Cabinet have been trying to hold his hands from widening the area of the prerogatives and consequently, the responsibilities of the Ministry and, of course, the area of food and agriculture being the primary responsibility of the State the latter may have been refusing to fall in line with Mr Subramaniam's wishes and points of view in the matter.

But events have been repeatedly demonstrating that without an effective procurement system, both for meeting current consumption demands as well as for building up an adequate storage of buffer stocks against future lean years and other similar emergencies it is physically impossible to maintain any kind of control over either distribution or prices of food grains for direct and primary consumption purposes. It becomes all the more an inescapable necessity when as now the Government have had to decide upon extending statutory rationing to cover an increasing area of the national urban population. We have already demonstrated above that apart from the 43,000,000 urban dwellers who are proposed to be immediately brought under statutory rationing and the further 51,000,900 million urban dwellers who may be eventually and in gradual stages brought under a similar distributive system, there are at least another 150,000,000 people in the country who have to depend for the basic consumption of food grains entirely upon market

supplies. Part of this huge population comprising very nearly 200,000,000 persons, or well over 40 per cent of the national population, have been ineffectually sought to be covered by a system of modified rationing in certain selected regions which has, from time to time, failed either wholly or partially simply because Government did not have that measure of command over supplies which alone might have enabled this system of distribution to be effectively sustained.

West Bengal's Bold Enterprise

All these in obvious mixed bag of economic and political and primarily political factors would seem to have been surrounding the basic core of the food problem in the country which has been recurring with almost clockwork periodicity every year in crisis proportions. That the problem in fairly large proportions has also been of the Government's own making to the extent that they could not—or to be more truthful, would not—devise any effective measures to inhibit the trades speculative pressures upon its supply and prices nor would they—in the alternative,—and this could be the only alternative—assume direct command over supplies and distribution is a self-evident and indisputable fact. It is idle to speculate upon Government's reasons for their policies in this behalf—they are there for all to see and perhaps wonder.

It was in the circumstances considered extraordinarily bold on the part of Shri Prafulla Sen on behalf of his Government of the State of West Bengal to have assumed the responsibilities of clamping down statutory rationing in the Greater Calcutta area and to have declared that in gradual stages other urban concentrations would also be similarly covered. At the same time he decided to cover the fringe areas surrounding the periphery of the statutorily rationed area in the metropolitan city by a system of modified rationing. This principal reliance was upon a 50 per cent levy upon all mills production, (to yield 100,000 tonnes of rice, agreements with some rice surplus States on a Government to Government basis to purchase some 100,000 tonnes of rice and the Centre's undertaking to further supply another 350,000 tonnes. Shri Sen must be congratulated upon the boldness

and imagination with which he decided upon his new enterprise and against the dire and inevitable consequences that were prophesied of its ultimate fate by friends and detractors alike. There have been difficulties without doubt, as was only to be expected. There will, perhaps, be even worse difficulties ahead in the future. But on the whole, within the limited area of its application, his enterprise must be pronounced to have proved an unqualified success.

An Integrated National Policy Needed

It will, no doubt, be pointed out that, as we write the system of modified rationing appears to have, at least for the time being, wholly broken down. This breakdown, we feel sure, has been a valuable object lesson to Shri Sen and from this lesson, we presume, must have stemmed his yet bolder and more courageous decision, recently announced, to wholly replace private trade in food grains by State enterprise and to launch into wholesale and total procurement for the purpose which, on the face of it, is the only rational method by which a system of statutory distribution can be adequately sustained. Shri Subramaniam, during his recent conferences in Calcutta, also complimented Shri Sen on his bold and imaginative decision in this behalf and was reported to have stated that he would like other States to emulate West Bengal's lead in this behalf. What he does not appear to have made clear at the same time, a matter which is crucial to the problem as a whole, is whether the Government of India are yet ready to treat the problem of food on an integrated national basis and by eliminating the present regionalism that has been one of the principal weaknesses of Government policies in this behalf.

Regionalism Must Go

To examine West Bengal's problems in this connection would provide a clue to the fundamental weaknesses of the present policies of regionalism in food administration. West Bengal, a deficit State, is primarily a rice-consuming area although, during the last 3 years, in the urban areas at least, wheat has been covering a good 50 per cent of consumption. In the State as a

whole the average consumption of wheat has, during the last 3 years been well over 25 per cent of total cereals consumption. The consumption of other cereals of the coarser varieties like, for instance, jowar, bajra, maize etc., is normally only microscopic here. West Bengal's minimum consumption requirements of cereals have been computed at 6.4 million tonnes and by habit all of it is being computed in terms of rice which is only what the State produces. The average annual production of paddy in terms of rice during the last 4 years has been of the order of approximately 4.5 million tonnes; the quantum of deficit being 1.9 million tonnes. In a latest assessment of the prospects for next year, Shri P. C. Sen apprehends that in the possible absence of PL480 imports, the State may have to depend entirely upon her own production of cereals and a more than 40 per cent deficit is neither easy to cover nor possible to ignore. What would be exceptionally galling, if that were so, is the fact that on the basis of All-India cereals production, it is possible to cover the whole of a 16 oz. adult ration for the entire country through a mixed ration of coarse and finer grains. But to enable one to do so, an essential condition-precedent would have to be the enunciation and enforcement of an integrated national food policy by a wholesale elimination of the presently operating regionalism in this behalf. There has been no indication, so far, that the Union Government are yet prepared to begin to think in these lines and to follow such a bold and courageous policy which, if need be, must be reinforced by eliminating the States' independent initiative, unless they are ready to conform, in the administration of the ministries of food.

A Clear Understanding of The Situation

Let us, for the sake of a clearer understanding of the basic issues involved, restate the position; on the basis of a 16 oz. daily diet, the total quantity of cereals required for actual consumption would be approximately 65 million tonnes. Of this, the quantity normally produced in an average year, on the basis of the last five years' production figures, would be a little over 71 million tonnes. The production of the finer
(Contd. on page 421)

THE INDO-GERMAN CONSPIRACY : BEGINNING OF THE END

Prof. KALYAN KUMAR BANERJEE

The story of the Gadar programme to ship men and arms to India in aid of the revolutionists at home has been narrated.** It was an ambitious programme which, for some reason or the other, could not be adequately executed and thus failed in its objective. Some men, we have seen, were shipped to India only to be arrested. Late in 1914 arrangements were started in America by the German agents and the Gadar leaders with the help of their American friends to ship arms to India. This venture also, as we know, produced no result although its futility was not fully revealed before the year 1915 had run part of its course. It appears, however, that the leaders of the Indo-German Conspiracy in Germany had been thinking of reshuffling the organizational set up in the United States for some time past.

This is evident from the contents of a coded cable No. 449, sent on December 27, 1914 by Zimmermann, Germany's Foreign Secretary, to Count Von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador in Washington.¹ It said, "A confidential agent of the Berlin Committee, Heramba Lal Gupta,² is shortly leaving for America in order to organize the importation of arms and the conveyance of Indians (plotters) now resident in the United States to India. He is provided with definite instructions. You should place at his disposal the sum which he requires for the purpose in America, Shanghai and Batavia, viz., 150,000 marks....." A subsequent cable dated December 31, 1914 directed Bernstorff to take steps in conjunction

with Gupta to have such Indians as are suitable for this purpose instructed in the use of explosives by some suitable person. It is clear from the first cable that the representatives of the German Government and the Berlin India Committee wanted a nominee of theirs to guide the conspiracy from America. His main responsibility was to send arms and men to India.

Gupta spent some time in Berlin prior to 1914. He was, according to newspaper reports, about 28 years old when called upon to play an important role in the Indo-German Conspiracy movement late in 1914. M. N. Roy puts him at about 40.³ Gupta received considerable financial help from German Government officials in New York. His primary purpose was to buy arms from China and Japan. The Indian leader first tried his luck with the Chinese Government. Negotiations were started in San Francisco with James Dicitrick, who held power of attorney for Sun-Yat-Sen. But the Germans did not approve of it.⁴ Subsequently, Gupta left for Japan to try to get assistance there. It appears that before leaving for Japan he frequently visited a building on Wall Street. This was the building in which Captain Von Papen, German Military Attache and 'plot pay master' in America held his offices. Gupta was reported to have received between \$40,000 and \$50,999 to defray the expenses of his work. As indicated earlier, his principal mission in Japan was to have guns and ammunition sent from there to India.⁵

Gupta arrived in Japan during the

** Please see the *Modern Review* for August, 1965.

1. Landau, *op. cit.*, p. 29 ff.

2. *The Modern Review*, May, 1965, p. 340

3. M. N. Roy, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

4. Giles T. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

5. *The New York Times*, March 12, 1917,

2:5.

Japanese Coronation festivities early in the winter of 1915, and was met there by many Indians, "all of them said to have been prominent in the organization known as the Indian National Society, through which Germany has worked in efforts to start a rebellion in India." But his mission did not thrive in the land of the Rising Sun. It did not take the Japanese Secret Service long to get scent of the Indian revolutionary. He ran the risk of being deported to India. Gupta and another Indian managed to escape to the house of a friend, where they hid from November 1915 to May 1916—"during which period they never once left the house." The house was once searched but they hid in a secret room. They were somehow smuggled out of the country, got to Honolulu and eventually came back to the U.S."

Some more information about Heramba Lal Gupta may be gleaned from a newspaper report⁶ of a trial of some conspirators at Chicago. One Sukumar Chatterji, presumably a Government witness, deposed that he had come to the U.S.A. in 1912 to study journalism, but later was induced to take part in the alleged plot by Gupta, one of the defendants in this (Chicago) trial. He told of meetings in San Francisco in 1915 at which "revolutionary plans were discussed and of going to Manila with the men named as conspirators." Chatterji was arrested at Bangkok and made a statement to Brigadier-General Dudley Ridout, who commanded the British troops in the Straits Settlements. Chatterji met Gupta who had just come from Germany, at Sacramento in California. Gupta told Chatterji that Bhupendra Nath Dutt had been sent to Egypt in connection with the revolutionary work and that there were people doing propaganda work in Persia and Afghanistan. Chatterji agreed "to go

to Siam and aid in the revolution, and was provided with \$700 by a confederate of Gupta named Sanyal...." He also deposed that the Gadar party had its emissaries working in China, the Shan States, Siam, Java, Sumatra and other places and "the minds of the people were being carefully poisoned." Sanyal informed Chatterji that a shipload of munitions had already been sent to Bangkok where it was arranged that these two and a German called Boehm should proceed. Chatterji came to Bangkok towards the end of June 1915 having sailed from San Francisco to Manila on the 23rd of May."

Capt. Thomas J. Tunney of the Neutrality Bureau of Investigation of the New York Police Department testified that Heramba Lal Gupta had told him in New York on March 10, 1917 that Captain Von Papen, the Military Attache of the German Embassy in the United States paid him between \$15,000 and \$16,000, in six or seven instalments, in a suite of offices in lower Broadway and that "it was to be used in making a trip to the Orient." According to Tunney's testimony Gupta went to China and Japan and purchased firearms and ammunition for use in the revolution in India. "Gupta told me that Von Papen said he would buy additional firearms and ammunition in the United States and ship it to the Orient by way of the South Seas. Gupta told me he returned to this country in June 1916, after having been followed by detectives all over China and Japan."

Tunney's testimony which was corroborated by George C. Barnet, a New York Detective Sergeant, is in general agreement with the story of Gupta which has already been collected from the March issues of the New York Times. It should be pointed out that on March 10, 1917, Gupta, "a young Hindu student at Columbia University, is one of those taken to Head-

6. *Ibid.*, March 13, 1917, 4:6.

7. *Ibid.*, October 19, 1917, 13:3.

8. Sperry, *op. cit.*, Pp. 48-49.

quarters. He lives in Livingston Hall, a Columbia dormitory...."⁹ *The New York Times* in its issue of March 8, 1917 while giving additional information on two arrests made on March 6, said that according to Government sources a third arrest in the plot might be made within the next 24 hours, and that he might prove to be "one of the most important persons concerned in the conspiracy." One is tempted to conclude that the Government sources had Gupta in view. We shall refer to the other two arrests later.

One of the persons that Gupta met in Japan was Naren Bhattacharyya, better known as M. N. Roy subsequently. According to Roy, Gupta "called himself representative of the Indian Revolutionary Committee of Berlin," and lived in secret with the distinguished revolutionary leader Rash Behari Bose. Roy's account of Gupta written years after their meetings in 1915-1916 is generally in agreement with the information gleaned by us. Roy confirms that the Japanese Government was unsympathetic to H. L. Gupta and his mission. While in Japan, Gupta had told Roy that without him (Gupta) nothing could be done in America and that his recommendation would be required by any Indian wishing to see the German Ambassador in Washington. The situation had certainly changed when some months later Roy met Gupta in New York. By then Gupta had been removed by the Berlin Committee from his position of authority in the United States and he felt sore about it.¹⁰

It may be recalled here that an important American newspaper in a news item issued from Washington on March 7, 1917 said, "It was learned today that the chief Indian conspirator in America had left the country. Officials declined to divulge his

name."¹¹ This brief notice read along with Roy's account of his arrest "in the campus of the Columbia University while returning one evening from a meeting addressed by Lala Lajpat Rai" almost simultaneously with the two arrests of March 6 (to which we have already referred) and the account of his flight to Mexico, leads to a very plausible inference.¹² "The chief Indian conspirator" who had fled the United States was M. N. Roy.

To return to the main current of the story. It may be reasonably concluded that the failure of Heramba Lal Gupta's mission in Japan went against the continuance of his leadership. Intrigues within the Berlin Committee and misunderstandings with his colleagues in the United States may also have contributed to Gupta's eclipse. Anyway, that Gupta's leadership was disowned by the Germans and the Berlin Committee when he was away on his arms mission is proved by the following cable dated Berlin, 4th February, 1916, from Zimmermann to the German Embassy, Washington:—In future all Indian affairs are to be handled through the Committee to be formed by Dr. Chakravarty. Dharendra Sarkar and Heramba Lal Gupta, who has meanwhile been expelled from Japan, will cease to be independent representatives of the Indian Independence Committee existing here.¹³ This change in leadership was commented upon by Preston, the Dis-

10. M. N. Roy, *op. cit.*, Pp. 30-31. "He was fed up with intrigues and accused the Berlin Committee of having let him down when he was risking his life in the front lines of the Far East. Gupta pleaded inability to help me. On my enquiry as to who had taken his place in the revolutionary organization, he had shrugged his shoulders and, apparently with no relevance, made some disparaging remarks about one Dr. Chakravarty."

11. *The New York Times*, March 8, 1917, 2:7.

12. M. N. Roy, *op. cit.*, Pp. 37-41.

13. Sperry, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

9. *The New York Times*, March 11, 1917, 2:2.

district Attorney at the San Francisco trial. "We will show you," he said, "this man Sarkar and Gupta held the reins together with Ram Chandra, until some time in the year 1916, when the matter not coming out to the satisfaction of the Berlin Committee, they requested Dr. Chakravarty to come to Berlin to receive his formal instructions as to how this matter should be carried on." The District Attorney then proceeds to tell us that Chakravarty sailed under the name of Reza Vager, a Persian merchant and subsequently "adopted a code system of communication between himself and the Berlin Foreign Office through this Committee" (Berlin Committee).¹⁴

Dr. Chandra Kanta Chakravarty who thus came to be the accredited nominee of the Berlin Committee (which by that time was unmistakably brought under the control of the German Foreign Office), had been in the United States for several years with the exception of a few months in 1916, when presumably he had visited Berlin.¹⁵ Chakravarty who was a chemist was born in Calcutta, and arrived in the U.S.A. on the steamship Adriatic about February 25, 1910. He was about 31 years old when he assumed his new responsibility. The revolutionist weighed less than 90 pounds and was 5ft and 2 inches tall.¹⁶ During his visit to Berlin, he conferred, among others, with the Foreign Minister Zimmermann.¹⁷ Chakravarty who was a school teacher and journalist in India, had three warrants issued against his name when he left for the United States.

The new leader was faced with an uneasy situation. The programme of aiding the revolution in India tangibly and materially from America had failed. The revo-

lutionary organization in the United States was not as well-knit as it should have been. We have enough indication to assume that cracks in the organization had appeared. Team work had suffered considerably. There were rifts in the ranks of the revolutionaries themselves. The circumstances demanded that the new leader should be a man of consummate ability and tact and of absolute integrity. It was necessary that he should be on good terms with Ram Chandra and the Gadar Organization of San Francisco, and be able to satisfy the expectations of the Berlin India Committee and the German financiers. Chakravarty was saddled with a heavy responsibility. Moreover, the Germans were worried about the leakage of information to the British. This is borne out by the following letter dated March 21, 1916 of one Haniel of the German Embassy at Washington to Ambassador Von Bernstorff and Von Igel, head of the Military Information Bureau maintained by Germany in New York. "The Imperial German Consul at Manila writes me 'the English are thoroughly informed of all individual movements and the whereabouts at various times of the Hindu revolutionists.' Please inform Chakravarty."¹⁸

The information that may be culled from the not too adequate materials in our hand does not give a satisfying picture of the revolutionary organization that was set up in America for the cause of India. Somehow or other, things did not move satisfactorily, and even genuine and honest efforts did not produce the expected results. We hear of complaints that sufficient funds were not forthcoming; and it appears that whatever money was available was not properly and wisely utilized. Preston produced a letter sent in "a cipher message which purports to be incomplete that was found in the basement of Chakravarty's

14. *Trial records*, p. 19.

15. *The New York Times*, March 3, 1917, 1:4.

16. *Ibid.*, March 9, 1917, 2:7.

17. *Ibid.*, March 7, 1917, 1:1.

18. *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 12, 1917, p. 11.

house, our contention being that it was a draft of a letter to the Berlin Committee after he had been appointed by Zimmermann." Sent sometime in May 1916,¹⁹ the message runs as follows:—I believe you have received seven consecutive reports sent through Embassy. If you have not, please inform in duplicate. Everything well organized now except two members from Pacific Coast... Rutgers sent to Japan and Armu Adam to Trinidad. He has sent from there four score men to India. Forty are ready... We arranged everything to control Japanese dailies for four score thousand dollars, but Embassy says no money—The message is a little incoherent and the concluding part provides an anticlimax.

That Chakravarty was not in an enviable position will be evident from another letter—"dated August 16, 1916, "contended to be the work of Dr Chakravarty" It was sent per the SS "Oscar 11" and addressed to a man named H Eisenhut, Stationsvej 5, Gentofte, pr Copenhagen. The letter contained the following message.—Received your note and valuable instructions. We usually send you reports every week Sorry you do not get them in full and regularly Request Foreign Office to (tell) their Consulate here to accelerate service.

The correspondent then mentions the members of the Committee in the United States and gives the heartening news that "Ram Chandra is willing to conform to our party policy, he and any of his nominees." The writer also proposes to go to California "this week" The rest of the letter is painful reading. It reveals the dissensions within the organization that were coming up on the surface. The references to some of the well-known revolutionists are far

from complimentary.²¹ The organization was in a bad shape, the leadership was being questioned and the prospects of success grew dimmer.

The conclusion becomes almost irresistible from a perusal of these and some other messages that Chakravarty was finding himself unequal to the task. We are told that among others, the new leader had agreed to send an agent to the West India Islands with a view to organising the despatch to India, of as many as possible, of "nearly one hundred thousand Indians" who lived in these islands—all the more because it was considered easier to send Indians back home from there than from the United States. Chakravarty was also required to send an agent to British Guiana with the same object, to despatch a reliable person to Java and Sumatra, and to conduct a vigorous propaganda on behalf of the cause of India with literature that was to be printed secretly in America and circulated from there. Besides, it was also Chakravarty's responsibility to make an effort to carry out the plan of the secret Oriental Mission to Japan.²² This evidently was to be a continuation of Gupta's attempts in that area. If the contents of the message

21. *Trial records*, p. 1811

"Gupta is back and we were eager to take him, but he had adopted (a) reprehensible policy. He in conjunction with Freeman and Lala Lajpat Rai made statements before the German Consulate: that Harish Chandra and Tarak Nath Das are suspicious characters, come from London and (are) intimate with Arjun Singh, a spy: and that Harish Chandra took from Freeman's hand last year four thousand dollars: and that Tarak Nath Das asked from Switzerland and received from Von Brincken eight hundred dollars: and (that) he is a fraud and heads this class: (that) I was proved to be crazy. Of course, we defend both of them. Now this is (the) very method by which enmity has been made.

"We shall keep Harish Chandra here until your further instructions. Every helper has hesitated (a) good deal after such an incident."

22. *Spellman. op. cit.*, p. 10.

19. *Trial records*, Pp. 1842-1843: Sperry. *op. cit.*, p. 52.

20. *Trial records*, Pp. 1843-1844.

of May 1916 are any indication, very little success in these respects had been gained. We are further told that in a message from Berlin to Chakravarty dated July 13, the latter was told 'that the primary objective was to produce revolution in India during the war. It was also suggested that attempts might be made to set up an "Independent Hindustani Republic" provided that did not jeopardize work in India.

Circumstances compelled Chakravarty to lean more on the San Francisco Gadar group and its powerful leader Ram Chandra. The co-operation of the latter was eagerly sought. Ram Chandra agreed to work with the new committee but with certain reservations. This is borne out by the contents of a telegram from Chakravarty dated September 5, 1916. It says, 'Saw Ram Chandra. He is willing to work with the Committee and is ready to do so without party mandates, except to change the name

of Gadar to National in his publications." The weakness in Ram Chandra's position and the disruption within the Gadar Organization are then analyzed. "He (Ram Chandra) has no intellectuals with himself, except one Govind Behari Lal, but he also lacks reflective judgment and serious temperament.

'The Gadar Party is also in the process of breaking up as Gurudwara, a Sikh religious organization, bribed by the British is trying to discredit Gadar. Notwithstanding this, Gadar has been receiving one thousand dollars monthly from the local Consulate.

'Anyway, there was no appreciable change in the working of the revolutionary programme. Misunderstandings and differences grew apace. The scope of the revolutionary work also became more restricted than before. These developments will be treated in a subsequent chapter.

21 Specia op at p 52 Trial records,
p 1750

INDIAN HISTORICAL RELATIONS WITH SOUTHEAST ASIA

S. SWARUP

From early times the inhabitants of India were conscious of the lands lying to the eastward.¹ Though no definite date can be fixed for their first contacts with Southeast Asia, the knowledge of that area was already common before the Christian era began. The first relations between the two regions came through trade; Indian merchants were attracted by the allure of commerce. In pre-Christian days, Southeast Asia, reputed to possess large quantities of gold, was known as Suvarnabhumi, literally meaning "land of wealth". The prospect of acquiring those riches tempted Indian traders to explore those previously unknown territories.²

Commercial enterprise merely established contacts; large scale Indian emigration to Southeast Asia was the result of other forces. Brahman and Buddhist preachers moved into that part of Asia and settled there permanently. The pressure of population and invasions of foreign rulers speeded up the movements. When such migration was in process the sub-continent of India was divided into innumerable principalities. A prince, not a direct heir to

his father's throne, would migrate to Southeast Asia with a band of followers to acquire a new domain. Emigrants went to that area from many parts of the Indian mainland. They proceeded to their destinations mainly by two routes: the sea and overland routes. The southerners travelled by boats, the northerners by land routes. Harbours of embarkation for sailings to Southeast Asia were available on the eastern coast of South India. The land route ran through Bengal, Manipore and Assam. Tradesmen with large cargoes often travelled by a third way, half by sea and half by land. They reached Malaya by ship and then proceeded to Siam and Indo-China by roads.³

Some emigrants returned to their motherlands; others made Southeast Asian lands their home. After some centuries their settlements developed into colonies. Such establishments included princes, administrators, traders, Brahmans, poets, artists and other commoners. These residents were believers in one of the two faiths of India: Buddhism and Brahman-

1. Ancient India was disunited, being composed of many smaller and larger kingdoms. For purposes of this article, however, that country will be treated as one geographical entity.

2. On pages 387-391, the term, Indian means exclusively Hindu; for the rest of the article it indicates all inhabitants of India: Hindu, Mohammedan or others. In both cases, however, that word includes all emigrants from that sub-continent as well as their descendants in Southeast Asia.

3. R. C. Majumdar, *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*. (Calcutta: General Printers and Publishers Ltd., 1944).

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 7-9, 13; K. A. Nilakant Sastri, *South Indian Influences in the Far East*. (Bombay: Hind Kitabs Ltd., 1949). Pp. 123, 126.

5. Buddhism, founded as a branch of Hindu religion, spread in Ceylon and the Far Eastern countries where later it changed its form. In Southeast Asia the cult of Buddha was imported from India in its original form as well as from China and Ceylon in a changed character. The faith of Buddha arriving in Southeast Asian nations from both these sources and of two different kinds, has been regarded here as a part of Hinduism for purposes of discussions in Buddhist art, literature and religion in that area.

ism. Southeast Asians were in a primitive state of civilization. Hinduism, more refined than native beliefs, was readily acceptable to the local populace. Intermarriages were common. Tribal rulers employed newcomers who were in general more energetic than their subjects. The local chiefs embraced imported culture: the Indian princes imposed the new religion on the region's populations. Early in the Christian era small Indian kingdoms became numerous in Southeast Asia. They developed and expanded so that after a few centuries indigenous chieftains became either their vassals or had their domains annexed by them. Most indigenous jurisdictions thus gradually vanished; Indian chiefdoms sprang up in various parts of Southeast Asia.⁶ The history of that region from 100 A.D. until the coming of Western powers is largely a description of Indian kingdoms and empires.⁷

Indian Kingdoms in Southeast Asia

Some writers claim that the name Burma⁸ is derived from the Buddhist word

6. It should be observed that the Philippines, Tonkin, and northern parts of Annam remained outside the currents of intense Indian impacts. (During fifteenth century a Hindu King is said to have ruled in the Philippine islands. Details about his reign are, however, unknown. See: Sastri, *South Indian Influences in the Far East*, Pp. 111-116.

7. Majumdar, *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, Pp. 7-8; R. C. Majumdar, *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East*, (Vol. 2. *Suvarnadvipa*, Part I. *Political Theory*, 2 Vols., Dacca: Asoka Kumar Majumdar, 1937), p. 30; Sastri, *South Indian Influences in the Far East*, Pp. 126-129.

8. For details on principalities, founded by Indians in Burma, see: Majumdar, *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, Pp. 189-215; Arthur P. Phare, *History of Burma, including Burma Proper, Pegu, Taungu, Tenasserim and Arakan*, (London: Trubner and Co., 1883), Pp. 1-16; J. G. Scott, *Burma from Earliest Times to March 1824, the Beginning of English Conquest*.

Brahman which means first inhabitants of the world. This view is not accepted by historians, however. The Burmese relate their ancient kings to numerous tribes of northern India. Their chronicles assert that various kingdoms in Burma, Arakan and Prome were established by numerous waves of Indian immigrants. Such principalities existed only until the ninth century. After that time the only historical source on Burma is a record of its tribal rulers and their wars. It is not known whether any Indian kingdom existed in that country later on.

Larger Indian empires came to be founded in Indonesia especially in Java, Sumatra, Bali and Borneo.⁹ Javanese history connects its ancient kings to royal families of northern, central and southern India. These principalities, ruled by Indian immigrants, existed in Java during second and sixth centuries. Sizeable states were also created in this country after the eighth century. The larger kingdom to be newly founded was Mataram, later known to have been ruled by the Kadiri. In 1222 a usurper revolted, defeated the Kadiri forces and laid foundations of the state of Singhasari. The new kingdom included Bali, Sumatra and Pahang. The court of Kadiri henceforth existed only as sovereign of a smaller principality. In 1294 a Singhasari ruler annexed Kadiri dominions and founded still another empire, that of Majapahit, the largest of all Indian states in Indonesia. Its seat was in Java; its

(London: Longmans Green and Co., 1925), Pp. 1-19; John Leroy Chistian, *Burma and the Japanese Invader*, (Bombay: Thacker and Company Limited, 1945), Pp. 23-24.

9. The standard work on this topic is: Majumdar, *Suvarnadvipa*. Also see: Majumdar, *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, Pp. 15-70; K.A. Nilakant Sastri, *History of Sri Vijaya*, (Madras: University of Madras, 1949); Sastri, *South Indian Influences in the Far East*, Pp. 101-126.

authority extended over Malaya, Borneo, Bali, Sumatra and adjacent islands. The Majapahit throne continued until the end of fifteenth century. Inscriptions, recently excavated in Java and Malaya give evidence of another rule, the Sailendra Empire. Its origin is controversial and it has not been determined whether Java or Sumatra was the centre of its authority.¹⁰ In neighbourhood the kingdom of Sri Vijaya endured in Sumatra. In addition numerous smaller states, established either by Indian immigrants or their descendants subsisted from time to time in Bali, Borneo and on the eastern coast of Sumatra. Few of them managed to maintain their independence; others depended for their existence on powerful neighbouring kingdoms.

In Indo-China foundations were laid for the two Indian kingdoms, Champa and Kambuja.¹¹ Created by an Indian immigrant Mara, the possessions of the Champa state corresponded to present Annam. Most of the time it fought for its existence against two powerful states, Kambuja and Annam, and was often tributary to the Chinese court. Its rule lasted until 1822

when an Annamite conquered its domains. The country of Kambuja, previously a vassal state of still another larger Indian polity, Fu-nan, was founded on the territories of its suzerain after a rebellion in the seventh century. The lords of the new and expanded Kambuja kingdom had to struggle continuously with Champa and Annamese. Its authority began to decline after 1300. During sixteenth century the Siamese threw off its yoke. Three hundred years later, the rulers of Siam had become so much more powerful that a protege of theirs was placed on the Kambujan throne. Siamese transferred their suzerainty over Cambodia to France in 1887. The state of Cambodia, smaller in territorial jurisdiction than its antecedent kingdom, still persists as an entity independent since 1954.

Some scholars believe that the name Siam is related to the Sanskrit word Syama.¹² The principal Indian Kingdom in that country was created after the thirteenth century; only smaller ones were established before that date.¹³ The Siamese trace the ancestry of their overlords in Buddhist mythology. After 1300 A.D. their throne changed hands among many royal families, the last shift having occurred in 1688 when a rebel of the house of Chakkri proclaimed himself king. The descendents of that dynasty reign today in Bangkok.

Many smaller principalities, established and administered by Indian immigrants and their successors, existed in Malaya

10. Some writers express the opinion that the territories of Sailendra were vaster than those of Majapahit and included what is now known as Cambodia, Laos, Indo-China, Malaya, Sumatra, Java and smaller islands of the region. Such a view is, however, not unanimously accepted by historians.

11. The standard works on the kingdoms of Champa and Kambuja are: R. C. Majumdar, *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East*, (Vol. I, Champa, 2 Vols., Lahore: The Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, 1927); Phanindra Nath Bose, *The Hindu Colony of Cambodia*. (Madras: Theosophical Publishing House, 1927); Bijan Raj Chatterji, *Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia*, (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1928). Also see: Sastri, *South Indian Influences in the Far East*, Pp. 153, 181; R. C. Majumdar, *Kambuja-Desa or an Ancient Hindu Colony in Cambodia*, (Madras: University of Madras, 1944).

12. Such is the contention of Indian historians. The western scholars deny any connection between these two words.

13. See: Phanindra Nath Bose, *The Indian Colony of Siam*, (Lahore: The Punjab Sanskrit Book Dept, 1927); Majumdar, *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, Pp. 225-232; Sastri, *South Indian Influences in the Far East*, Pp. 63-81; W.A.R. Wood, *A History of Siam, from the Earliest Times to the Year A.D. 1781*, (London: T. Fisher Unwin Ltd., 1926), Pp. 1-126.

during the fifth century.¹⁴ After 500 A.D. most of the Malayan lands remained under the domination of Fu-nan, Kambuja, Sri Vijaya, Sailendra and Siam. During the fifteenth century when those empires with the exception of Siam, disintegrated, Malaya fell into the hands of Mohammedans.

Indian Influence on the Religions of Southeast Asia

Brahmanism, arriving a few centuries before the Christian era, was the first Indian faith to be introduced into Southeast Asia.¹⁵ The incoming cult flourished as Hindu principalities became more numerous; it was voluntarily accepted as well as widely imposed upon the region's masses. The faith of Brahma, favoured in Vaisali (an Indian Chiefdom in early Burma), Siam, Java, Champa and Kambuja was mainly practised in forms of three sects, Bramha, Siva and Vishnu—the so-called Hindu Trinity. Sivaism was the most influential of the three.

14. There has not yet been published any comprehensive work on the early Indian colonies in Malaya. However, the subject has been discussed at some length in: Majumdar, *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, Pp. 82-88, 144-148, 181-189, 215-221; Bose, *The Hindu Colony of Siam*, Pp. 111-122; Bose, *The Hindu Colony of Cambodia*, Pp. 182-199, 253-303; Majumdar, *Champa*.

15. Concerning the impacts of Indian religions on Southeast Asia, see: Majumdar, *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, Pp. 82-88, 144-148, 181-189, 215-221; Bose, *The Hindu Colony of Siam*, Pp. 111-122; Bose, *The Hindu Colony of Cambodia*, Pp. 182-199, 253-303; Majumdar, *Champa*, Pp. 8, 80, 137, 167-214; Allen Bennet, *The Religion of Burma and other papers*, (Madras: Theosophical Publishing Home, 1929); Kenneth Perry Landon, *Southeast Asia, Crossroad of Religions*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1948); H. C. St. Barbe, "Pali Derivations in Burmese," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. 48, Part 1, (1879), P. 253.

Buddhism had entered Southeast Asia with the Brahmanical faith but had not made any headway until the fifth century. After 500 A.D. the cult of Buddha gained popularity in Java, Bali, Champa and Kambuja. Thenceforth the monopoly of the Brahmanical cult as the royal religion of Indian polities ended; the rulers of Burma, Sri Vijaya and Sailendra became adherents of Buddhism. Between the fifth and seventh centuries Buddhist concepts continued to make tremendous progress. After 700 A.D. extraordinary ecclesiastical toleration was witnessed; Buddhism and Brahmanism were preached and observed side by side for many centuries in Southeast Asia. Champa, Kambuja and Kadiiri remained Brahman; Burma and Sailendra adopted Buddhism. The distinction between the two faiths never disappeared, though they came very close to each other. Temples and shrines contained figures of both cults. In Java, Buddha was regarded as a younger brother of Siva. During the twelfth century, king Jayavarman VII of Kambuja originated a new faith, a mixture of the Buddhist and Sivaist cults.

Indian Impacts on Societies of Southeast Asia

With religion Indian ways of life came into Southeast Asia.¹⁶ The systems of caste, marriage, suttee (where a widow burned herself alive along with her deceased husband) and cremation took hold in Bali, Champa, Kambuja, Java and Siam.

Indian Impress on the Literatures of Southeast Asia

Indian literature arrived in Southeast Asia along with Brahmanism and

16. *Ibid.*

Buddhism.¹⁷ Sanskrit, the first written language to be introduced, was adopted in Burma, Siam and Indo-China. Popular chiefly among the ruling classes, it disappeared when that segment of population fled to foreign lands upon being attacked. Pali, a later importation than Sanskrit, was mainly used in Java, Bali and Malaya. It developed into a literature for students as well as the medium of speech for the masses—a fact which enabled this language to have longer influence than Sanskrit. Indian alphabets, adopted in Burma, Fu-nan and Kambuja, were less influential than languages. Sanskrit and Pali were utilized in Fu-nan, Kambuja, Siam, Champa, Malaya and Java. The literature of Indian origin—especially **Ramayana** and **Mahabharata** epics and legal treatises—also proved quite impressive in Burma, Java, Champa, Kambuja, Fu-nan, and Siam. Burma and Java produced enormous corpuses of prose and poetry, their themes, until recently, having been borrowed from Sanskrit works

Indian Influence on the Arts of Southeast Asia

The crafts of Southeast Asia are in general offshoots of earlier Indian schools of art.¹⁸ The latter's influence on the

artistry of that area was felt through a number of waves: Amravati (200-300 A.D.), Gupta (300-500 A.D.), Pallava (500-800 A.D.), Pala (800-1000 A.D.); of all these tides Gupta and Pala were more significant. The Gupta current left lasting marks on the workmanship of Prome (in Burma), Kedah, Perak and the area later known as Province Wellesley (in Malaya), the kingdoms of Sri Vijaya and Sailendra (in Indonesia) and Kambuja. The Pala surge, originating in Bengal, made its impress on the temples, statues, shrines and images in Burma, Siam and Malaya.

Most arts of Southeast Asia were the concomitants of religion—a fact which was also true of Indian craftsmanship. Since Brahmanism and Buddhism co-existed for a considerable period in that area, the objects of workmanship were derived from both faiths. While some temples were devoted to one cult, others were a combination of both. The impacts of the imported craftsmanship were, however, not the same in Southeast Asia. Until the eighth century A.D. the regional art was essentially Indian. After 800 A.D. the artistry in countries of the western zone, Burma, Siam, Malaya and Sumatra remained static and gave way to decadence when Indian kingdoms discontinued. The workmanship in states of the eastern part, Java and Indo-China, showed local genius to which foreign influence remained only a stimulus

Islam enters Southeast Asia

Indian impacts on Southeast Asia until the thirteenth century were already

17. See : Chatterjee, *Indian Cultural Influences in Cambodia*, Pp. 237-283 ; Bose : *The Hindu Colony of Cambodia*, Pp. 303-312 ; Majumdar, *Champa, Book III, The Inscriptions of Champa*, Pp. 1-227 ; Majumdar, *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, Pp. 78-82, 143-144, 181-189, 215-221, 230-231 ; Harvey, *History of Burma*, Pp. 14-16 ; Thomas Stafford Raffles, *The History of Java*, (2 Vols., London : John Murray, Albamarle Street, 1830), Vol. 1 Pp. 77.

18. The standard work on this topic is : H. G. Wells, *The Making of Greater India. A Study in Southeast Asian Cultural Change*, (London : Bernard Quartich Ltd., 1951).

Also see : Majumdar, *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, Pp. 77-97, 149-153, 193 ; Bose, *The Indian Colony of Siam*, Pp. 96-111 ; Majumdar, *Champa*, Pp. 135-274 ; Sastri, *History of Sri Vijaya*, 103-110 ; Bose, *The Hindu Colony of Cambodia*, Pp. 186-211 ; R. C. Majumdar, *Greater India*, (Bombay : National Information and Publication Ltd., 1948), Pp. 54-56.

Hinduised when Islam penetrated that region.¹⁹ Mohammedanism was first brought by Bengali and Gujrati businessmen who settled on the eastern coast of Sumatra. They converted to their faith the subjects and ruler of the local state of Pasai. Its king persuaded the ruler of Malacca to adopt the cult of Mohammed by giving him his daughter in marriage. From Malacca the Moslem faith spread into Malaya, Java and the southeastern Philippines (the islands of Sulu and Mindanao) through royal marriages, commercial contacts and missionaries. The indigenous Malaysians, ninety per cent of the Indonesian population and most citizens of Sulu and Mindanao islands are still believers in Mohammed.²⁰

The faith of the Arabic prophet was successful in converting or came to be accepted by more than half the population of Southeast Asia; Moslem political authority did not last as long as that of earlier Hindu princes. In most Mohammedanized countries of the region, notably in Malaya and Indonesia, Islam (Indian and later Arabic) could not replace Hindu influences in such fields as art, language and society. A considerable percentage of words of Sanskrit origin can be observed in the modern vocabulary of both these nations. Numerous royal

customs in Malaya today are essentially Hindu; the organization of society on an Aryan pattern still persists in Java. The modern Indonesian outlook on craftsmanship—an attitude that art is revelation—is drawn from the Indian schools of art.²¹

It should be repeated that Indian influences in Southeast Asia, however intense they may have been, had their limitations. Certain areas of that region: the Philippines, Tonkin and northern provinces of Annam remained completely outside the orbit of Indian impacts.

Western Rule in South and Southeast Asia

With the exception of Siam, South and Southeast Asia passed under the rule of Western powers during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Britain took possession of India, Burma and Malaya; France took Indo-China; the Netherlands acquired the East Indies; the United States got the Philippines. During the period of Western regimes, Indian contacts with Southeast Asia were limited in political as well as economic spheres. The British Government of India maintained contacts only with Burma and Malaya. After three consecutive wars of 1824, 1854 and 1886 the English finally annexed Burmese possessions to India.²² It was only in 1937 that Burma was separated forming thereafter a distinct colony in the British Empire.

19. For details on the coming of Indian Islam in Southeast Asia, see: Raden Abdulkadir Widioioatmodja, "Islam in the Netherlands East Indies," *The Far Eastern Quarterly*, Vol. 2, (November, 1942), Pp. 48-57; R. A. Blasdell, "How Islam came to the Malayan Peninsula," *The Moslem World*, Vol. 32, (April, 1942), p. 114; Brian Harrison, *Southeast Asia, A Short History*, (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1954), Pp. 50-56; Claude L. Pickens, "The Moros of the Sulu Sea," *The Moslem World*, Vol. 31, (January, 1951), Pp. 5-13.

20. The Christian and tribal population must be excluded from such estimates.

21. See: Richard Winsdet, "The Elements of Malayan Civilisation," *The Asiatic Review*, Vol. 37, (April, 1941); J. J. Van Laan, "Art in the N.E.I.," *Great Britain and the Far East*, Vol. 57, (November 22, 1954).

22. F.S.V. Donnison, *Public Administration in Burma, A study of Developments during the British connexion*. (Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1953), Pp. 1-86, 95-99.

Britain had acquired Penang in 1786, Province Wellesley in 1800 and Singapore in 1819. All those lands were ruled by British Governor General of India until 1867 when their administration was transferred to Colonial Office in London. The Malayan state, thenceforth, formed a separate entity under the Crown.²¹

It should be observed that Indian relations were fairly close with Southeast Asian neighbours in ancient times. Indian influence can be observed on numerous phases of life in Southeast Asia even today.

23. S. W. Jones, *Public Administration in Malaya*, (Bombay : Oxford University Press, 1953). Pp. 1-14.

OPIMUM INDUSTRY AND SMUGGLING IN INDIA

Prof. J C. VARSHNEY

Opium is known as a dangerous drug and its cultivation, production, marketing, export and control is the sole monopoly of the Government of India. Opium is obtained from the immature fruit of the opium poppy, by incising the opium capsule and collecting the juice.

Opium poppy belongs to the family of papaveraceae and is derived by collecting and drying the exuded milky juice. There are more than 100 species of poppy plant found in Central and South Europe and in Temperate Asia. Commercial Opium is classified as Turkish opium, Macedonian opium, Bulgarian opium, Persian opium, Indian opium, Chinese opium, and Egyptian opium. About 75% of the world's opium is produced in India, and out of this product about two-thirds comes from the districts of Mandsaur and Ratlam of western Madhya Pradesh.

The cultivation of poppy for the purpose of production of opium is confined to such tracts of M.P., U.P., and Rajasthan states as are notified by the Government of India in the Gazette ; Poppy can be culti-

vated in accordance with the conditions of a licence issued under the Opium Act 1857. Generally, the cultivation of poppy starts in September. The successful cultivation of poppy plant depends upon moderate rainfall and tropical or sub-tropical climate. The poppy can be cultivated profitably, if labour and land are sufficiently cheap and abundant. The mode of cultivation varies from country to country. If a naturally light and rich soil is chosen with improved manure and irrigation, land sloping and well drained, the yield of opium may be higher per hectare. Opium is a rabi crop, and the preparation of land starts from July. Proper selection and storage of seeds are an important aspect for proper germination and healthy growth of the plants. The cultivator is bound to sow the poppy, to lance the capsules, to collect the opium and to deliver the entire product to the Government's weighment centres at a price fixed by the Government from time to time.

After 4 months of sowing the seeds the flowers appear on the plant and

with them appear the capsules. The capsule is tapped for its resin during the day time and it is supposed to be the best time for producing opium more in quantity and quality. An overcast day without sunshine may not produce any resin.

The area under cultivation of poppy in M.P., in 1958-59 was 13,920.4860 hectares and it increased to 18712.2985 hectares during 1960-61 but later on decreased to 8382.1900 hectares during 1964-65 due to less demand from foreign countries and due to a large stock of balance left unsold during the previous year 1963-64. The area under poppy cultivation and production of opium in M.P. may be mentioned as below :—

Year	Allotment of area in hectares.	Production of opium in Kgs.
1958-59	13920.4860	392302.381
1959-60	18109.3690	308815.240
1960-61	18712.2975	386438.002
1961-62	14609.5421	304356.367
1962-63	9699.4524	304193.554
1963-64	10380.2800	303598.624
1964-65	8382.1900

There has been considerable increase in the average yield per hectare in Mand-saur district especially since 1954-55. But during 1961-62 and onwards the increase in the yield of opium is tremendous. During 1962-63 Mand-saur district accounted for the highest average yield per hectare in the country. In 1963-64 Mand-saur district has broken all the previous records by obtaining an average yield of 33.36 kgs., of opium per hectare. This is presumably the highest yield of opium per hectare anywhere in the world.

The opium is purchased by the Government at a price fixed on a sliding scale. The opium year starts on 1st. of October and ends on 30th September. The price payable ranged from Rs. 34.00 to Rs. 42.00 during 1963-64 and Rs. 32.00 to Rs. 40.00

during 1964-65. The payment made to the cultivators in M.P. during 1959-60 was about 1.40 crores, while it was 1.09 crores during 1962-63. The opium purchased from the cultivators is sent to the Government opium factories situated at Ghazipur (U.P.) and Neemuch, M.P. The opium received in the factories is chemically tested and prepared for export to foreign countries and for internal consumption also. In the year 1933-34 it was decided to start a factory at Neemuch for manufacturing Hard Ball opium, but actually it started its production in 1935-36 and continued it upto 1948-49. From 1949-50 the manufacture of Biscuit opium and Soft Excise opium was also started in this factory and it continued upto 1955-56 only.

In 1956, the All India Narcotics Conference held at Simla, decided to introduce total prohibition of oral consumption of opium by 1959. As a result of this decision further manufacture of opium was stopped in Neemuch factory and the demand also diminished due to this prohibition. It was decided to close the factory and the activities of the factory were also curtailed considerably. The factory thereafter worked as a warehouse for supplying opium to the states of M.P. and Rajasthan. But the factory situated at Ghazipur mainly producing opium for export purposes, could not meet increasing demand of Indian opium in foreign countries and as a result thereof from 1958, it was decided to make use of the idle manufacturing capacity of Neemuch factory as a help to the Ghazipur factory for increasing the manufacture. This factory produced 1209 maunds of opium during 1958-59 and 3009 maunds of opium during 1959-60. In 1959 the extension of the Neemuch factory was taken up and its first phase was completed by the construction of the storage vats to hold 3,000 maunds of opium. During 1960-61, a new platform was also constructed.

The Government of India sanctioned another factory for Mandsaur and it started its production from 1962. Ever since, it has made rapid progress and the rate of drying the opium in the factory is better than other factories of Ghazipur and Neemuch. There has been a proposal for starting an Alkaloids works in Mandsaur factory with a capacity of 5 tons. Soft Excise opium, Hard Ball and Biscuit opium manufactured and exported at the Government factory Neemuch during 1959-60 may be mentioned as below :—

France, Italy, West Germany and Japan are our important importers and customers. Some opium was exported to Pakistan also.

Every year excise opium is supplied to the State Governments also for the internal use of the addicts and for scientific and medicinal purposes. The opium collected by the department is sold through official agencies to pharmacies in the country or exported. Due to increased foreign demands of opium for medicinal purposes, the production and export of opium has increased. There is limitation on the

Description	Soft excise opium	Biscuit opium	Hard Ball opium	Export Total (In Mds.)
Opening stock :	179.2142	49.8133	26.3567	255.3842
Receipt :	5.3444	—	—	5.3444
Manufactured :	1520.8083	—	2844.7082	4365.52
Issues during year	1705.8083	—	2499.6593	4205.02
Closing balance :	—	49.8133	26.3567	345.0489
				421.2189

The quantity of opium exported to foreign countries during 1959-60 and 1961 may be mentioned as below :—

Export of Opium in Mds.		
Name of the country :	1959-60	1961
1. U. K.	4433	222515
2. U. S. A.	3965	194138
3. Italy	314	25000
4. France	1528	91445
5. West Germany.	1788	36000
6. U.S.S.R.	1015	60000
7. Argentina	409	4000
8. Japan	829	15241
9. Belgium	132	7500
10. Switzerland	—	199
11. Sikkim	—	2
12. Ceylon	—	45
13. Pakistan	—	2053

Out of the total export more than half of the opium is exported to U.K., U.S.A. Various reputable firms in U.K., U.S.A.,

manufacture of opium in India. Licences are given to the manufacturer and they are bound to hand over all their products to the Government at the specified and fixed rates. Similarly, there is control relating to factories. At present Government of India Alkaloids works Ghazipur and Opium Factories at Mandsaur and Neemuch are the factories working in India. Ghazipur factory is authorised to manufacture Morphine, Codeine, Dionine, Thebaine, Indian medicinal opium powder for domestic consumption and export. In 1944 the Central Government erected an Alkaloids plant at Ghazipur factory for the manufacture of various alkaloids from the opium; to meet, the growing internal demand of the country and to export the surplus quantity if any. The leading registered pharmacists, chemists, vaidas, hakims, kavirajs and Government hospitals in India get alkaloids and its derivatives from the Ghazipur factory on the strength of excise

permits, issued by the Government for the manufacture of their medicines. The important opium alkaloids and its derivatives manufactured at Ghazipur factory are as—morphine hydrochloride, morphine sulphate, codeine, codeine phosphate, codeine sulphate, hydrochloride, marcotine, thebaine, etc. The Narcotics Commissioner to the Government of India (Gwalior) issues import certificates and export authorisation in respect of dangerous drugs for import to and export from India.

Opium is known as black gold. The Government does not permit private trade in opium and this is where the smugglers come in. Various conceivable methods are being used by the smugglers for becoming rich quickly. Thus in order to make detection and prevention of illicit traffic in narcotics more effective in accordance with the recommendations of the All India Narcotics Conference of 1956, the states have been grouped into 3 zones and various committees have been formed in each zone to co-ordinate the activities against smuggling. In March 1959 an All India Narcotics Conference was held with a view to prohibit the opium consumption totally. An Opium Law (Amendment) Act was passed in 1957 for strengthening the hands of the authorities for stopping the social evils of addiction. This Act includes the sentence of imprisonment also to the offenders apart from fines and other monetary penalties.

India is one of the major opium producing countries of the world. Opium being an agricultural commodity the illicit traffic is carried on by its diversion from the poppy growing areas. Government of India tries to exercise the strictest control over the cultivation and production of opium. Further, with a view to reduce the scope of smuggling, the Indian Government, consistently limits the area under poppy

cultivation so that effective supervision and control could be secured. Similarly, cultivation of poppy is restricted by the terms and conditions of a licence. The licencing principles have been made more rigid. Surprise checks are made on the highways in the poppy growing areas by the officer of the Narcotics Department with the help of the excise and police during the capsule lancing period. The All India Opium Conference of 1959 had decided that the consumption of opium by oral methods should be gradually reduced every year, so that it can be prohibited within a period of 10 years. For checking smuggling, intelligence wing and preventive wings have been constituted by the Government. From 1957 Government has strengthened the land customs staff and excise pickets with a view to check the smuggling from neighbouring countries, e.g., Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon etc. Increased attention is being paid to the cars which ply on the highways. Attention is being increased on traffic by air also. Opium Laws Act 1857 has been amended and the offence under the Opium Act 1878 and the Dangerous Drugs Act 1930 have been made cognizable. Police wireless grid is being used for the purpose of eradicating smuggling. Co-operation has been extended in the form of information. Arrangements have been made for the direct exchange of information between Central Narcotic organisations of the various countries. According to the International convention 1931 reports of important cases of illicit trafficking has to be forwarded to the secretariat of the United Nations. Similarly, all important seizures of opium effected at Indian ports and land customs stations are being sent by the Central Narcotics organisation known as Narcotics Intelligence Bureau, to the Secretary General of International Criminal Police Organisation, Paris, through the Intelligence Bureau, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi.

The Central Narcotics Organisation of staff. Checkmate operations are organised the Government of India supervise and on strategic and vulnerable points in coordinate all operations which are necessary to prevent offences in regard to illicit traffic in narcotic drugs in all the states of the country at the customs ports and across the various customs frontiers. It keeps close liaison with all the agencies engaged in anti-smuggling operations i.e., the excise, the police, the customs, the central excise and land customs. Trained dogs have been brought into the poppy growing tracts to assist the preventive

Under article 19 of the protocol of 1953, the Government of India has undertaken to prohibit opium smoking except by those who are registered by the appropriate authority on or before 30th September 1953 and not below 21 years of age



THE POETRY OF JAMES JOYCE

PROF. MIHIR KUMAR SEN

James Joyce's reputation generally rests on his novels, short stories, essays in criticism, and letters. The poet in him is less known. In this essay we propose to show and assess him as a poet.

I 'Shine and Dark'

Joyce's first published poem was privately printed and circulated in 1891 when he was barely nine. In that poem Joyce cried down Healey and equated him to Brutus and Parnell to Caesar. The final portrait of Parnell as a lofty eagle on the crags appears to anticipate Joyce's description of himself in 'The Holy Office' as a stag on the highest mountain ridges.

This quaint—perched aerie on the crags
of Time
Where the rude din of this century
Can trouble him no more."

His first collection of poems was *Moods* which has not survived. His translation of Horace's ode, 'O fons Bandusiae' belongs to this early phase, and in *Innegans Wake* (p. 280) he refers to it thus "... that fount Bandusian shall play liquid music and after odours sigh of musk."

Paul Verlaine died in 1896. Joyce took a liking to Verlaine and got by heart a number of his lyrics which he used to recite later to girls whom he ran into in Parisian cafes. He translated Verlaine's *Les Sanglots longs* in 1910 and found the job easier than translating Horace. Here is a specimen of Joyce's Englishing Verlaine:

"My soul is faint
At the bell's plaint
 Ringing deep;
I think upon
A day bygone
 And I weep."

If these verses suggest to a reader a resemblance to the Japanese Hokku or Haiku poems, that should be taken as a perfectly normal reaction.

In 1900 Joyce wrote *Dream Stuff*—a verse play—of which the following lines have been preserved and these lines resemble lines from Eliot's lines in *Sweeney Agonistes*, given below

"In the soft nightfall
Hear thy lover call,
Hearken the guitar!
Lady, lady fair
Snatch a cloak in haste,
Let thy lover taste
The sweetness of thy hair . . ."

"Song by Wanchop and Horsfall,
"Fragments of an Agon," *Sweeney Agonistes*
"And the penguin call
And the sound is the sound of the sea
Under the bam
Under the loo
Under the bamboo tree."

(p. 126)

The young poet lamented his sins in his next collection of poems—*Shine and Dark*. His brother Stanislaus Joyce kept up some of these poems. Seriously enough, most of these 'preserved' poems are 'dark', the 'shine' poems are few and far between. Here are some lines written in a mood of penitence:

was not taken seriously as a poet in the early years of the twentieth century. William Archer happened to edit a book of modern verses at that time and Joyce sent him for inclusion in it such poems of his as 'Wanhope', 'Common-place,' 'The Final Peace,' 'Tenebrae' etc. Archer's comment on his voluntary contributions was "There is as yet more temperament than anything else in your work." Joyce himself felt that he could not equal his countryman Yeats as a poet and was not therefore disappointed at the comment.

“The curse of loneliness broods silent
on thee still,
Doing its utmost will.
And men shall cast thee justly to thy
narrow tomb,
A sad and litter doom.”

. . . . A punch of St Augustine and Soren Kierkegaard, and that, earlier in life than either of them!

But he was quite certain about his prose. So he tried his hand in a kind of prose poems which he preferred to call 'epiphanies'. 'Epiphany' meant for him neither the manifestation of Godhead nor the showing forth of Christ to the Magi. It was 'the sudden revelation of the whatness of a thing' at a moment in which 'the soul of the commonest object . . . seems to us radiant'. The artist was charged with such revelations and he must look for them not among gods but among men in casual unostentatious moments. There may take place a sudden spiritual manifestation even in a vulgar gesture or speech. Sometimes the epiphanies might even be 'eucharistic' such as in moments of fulness or passion. Epiphanies therefore read sometimes like messages in an unfamiliar language: often they are clear and lyrically biased. This 'whatness' however is traceable to Duns Scotus's idea about the final individualizing form to which he gave the name "thisness" (*haecceitas*).

Poems Pennyeach or *Pomes Penyeach* cost 1 shilling but contained 13 poems, resembling a baker's dozen. Among others the book included 'Tilly' from which we quote below. Shakepeare's "Fear no more the heat of the sun" ('Fidele') is called up in its rhythm.

This is a supplication to a woman who stands for temptation and doom. Joyce apparently relished the idea of being overcome ! In contrast, a 'shine' poem reads :

“Let us fling to the winds all moping
and madness,
Play us a jig in the spirit of gladness
On the creaky old squeaky strings of
the fiddle ;
The why of the world is an answerless
riddle
Puzzlesome, tiresome, hard to unriddle.
To the seventeen devils with sapient sadness
Tra la. tra la”

"He travels after a winter sun,
Urging the cattle along a cold red road
Calling to them a voice they know
He drives his beasts above Cabra
The voice tells them home is warm.
They moo and make brute music with
their hoofs.

It does no credit to the critical faculty of the literary dictators of the day to say that Joyce

Bringing to tavern and to brothel
The mind of witty Aristotle,
Lest bards in their attempts should err
Must here be my interpreter."

Of his contemporaries, Yeats admitted Joyce's ability as a "Maker" but he did not see eye to eye with Joyce's attack on the Celtic movement. Arthur Symonds considered the lyrics in *Chamber Music* to be "almost Elizabethan in their freshness but quite personal." Geoffrey Palmer, an Irish musician set some of its lyrics to tune. Of course Joyce himself had no pretensions. About making up the 'thirty songs for lovers' in *Chamber Music* he said, "I have never known any love except the love of God. I do not wish to stand behind my own insincerity and fakery."

In a way similar to that in which Yeats turned his private pains due to the Maud Gonne affair into public experience, Joyce tried in 'She weeps over Ragoon' to express what he felt to be Nora's thoughts about her dead lover—Michael Bodkin and her living one—James Joyce. Joyce has made use of the 'poetic license' to shift the grave from Oughterard 17 miles away to Ragoon.

"Rain on Ragoon falls softly, softly falling
Where my dark lover lies,
Sad is his voice that calls me, sadly calling
At grey moonshine.
Love, hear thou
How soft, how sad his voice is ever calling,
Ever unanswered and the dark rain falling.
Then as now"

The broadside—'Gas from a Burner'—an entirely personal invective, was written on the way from Flushing to Munich in a train, in 1912. The butt was Padraic Colum's publisher—Mills & Boon who had turned down his book.

"Ladies and Gents, you are here assembled
To hear why earth and heaven trembled
Because of the black and sinister arts
Of an Irish writer in foreign parts.
He sent me a book ten years ago;
I read it a hundred times or so,
Backwards and forwards, down and up
Through both ends of a telescope"

(Printed in Trieste and distributed in Dublin).

—A new *Dunciad*? The imaginative absorption of stray material resembles more closely T.S. Eliot's method of composition. Joyce, however, accepted this method, as he said, because it was the only way he could work, although it lacked imagination.

Joyce's poems written during 1912-16 are built round his affair with Signorina Popper who gave his daughter Lucia a flower. Here is 'A Flower Given to My Daughter':

"Frail the white rose and frail are
Her hands that gave
Whose soul is sear and paler
Than time's wan wave.
Rosefrail and fair—yet frailest
A wonder wild
In gentle eyes thou veilest
My blueveined child."

Romantic longing and paternal affection are given vent to in the poem's archaic phrasing and pre-Raphaelite allurements of sear, pale souls and the wan waves of time. The same dream image of Signorina Popper standing next to him at Notre-Dame in Paris is reworked in 'Nightpiece' (1915):

"Seraphim,
The lost hosts awaken
To service till
In moonless gloom each lapses muted, dim,
Raised when she has and shaken
Her thurible"

The following lines from 'Watching the Needleboats at San Sabba' (dated 7 September 1913) mourn the lost intensity of youth:

"O heartv, O sighing grasses,
Vainly your loveblown bannerets mourn!
No more will the wild wind that passes
Return, no more return"

Harping on the same theme of passing of youth comes up 'Tutto e Sciolto' ('All is unloosed') dated July 3., 1914.

"A birdless heaven, seadusk, and lone star
Piercing the west,
As thou, fond heart, love's time, so
faint, so far,
Rememberest"

This lament compares favourably with his fellow-Irishman Yeats' 'An aged man is a paltry thing'

III : Limericks

Joyce carried on his covert courting of Signorina Popper till 1914 when she carried her umbrella slowly out of his life. She married and lived in Florence as Signorina Risolo. Joyce's failure with her made him write verse once again: but this time in a new form—the 'limerick'. The nomenclature of this form is an example of the linguistic phenomenon—Toponymy—a place-name (Limerick, in Ireland) becoming a word. In 1915 he went through a limerickal prolusion submitted by one of his pupils and turned out two of his own, one of which is given below.

"There's a monarch who knows no repose
For he's dressed in a dual trunk hose
And ever there itches
Some part of his breeches;
How he stands it the Lord only knows."

—A parody, indeed, of the Austro-Hungarian dual monarchy!

A Portrait had been favourably received by the critics. Lady Gregory called it a model of 'autobiography'. Pound considered the work 'very great'. Eliot 'approved' of it. Wells reviewed it with eulogies in *The Nation* on 24 February 1917. Clutton-Brock wrote in the *TLS*, "It is wild youth, as wild as Hamlet's, and full of wild music." It was naturally in a happy mood, therefore, that Joyce 'limericked' for Ezra Pound:

"There once was a lounge named Stephen
Whose youth was most odd and uneven
He throve on the smell
Of a horrible hell
That a Hottentot wouldn't believe in."

Round about that time a New York lawyer-cum-publisher John Quinn, expressed his diffidence about the MS of *The Exiles*. This was also grist to his limerick-mill, and he wrote to Claud Sykes:

"There's a donor of lavish largesse
Who once bought a play in MS.
He found out what it meant
By the final instalment.
But poor Scriptor was left in a mess."

Here is an instance when in a frivolous mood of limerick-writing Joyce became a bit too hard on one who had lent him his type-writer:

"A Goldschmidt swam in a Kriegsverein
As wise little Goldschmidts do,
And he loved every scion of the Habsburg
line,
Each arch duke proud, whole jimbang
crowd.
And he felt that they loved him too.
Herr Rosenbaum and Rosenfeld
And every other Feld except Schlachtfeld;
All worked like niggers, totting rows of
crazy figures,
To save Kaiser Karl and Goldschmidt
too"

(Goldsmith was a Swiss citizen and, therefore, he was not evading military science by the *sine-cure*.)

It is possibly England's Prime Minister—David Lloyd George—who is the subject of the following limerick born on the reverse of a post-card:

"There's a George of the Georges named
David
With whose words we are now night and
day fed.
He cries: I'll give small rations
To all the small nations.
Bully God made this world—but I'll save it."

Thus Joyce's limerick-writing went on. And when Arnold Bennett treated Joyce in an uppish manner in course of an interview, Joyce returned the compliment then and there. Bennett pretended to look for something thrown in error into the wastepaper basket. Joyce summed up the encounter in a limerick.

"There's an anthropoid consul called Bennett
With the jowl of a jackass or jennett,
He must muzzle or mask it
In the wastepaper basket,
When he rises to bray in the Senate "

Criticism of Life

In 1917 Joyce had his first attack of Glaucoma. In the poem—*Bahnhofstrasse*—written in Zurich in 1918 he talks about the ageing process—the fading eyesight, the passing youth and the impossibility of recovering young love. At that time he was having an uncommitted relationship with Martha Fleischmann to whom he wrote in French asking her to disregard him. He was a writer in a crucial period of his life. His age was the same as Dante's when the latter began the *Divine Comedy*. It was at that age that Shakespeare had fallen in love with the Dark Lady of the Sonnets. The poem, quoted below indicates this 'mood'

'The eyes that mock me sign the way
Whereto I pass at eve of day
Grey way whose violet signals are
The trysting and the twining star
Ah stat of evil! stat of pain!
Highhearted youth comes not again
Nor old hearts' wisdom yet to know
The signs that mock me as I go '

These eyes do not exactly 'fix' him in a formulated phrase (*Flot's Prufrock*). They are closer to the eyes of Charon (Dante's *Inferno* Canto III) referred to by Eliot in *The Hollow Men*. 'The Right Man in the Wrong Place' stands in direct contrast with the mood indicated by the poem just quoted. When Rumbold became ambassador to Poland Joyce sent Sykes this poem for their forthcoming production of *Pippa Passes*

"The pig's in the barley,
The fat's in the fire,
Old Empire can hardly
Find twopenny to buy her.
Jack Spratt's in his office
Puffed, powdered and curled
Rumbold's in Warsaw—
All's right with the world."

—The italicised line reminds one of the nursery rhyme beginning with "Jack Spratt can eat no fat". In the last line but two, again one can hear an echo of "puff, powder and billet doux" from Pope's 'The Rape of the Lock'.

During the last two years of the Irish fight for independence, the only incident that had stirred his imagination was the hunger strike of Mayor Terence MacSwiney in Cork in October 1920. He linked MacSwiney's fight to his own against English officialdom in Zurich. To his brother Stanislaus he sent the bitter poem, 'The Right Heart in the Wrong Place' which was the fruit of his reaction to contemporary events.

'Of spinach and gammon
Bulls full to the crupper
White lice and black famine
Are the Mayor of Cork's supper,
But the pride of old Ireland
Must be damnably humbled
If a Joyce is found cleaning
The boots of a Rumbold.

In spite of Joyce's distaste for Freud's theories, the former took a lot of interest in his own and others' dreams. A dream involved Molly Bloom on a hillock under a sky full of moonlit clouds rushing overhead. This Molly was gradually shading into the Anna Livia Plurabelle of *Ulysses*. This is suggested in the parody intended to be sung to the tune of Molly Brannigan.

Man dear, did you never hear of buxom
Molly Bloom at all
As plump an Irish beauty, Sir as Annie
Lava Blumenthal,
If she sat in the vice-regal box Tim Healy'd
have no room at all,
But curl up in a corner at a glance from
her eye "

Molly Bloom (once Marie Tallon), Amalia Popper, and Nora Joyce became the river Liffey. In all his books Joyce makes his characters out of both real and mythical prototypes. Cuckoldry was one of Joyce's favourite themes. In *Bog* nor he rewrote the passage dealing with King Mark, Tristram and Iseult. The squawking of

the seagulls on the Bognor strand made him think of imitating their sounds to suggest the derision visited on King Mark.

"—Three quarks for Muster Mark!
Sure he hasn't got much of a bark
And sure any he has it's all beside the
mark....
Hohohoho, moulty Mark!"

Limericks came to him as before. Fed up with John Quinn, he wrote

"Rosy Brook he bought a book
Though he didn't know how to spell it.
Such is the lure of literature
To the lad who can buy it and sell it."

It : 'Serious' poems

A Prayer (May 1920) combines prayer for mercy with ecstatic self-surrender. That was the first 'serious' poem in six years, written a month after Dr. Borsch had declared a secretion in the conjunctiva of his left eye.

".... .. Again!

*Together, folded by the night, they lay on earth,
I hear*

From far her low word breathe on my
breaking brain.
Come! I yield. Bend deeper upon me!
I am here.
Subdue, do not leave me! Only joy, only
anguish.
Take me, save me, soothe me, O spare me!

The italicized line recalls a line from Ernest Dawson's famous *Cynera* poem in its rhythm, though not in its sentiment:

"Nightlong within my arms in love and
sleep she lay;"

Bravely he faced facts. After the sixth operation Joyce noticed 'a very slight return of vision' in the left eye but his right eye still suffered from conjunctivitis. He rhymed Little Jims 'The cottage that was a thatched one' in

"The clinic that was a patched one,
Its outside old as rust,
And every stick beneath that roof
Lay four feet thick in dust."

Dr. Borsch told him that his left eye would need another operation and that he could holiday in the meantime. The Joyces left for Fecamp in Normandy. But bad weather forced them to take refuge in the Hotel de la Poste at Rouen. The mood called for a satire, and this time *The Waste Land* came up for parody. He sent it to Miss Weaver on August 15, 1925. We quote it in full.

"Rouen is the rainiest place getting
(April is the cruellest month, breeding)
Inside all impermeables, wetting
(Lilacs out of the dead land
stirring)

Damp marrow in drenched bones.
(Dull roots with spring rain.)
Midwinter soused us coming over Le Mans
(Summer surprised us coming over the
Starnbergersee)

Our inn at Niorz was the Grape of Burgundy
But the winepress of the Lord thundered
over that grape of Burgundy

And we left it in a hurgundy
(Hurry up, Joyce, it's time!)
(HURRY UP PLEASE ITS TIME)
I heard mosquitoes swarm in old Bordeaux
(A crowd flowed over London Bridge,
so many.)

So many!
I had not thought the earth contained so
many
(I had not thought death had undone so
many)

(Hurry up, Joyce, it's time!)
(HURRY UP PLEASE ITS TIME!)

Mr Anthologos, the local gardener
(Mr. Eugenides, the Smyrna merchant)
Greycapped, with politeness full of cunning
(Unshaven, with a pocket full of currants)
Has made wine these fifty years
And told me in his southern French
(Asked me in demotic French)
Le petit vin is the surest drink to buy
(To luncheon in a Cannon Street hotel.)

For if 'tis bad
Vous ne l'avez pas paye
 (Hurry, hurry up, now, now, now!)
 (HURRY UP PLEASE ITS TIME)

But we shall have great times
 When we return to Clinic, that waste land
 O Esculapious!
 (Shan't we? shan't we? Shan't we?)
 (Shantih Shantih Shantih)"

By that time, thanks to Dr Borsch's prescriptions, 'scopolamine' had become for Joyce a symbol for all medications. He wrote a limerick on it.

"There's a cough mixture scopolamine
 And its equal has never been seen
 't would make staid Tutankamen
 Laugh and leap like a salmon
 And his mummy hop-kotch on the green "

When, round about the same time, Ezra Pound hit at the innovations in *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce wrote out in reply :

"E.P. exults in the extra inch
 Wherever the ell it's found,
 But wasn't J.J. a son of a binch
 To send him an extra pound?"

Almost in the same vein Joyce wrote his blurb for *Anna Livia Plurabelle* :

"Buy a book in brown paper
 From Faber and Faber
 To see Annie Liffey trip, tumble and caper
 Sevensinns in her singthings,
 Plurabelle on her prose,
 Seashell cbb muic wayriver she flows "

The linguistic experiments made later in *Ulysses* are anticipated in such coinage as "Singthings", "wayriver" and "sevensinns". It is a pity that users of English have not accepted "Singthings" and given the coinage the currency it deserves. The word-play in the neologism "wayriver" is also remarkable.

On 15 February 1932 Joyce wrote a 'serious' poem—'Ecce Puer'—on the occasion of the birth

of a grandson christened after his father. That is a moving poem indeed.

"Of the dark past
 A boy is born.
 With joy and grief
 My heart is torn.

Calm in his cradle
 The living lies.
 May love and mercy unclose his eyes!
 Young life is breathed
 Upon the glass,
 The world that was not
 Comes to pass

A child is sleeping.
 An old man gone.
 O father forsaken,
 Forgive your son!"

Joyce always took the rough with the smooth. When told in 1932 that a pirated edition of the Japanese translation of *Ulysses* had seen the light of day, he made merry of that event in 'A Portrait of the Artist as an Ancient Mariner':

"I met with an ancient seibeller
 As I scouted the pirate's sea
 His sails were alutht at nought comma null
 Not raise the wind could he.
 The bann of Bull, the sign of Sam
 Burned crimson on his brow,
 And I rocked at the rig of his brucabrac brig
 With k o 11* on his prow . . . "

(*Knock out in the 11th round, i.e., the 11th year since *Ulysses* was published. The press that took over publication of *Ulysses* in Europe was named 'Albatross')

In June 1934 'The Rime of Mick Nick and the Maggies' ended with a prayer which summed up Joyce's view of life

"Lord, heap miseries upon us yet entwine
 Our arts with laughter ow!"

He accepted the facts of life, put up a bold front to all incidence, and always kept up a smiling mien.

Joyce never forgot his family. Not to speak of his companionship of Lucia, a daughter who ran after Samuel Beckett, was refused by him and lost her head, even when the prospects of regaining his eyesight were becoming bleaker day by day. His parents and grandparents were always in his mind. His interest in the profligate father may be traced to his own father and to himself. The ghosts in *Hamlet* and in Ibsen's *Ghosts* pointed out the trail of guilt. And, as has been pointed out earlier, Joyce had been a guilt-conscious poet right from his boyhood days. His 'Epilogue to Ibsen's Ghosts' (1931), although a parody, does not show any disrespect for the Norwegian playwright.

"Dear Quack, whose conscience buried deep
The grim old grouser has been salving,
Permit one spectre more to keep.

I am the ghost of Captain Alving . . ."

By November 13 *Finnegans Wake*—the 'maledetto' book was finished. Joyce asked of Ruggiero about the words of a modern Greek love-song which he could not remember. Its plaint for lost love was in keeping with the mood of Anna Livia Plurabelle.

"I walked out all alone on the strand
To remember how we had wept together
When I kiss you, you remember it too
When I kiss you, you remember it too.
Now I love another a blonde
Much prettier than you.
But at the bottom of the heart
First love keeps its deep roots."

This is a prose poem at its enjoyable best. It resembles Dowson's *Cynera* poem in its sentiment and Eliot's *Fragment of an Agon* in its rhythm. (Eliot, "I gotta use words when I talk to you . . . we all gotta do what we gotta do")¹

1. T. S. Eliot did not merely write prefaces or introductions to Joyce's works or collections, he also emulated the word-experimenter, at least in coining the adjective 'Shakespearean' ('Oooo that Shakespearean rag'—*The Waste Land*). Joyce had earlier explored the possibility of adding to the variants of spelling 'Shakespeare'. He referred in *Finnegans Wake* to 'Shakhisbeard' in his characteristic fashion.

V : Summing Up

What is Joyce's attitude to life, as revealed in his poetry? This is a pertinent question. As an answer to this question one can only repeat what Joyce told a friend when asked what he thought of life: "I don't think about it."

This utterance should not however be taken at its face value. Less in spite of than because of this statement, a reader of Joyce's poetry ought to size him up as a poet. One does not wonder at his lines as one does at Shakespeare's. Nor does one reverence Joyce as one does Milton. Joyce the poet will be, in the eyes of posterity, with poets that are "loved", such as Campbell, Housman, Dowson, Marvell, Goldsmith, Cowper and a handful.

As a guilt-ridden poet, Joyce started his poetic career; and the 'Shine and Dark' poems will bear this out. The exponent of 'epiphanies' was but another aspect of his genius. The sudden revelation of the whatness of a thing took place at a moment when "the soul of the commonest object" seemed to be "radiant". Joyce, not unoften charged with such revelations, looked for and found them not among gods but among men. These 'epiphanies' were 'prose poems'. Joyce came back to versifying after his failure with Signorina Popper in 1914.

The touch of satire became unmistakable in his poems of this 'Limerick-period'. It was in May 1920 that Joyce wrote his first 'serious poem', 'A Prayer' that was equalled by a later effort (February 1932) in 'Ecce Puer' on the occasion of the birth of a grandson. Thus Joyce may well be remembered by posterity as a writer of at least two serious poems just as Dr Johnson is remembered as a poet for his 'London' and 'Vanity of Human Wishes'. To those who like to go to poems made in a lighter vein, perhaps James Joyce will hold out an eternal charm as a writer of breezy 'limericks'. Not an easy achievement this!

Books Used

1. Atherton, A.S. : *Books at the Wake*
2. Joyce, J. : *Collected Poems*
3. Joyce, S. : *My Brother's Keeper*
4. Ellmann, R. : *James Joyce*

ALFRED NOBEL

Story of a dedicated life.

NANDA MOOKERJEE

Alfred Nobel, by name the best known Swede, was a great benefactor of mankind. His high explosives released a new physical energy and thereby quickened the industrial revolution, which in turn raised the standard of living and reduced poverty.

Alfred Nobel was born of Swedish parents in Stockholm in 1833, the year his father, Immanuel, went into bankruptcy. After his failure in Stockholm, Immanuel moved to St Petersburg, the then Capital of Russia, where he started an engineering firm and rebuilt his fortunes during the Crimean War. But after the war, he went bankrupt for a second time. Leaving his two sons behind, Immanuel along with Alfred Nobel came back to Stockholm to rebuild the family fortunes.

Frail from birth, Nobel was often penitent of his delicate health. Of himself Alfred said: "Alfred Nobel, a miserable half-life, ought to have been choked to death by a philanthropic physician as soon as, with a howl, he entered life."

Alfred Nobel had no formal education. And yet, he had become, by his late teens, a skilful chemist and a notable linguist with a mastery of German, French, Russian, English and Swedish. From his early youth he had been a writer and a great reader, but many of his poems in Swedish, written in his youth, he later destroyed. He did, however, preserve a long autobiographical poem in English and occasionally distributed copies of it among his intimate friends. His English style bears traces of the early nineteenth-century trend generally associated with Byron and Shelley (Alfred's two favourite poets). His deep interest in

literature and his life long search for a satisfactory body of philosophic belief made him an introvert. Alfred was, to quote Henrik Schuck, "a prematurely developed, unusually intelligent but sickly, dreamy and introspective youth."

Alfred used to take keen interest in the study of medicine and once he engaged a young Swedish Physiologist in Paris to test his own theories of blood transfusions. But his efforts did not succeed. Failures and difficulties never daunted his spirit. He devoted himself to the study of explosives, especially nitroglycerin which led to the invention of dynamite in 1867. Blasting gelatin was patented in 1875. In 1888 Nobel invented ballistite, the first of the nitroglycerin smokeless powders which later served as a basis for cordite. From the manufacture of dynamite and other explosives and from the exploitation, with his brothers, of the Baku oil fields, Nobel acquired a very big fortune before his death in 1896.

It is unfortunate to note that Nobel's invention of dynamite has created the impression in the public mind that he was mainly interested in creating military weapon. But, in fact, more than ninety per cent of his fortune was acquired from his inventions in the field of explosives for pure civilian uses and these inventions revolutionized mining, road constructions and tunnel blasting. A pioneer in the development of the industrial trust, Nobel witnessed his enterprises grow into a World industry covering countries on five continents.

Nobel led an austere and dedicated life

and spent much of his time in travelling in Germany, Great Britain, France, Italy, Austria and the United States. He was described as the "wealthiest vagabond in Europe." He would often disappear for long periods without informing anybody where he could be available. He preferred to live "among trees and bushes, silent friends who respect the state of my nerves." Honour did not attract him and he never entertained requests for photographs or biographical information. He once wrote: "I am not aware that I have deserved any notoriety and I have no taste for its buzz." He adopted a cynical attitude towards his friends. He once wrote in a letter: "you refer to my many friends. Where are they? On the muddy bottom of lost illusions, or busy listening to the rattle of saved pennies? Believe me, numerous friends one gains only among dogs which one feeds with the flesh of others, or worms which one feeds with one's own. Grateful stomachs and grateful hearts are twins."

Although, by all accounts, witty, knowledgeable and cosmopolitan, yet he never gained true happiness. He was a lonely man and he remained a bachelor. In the words of Nils K. Stahle "a frustrated love underlay the dejection that plagued him through long periods of his life." In his youth, a romantic admiration for a girl inspired his first literary efforts. In later life, he fell in love with a girl, twenty-three years younger than him, whom he wanted

to raise to his own mental and social level. But the whole affair, instead of leading to the happy marriage, ended in a fiasco. This increased his innate melancholy and he ever remained a lonely man.

Benefit of mankind was his constant thought. He once said: "I'd rather take care of the stomachs of the living than the glory of the departed in the form of monuments." On November 27, 1895, a year before his passing away, Nobel signed in Paris the famous will which would translate his thought into a reality in years to come. He stipulated that the major part of his estate, more than 31 million Swedish Kronor, should be converted into a fund and invested. The income from the investments should be "distributed annually in the form of prizes to those who during the preceding year have conferred the greatest benefit on mankind." The fields in which he desired to encourage progress were Physics, Chemistry, Physiology or Medicine, Literature and Fraternity among nations. Much influenced in his youth by Shelley's pacifist views Nobel hated wars between nations. International peace was his great concern, the evidence of which could be found in his extending financial support to his friend Baroness Bertha under whose initiative peace congresses in Rome and Berne were held. He was an universalist. As such, he desired that nationality, race or religion should be of no consequence for the prize decisions.

THE PROFESSION OF ENGINEERING

P. C. GHOSH, Dr.-ING

Engineering offers good employment. Now-a-days most middle class families accord engineering probably a first choice followed by medicine a close second in higher education of their sons. Thus the order prevalent say 20 years ago in professional education has reversed. The reasons are not far too seek. A young engineer can expect quick settlement as a useful and successful member of the society. Even a boy of just average merit can hope to acquire at no great cost foreign education or training consequent upon his graduation from an engineering college. Graduate engineers with or without foreign qualifications can advance rapidly upto a stage in private industries who pay well or to high positions in the public sector. They enjoy good attention of the affluent section in matters of social connections. Thus a young man of 25 gets going with a big thrust. By mid thirty he is already a flourishing man. But engineering has its limitations as a career. Actually it has not yet attained full stature professionally or intellectually. Also engineering does not offer the glamour a successful physician or lawyer attains in the metropolis. Of course, individual engineers have attained eminence. Sir R. N. Mukherjee, Mr. Shib Banerjee, Bharat Ratna Dr. M. Visveswaraya, Mr. A. C. Carsetji, to mention some, are big names in Indian engineering. A famous engineer Dr. A. N. Khosla has been elevated to the position of Governor of Orissa. Engineers have occupied positions of Ministers, Members of Planning Commission, Vice-Chancellors, Directors General, Director, Managing Directors. Indian engineers have won honours and awards abroad.

Unlike physicians and lawyers, most engineers work the world over as employees in private and public sectors. Industries,

require whole-time services of engineers to run them. The common man in his day-to-day life may not require personal services of an engineer, who works a little bit in isolation. Twenty-five years ago an engineer was hardly to be met with. I had often been asked whether a student of engineering has to read much or just learn how to run an engine or the like. Certain British Universities confer a conventional title of B.A., M.A., B.Sc., etc., for its engineering courses. Even engineering graduates wondered whether this or that degree comes under engineering! Not altogether strange in those days, for in my own boyhood, I myself would have defined engineering as driving an engine, keeping in view the glamorous sight of the locomotive driver. Not at all an absurd picture, for boys and girls all over the world admire the locoman. Today engineering is of course not obscure. The number of technical institutions conducting degree courses in engineering has increased from 38 in 1947 to 118 at present, the annual admission capacity has risen from less than 3,000 to more than 20,000. Number of graduate engineers is likely to increase further. Before the end of this decade, university enrolment will be around 2 million students; of the total enrolment only about 5% is currently in science and technology, the corresponding figure in U.K. is 15%.

Consulting services of architects and building engineers are coming up; they can also help a lot the private builder and improve quality of buildings. In western countries, quite small offices of practitioner architect engineers do exist and also flourish. However, consulting service is becoming gradually business ventures requiring an investment capital. Still 2 or 3 men of venture can combine together and find a

lot of scope to practise as building engineers in cities. There is also scope for other types of consultants, since in these days of specialisation their help is needed not only by the lay businessman but also by engineers and engineering organisations. I shall give just one example. The Iron and Steel Research Institute of France which devotes to research, development and consulting engineering in iron and steel employ a staff of about 600. An individual company occupied with routine production and maintenance may not be in a position to muster or spare so many specialists for the stated purpose. Self-employment of engineers is much to be encouraged both for the interest of the profession and the public, since engineer owners may function better compared to financiers. The Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India Ltd, (ICICI) have assisted with finance the establishment of a number of industrial units sponsored by technologists. It is expected that more engineers will become entrepreneurs.

By and large engineers serve as employees and the severest limitation on engineering as a career is imposed in India by this status and by service conditions as employees. An engineering officer serving under the Government may enjoy some reputation for financial stability but an engineer drawing higher salaries from a private Indian concern may not enjoy good status or recognition. A profession is ordinarily taken in India as a free profession so that serving engineers lose their individuality or specialisation in getting labelled 'servant' or 'employees' or 'staff': a none-too-complimentary designation in India; and in actuality this status did not often entitle an engineer to be treated as a gentleman by those working or serving above him. Some amount of prejudice works against employment in a factory, mine or construction site even though engineers engaged in fields and factories

shoulder the toughest jobs. Had there been no engineering production and construction, who would establish an engineering office? Engineering research is quite a serious job but research engineers were regarded in India as retired men or crazy fellows claiming some unemployment benefit. Abroad the best students may opt for research and teaching. How different is the atmosphere of research and academic bodies abroad! But the state of things is definitely improving in India so that the present generation of students will find much better scope for such work than their predecessors had some years ago.

A venerable gentleman once advised me that in the days gone by many pious Indians used to keep their service life out of their own life! This attitude or suggestion may seem ridiculous to persons who have worked abroad as engineers and have thus experienced how common affairs and work of an organisation can be managed nicely and decently bestowing individuality, honour, courtesy and fair play to all participants in the community. A Prussian may still like a little bit of stiff collars in attention, brisk manners and deep bows in places, but the entire system works both ways and once you can drill up to it, this Prussian way becomes not exactly quixotic but really very impressive, it is also not difficult to find that niceties tinge enthusiasm. French way would be a bit different, some sort of art in grace, humility and dignity; and you enjoy calmly your service life as part of your own life.

Engineering is, of course, highly interesting and often fascinating; thus there is joy of work. In certain fields like heavy structures, dam construction, architecture, water ways engineering, production etc. technical standards in India have gone up significantly. Indian engineers today are in a better position to develop through corporate efforts healthy, honourable ways around and above; they should not forget

their junior partners and workmen. Engineering is actually a cooperative venture.

Fortunately, supply of all categories of trained men for different engineering jobs has increased tremendously. The number of polytechnics and other diploma institutions has risen from about 50 in 1947 to about 250, annual admission growing from less than 4,000 to nearly 40,000. Trained men together go to create better management, technical efficiency and professional status. In the present-day world, engineers may be found at the top of management of industrial concerns. This trend is already becoming evident in India as more engineers head industries both in public and private sectors. Engineers by habit would be in a better position to bring forth functional and direct outlook in both management and planning and in fostering proper professional standards.

Initiation of the student engineer to the world of professional men is a tremendous task as adjustment with the new environment may call for not only disillusionment but also devaluation. However, one may expect guidance of teachers and senior members of the profession. Lack of freedom from want and security in the larger community, monopolistic traditions and bitterness of British days—all combine together in generating a deep negative attitude to most things and an attitude of exclusiveness if not mutual antagonism. In certain quarters ideals of organisation have not developed. Before the rising forces of progress, such deficiencies will before long be gone with the wind.

The Institution of Engineers (India) which was founded in 1920 and which obtained a Royal Charter in 1935 has acquitted itself creditably. Its total membership has risen from 1,472 in 1940 to 6,382 in 1950 and further to the very big number

of 42,887 in 1963. This body is for years functioning with a democratic constitution, conducting recognised examinations, conferring professional titles, publishing journals and information bulletins; arranging meetings, symposia, visits. This Institution should have at important centres good reference libraries which go to serve the profession in its entirety. In this respect this Institution may suffer comparison with foreign institutions. There are also many other professional associations serving this or that branch of engineering; most of them have got their own organs. Actually, this phenomenal growth of engineering profession resulted from the fillip given to it by the development work launched upon since 1952 by the National Government. It is worthy of note that former Prime Minister of India Late Jawaharlal Nehru had lent much personal support and encouragement to the profession. International collaboration in education and practice rendered significant service in the field of engineering development in India. The Indian press and platform have taken very keen interest in success of engineering projects, much interest in engineering research and a little bit in engineering education. Ideals set by men like Sir Asutosh Mookherjee and Acharya Sir P. C. Ray should still be remembered in development of academic and scientific work in engineering. A young professor of an Engineering University told me in Germany that he can not be satisfied just with his personal success; he is concerned with growth of his successors. Everywhere genuine workers and men of good-will profess a little bit of esprit de corps. In advanced countries society tends now-a-days towards a prosperous community of working men and women. I am quite confident that in this free democracy of ours with opportunities mounting daily, Indian engineers will bounce ahead and forge a fine profession comparable to the best anywhere in the world.

RECENT TRENDS IN INDIAN ADMINISTRATION

Dr. BHARAT BHUSAN GUPTA

The British transferred power to the Indians on 14-15 August, 1947 at midnight. As a consequence, Lord Mountbatten became the constitutional head and responsibilities of administration descended on Indian shoulders. The immediate responsibilities were—improvement in law and order situation, the restoration of communal harmony, the introduction of long-awaited socio-economic reforms and the raising of living standards. The administrative system had to be re-organized and the country had to be placed within the community of nations

Only a complete overhaul of the administrative system could tackle these many and varied problems. An alien administrative set-up was hardly competent to meet the needs of an emerging state. The first essential was, therefore, the drafting of a fresh constitution. The Constitution inaugurated the Republic of India on 26 January, 1950. It set up a federal structure in the country. Two kinds of governments were envisaged at the Union and State levels based on the Union, State and Concurrent lists

The constitution had to be continually reviewed. The first concerted effort to stream-line the Indian administration was made by the appointment of A.D. Gorwala. Gorwala submitted his report in the first quarter of 1951.¹ The second important landmark in the administrative scrutiny of the Union and State Governments was the appointment of Dean H. Appleby by the Government of India in September 1952.²

1. A. D. Gorwala, *Report on Public Administration*, 1951.

2. Paul H. Appleby, *Public Administration in India, Report of a Survey*, 1953.

He submitted his first report in 1953.³ Appleby made two more visits to India and produced his second report in 1956.⁴ The constitution and later administrative probes in Union and State Governments left the District Administration untouched. It was to be organized by State Governments according to individual variations. The Union and State Governments minus district administration meant merely urban administration and touched only 18 per cent of the population.⁵ The Union Government, therefore, inaugurated the Community Development Projects and National Extension Service on October 2, 1952. Such an integrated community welfare plan which affected 82 per cent of the rural population could not be carried out without a proper administrative organization. In pursuance of the Finance Minister's Budget Speech for 1956-57, the National Development Council constituted a Committee on Plan Projects with the Union Minister for Home Affairs as Chairman.⁶ This Committee, in turn, appointed a Team, headed by Balwant-rai G. Mehta, to study and report on the Community Projects and National Extension Service. The Team submitted its report on 24 November 1957. This Report recommended democratic decentralisation at the district level⁷ and suggested a three-

7. *Ibid*, p. 7.

1. Paul H. Appleby, *Re-Examination of India's Administrative System with Special Reference to administration of Government's Industrial and Commercial Enterprises*, 1956.

5. *Census of India*, 1961. Paper No. 1 of 1962, p. 331.

6. *Report of the Teams for the Study of Community Projects and National Extension Service Vol. I, Committee on Plan Projects*, New Delhi, November 1957, Introduction p. (i).

7. *Ibid*.

tier system—Zilla Parishad, Panchayat Samiti and Village Panchayat—with variations in different States.⁸ Towards the end of 1960, the Planning Commission appointed V. T. Krishnamachari to undertake studies on questions relating to administrative personnel at different levels in States and on issues arising from the introduction of democratic institutions at the district and block levels.⁹ This Report was submitted in two parts in August 1962.¹⁰ The second part dealt with the Problems of District Administration.¹¹ In accordance with the Balwantrao Mehta Committee Report, the States of Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Mysore, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh have accepted a three-tier system.¹² In all these States, the local bodies at the block and the district levels have been given a statutory and corporate existence.¹³ The Democratic Decentralization Committee of the Gujrat State has recommended it.¹⁴ On 1 May, 1960 the Government of Maharashtra set up a Committee on Democratic Decentralization, headed by V. P. Naik, to examine the question in all its aspects.¹⁵ This Committee has recommended a thoroughly democratic structure for the State. A Committee has been appointed in Bihar to consider the

same matter.¹⁶ Only in two States, Bengal and Kerala, no action seems to have been taken so far on the Mehta Committee Report.¹⁷

Administrative Research in India can thus be broadly classified under two heads.—

(I) The two-tier system at the Union and the States' level

(II) The three-tier system at the district level.

(I)

Administrative research under the first head is being carried out by the Organization and Methods Division and the Special Reorganization Unit of the Finance Ministry. The setting up of an Organization and Management or Public Administration Office under a Minister of the Government of India was recommended by Paul H. Appleby.¹⁸ This body was expected to focus attention on and study proposals concerning the improvement of governmental structure and procedures. The expected organization came into existence under the name of Organization and Methods Division in March 1954 and was located in the Cabinet Secretariat. To begin with, the organization was conceived as a collective and cooperative enterprise in which the main effort was to come from the O and M Cells in the Ministries under the charge of O and M Officers to be designated out of their existing officers and the Central O and M Division was to supply the necessary leadership and guidance. The first Director of the Division chalked out the following programme of the O and M Division in March 1954:

"to improve administrative efficiency in all branches of government, continuous attention must be paid to the nature and

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 33-42.

9. *Report on Indian and State Administrative Services and Problems of District Administration*, August 1962, p. 1.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 23.

11. *Report on Indian and State Administration*, August 1962, p. 3.

12. *Report of the Committee on Democratic Decentralization*, Government of Maharashtra, 1961, p. 33. Also see *Local Self Government Administration in States of India*, Government of India, Ministry of Health Publication, 1962.

13. *Report of the Committee on Democratic Decentralization*, Government of Maharashtra, 1961, p. 33.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 147.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

18. Paul H. Appleby, *Public Administration in India, Report of a Survey*, Cabinet Secretariat, and Methods Division, 1957, p. 14.

volume of work to be done, the speed and quality of performance and the many factors which affect these, e.g., the number quality and mutual relationships of the persons responsible for decision and/or action, flow of work and the workload, simplification and rationalization of procedures, time and labour-saving techniques and appliances, etc."¹⁹

The number of O and M cells in various Ministries/Departments of the Government of India and the Union Public Service Commission stood at 28 in March 1956.²⁰ There were 23 O and M cells in the Civil and Defence Expenditure Divisions of the Finance Ministry and 12 O and M units in certain Attached and Subordinate offices working mostly under the supervision of the Senior Officer in charge of Administration and Establishment.²¹ In all, there were 63 O and M cells at the beginning of the year 1956-57.²² The number of cells fell to 58 in 1957-58 and again increased to 60 with the addition of two cells of the Department of Parliamentary Affairs and the Office of Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.²³ The number of internal O and M cells increased to 66 in March 1959.²⁴ At present the number of O and M cells in Ministries/Departments and major Attached and

Subordinate offices is 67.²⁵ The functions of the O and M Division have been considerably enlarged during the years. The Division, which was formerly under the Cabinet Secretariat, has been replaced by a Department of Administrative Reforms under the Ministry of Home Affairs.²⁶ The Department is now to take action on the recommendations and conclusions made in the past by various individuals and committees appointed for suggesting reforms and measures for reorganizing Government machinery and for taking initiative generally in promoting administrative improvements in the interest of efficiency, economy and integrity.²⁷ To avoid unnecessary duplication of effort, the staff of the O and M Division has been transferred from the Department of Cabinet Affairs to the New Department.²⁸ Not content with these signal changes during the year 1964, Home Minister Nanda announced in the Lok Sabha that a broadbased Commission on the lines of the Hoover Commission in the United States is to be appointed in India.²⁹

O and M Divisions have also been appointed in States. West Bengal was the first to set up O and M Division in March 1945.³⁰ Other States followed. Andhra, Assam, Bihar, Delhi, Jammu and Kashmir, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Manipur, Mysore, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan, Tripura and Uttar Pradesh also set up O and M cells in due course.³¹

The main activity of the O and M

19. *Seventh Report of Organization and Methods Division*, Department of Administrative Reforms, Ministry of Home Affairs, 1964, p. 3.

20. *Third Annual Report (1956-57)*, Organization and Methods Division, Cabinet Secretariat, p. 1.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

22. *Third Annual Report (1956-57)*, Organization and Methods Division, Cabinet Secretariat, p. 1.

23. *Fourth Annual Report, 1957-58* of Organization and Methods Division, Cabinet Secretariat, 1958, p. 1.

24. *Fifth Annual Report, 1958-59* of Organization and Methods Division, Cabinet Secretariat, p. 1.

25. *Seventh Report of Organization and Methods Division, 1961-64*, Department of Administrative Reforms, Ministry of Home Affairs, 1964, p. 30.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

29. *The Hindustan Times*, September. 17. 1964.

30. *Sixth Report of Organization and Methods Division*, Cabinet Secretariat, 1959-61, p. 76.

31. *Ibid.* pp. 66-80.

Division at the Centre during the first years of its existence was devoted to such measures as :³²

- (i) Laying down proper procedures for disposal of work.³³
- (ii) Devising aids for quicker and proper disposal of work, e.g., preparation of a Handbook for Establishment Officers, Standing Guard Files.
- (iii) Setting up of a control mechanism for keeping a watch over the disposal of receipts and reducing delays (through control charts, weekly arrear statements and monthly tests of pending cases).
- (iv) Monthly reviews of progress at O and M meetings.
- (v) Prescribing a regular system of quarterly and regular inspections.
- (vi) Encouraging the delegation of financial and cognate powers to the Administrative Ministries, Heads of Departments and other subordinate authorities.
- (vii) Training of the lower grades of staff.

During the second phase of its activities, the Division has successfully carried out programmes of studies of scientific management of records,³⁴ simplification of depart-

mental rules, simplification of the reports, returns and statements which have to be compiled by various governmental agencies and the organized industries, simplification of procedures and methods of work of the housekeeping sections in Ministries,³⁵ inter-ministerial problems, and patterns of delegation of financial and administrative powers at various levels in the public sector undertakings to match authority with responsibility, speed up the decision-making processes and eliminate the delays inherent in the centralization of powers at top or near-top levels.³⁶ Besides, the O and M units in individual Ministries' Offices have taken such special measures as might be necessary to suit their particular needs.³⁷

There is a regular exchange of ideas, information and experiences relating to O and M between the States and the Centre. O and M units in States are also functioning with a view to eliminating bottlenecks and delays; reorganization of the secretariat offices, proper staffing, training improvement of office procedure, compilation of manual and case studies to improve the quality and speed of work and to make secretariat machinery more efficient.³⁸ In many of the O and M units trained personnel is at the helm,³⁹ in others provision is being made for adequately trained personnel. The O and M Division is also bringing out an O and M Journal entitled

32. *Seventh Report of Organization and Methods Division, 1961-64*, Department of Administrative Reforms, Ministry of Home Affairs, 1964, p. 3.

33. for details see *Central Secretariat Manual of Office Procedure*, Cabinet Secretariat, Organization and Methods Division, Fourth Edition, 1963.

34. *Seventh Report of Organization and Methods Division, 1961-64*, Department of Administrative Reforms, Ministry of Home Affairs, 1964, pp. 13-17.

also see *Brochure on Management and Work Study*.

35. also see *Check Lists for Setting up of*

New Offices and Other Establishment Matters, Organization and Methods Division, Department of Cabinet Affairs, Government of India, New Delhi, 1962.

36. *Seventh Report of Organization and Methods Division, 1961-64*, Department of Administrative Reforms, Ministry of Home Affairs, 1964, p. 4.

37. *Ibid.* pp. 30-47.

38. *Sixth Report of Organization and Methods Division, Cabinet Secretariat, 1959-61*, pp. 66-80.

39. *Ibid.* p. 76.

'Work Improvement' to provide a link between the Centre and the States' O and M units. This is also expected to serve as a forum for the flow of ideas in both directions.

Special Reorganization Unit of the Ministry of Finance has the responsibility of carrying out work studies. The main objectives of work studies are three, namely, methods simplification, work measurement and organizational analysis.⁴⁰ This work is complementary to the work of the O and M Division. Since January 1, 1960, this unit has been assigned a three-year programme of work studies covering the entire Secretariat and important offices. Besides, ad hoc assignments of a pressing character are also referred to it.⁴¹ During the year 1960-61, 23 regular and 13 ad hoc assignments were taken up for study by the unit.⁴² As a result of these studies several general suggestions have been made which can be listed as follows:

1. Administration and personnel management in the Secretariat and other offices give rise, by and large, to standard types of work. Rationalization in such work, besides securing greater equity among personnel doing equally responsible work, is likely to result in economy.⁴³

2. The staffing pattern, at present, is related to the status given to an office, namely whether it is a Secretariat, Attached or Subordinate Office. It is not always linked to the nature and content of work. A great deal of rationalisation is

possible and it is a source of fruitful economies.⁴⁴

3. Registration and preparation of documents and communication of decisions is taking, in many cases, more time than the making of decisions. Studies are necessary to determine the minimum work content of any ancillary jobs in relation to main work in order to reduce the time taken to perform them.⁴⁵

4. Several pressures, beyond the control of officials, are distorting the distribution of their time from the major objectives of their jobs. An activity sampling of the senior and middle level jobs is likely to disclose several factors, which if taken care of, will lead to better utilization of time in proportion to the importance of the objectives. Important economies can result if senior experienced personnel particularly technical officials can be properly utilized.⁴⁶

5. Meetings also occupy a large part of the time of senior and middle level officials. The cost of meetings relevant to the decisions taken cannot be judged during the course of work studies but a study of their utilization may lead to important results.⁴⁷

As a result of the above investigations by the Special Reorganization Unit, staffing surpluses to the extent of Rs. 17 lakhs (recurring) have been located in interim recommendations made by the unit.⁴⁸ Some economies due to revised methods of work are offset by new items of work under the Third Five Year Plan.⁴⁹

40. *Sixth Report of Organization and Methods Division*, Cabinet Secretariat, 1959-61, p. 36.

41. *Ibid.* p. 36.

42. See Appendix VIII to *Sixth Report of Organization and Methods Division*, Cabinet Secretariat, 1959-61, pp. 117-121.

43. *Sixth Report of Organization and Methods Division*, Cabinet Secretariat, 1959-61, p. 37.

44. *Ibid.* p. 37.

45. *Sixth Report of Organization and Methods Division*, Cabinet Secretariat, 1959-61, p. 37.

46. *Ibid.* p. 37.

47. *Ibid.* pp. 37-38.

48. *Ibid.* p. 38.

49. *Ibid.* p. 38.

(II)

The second head of administrative research deals with Plan Projects. A Committee on Plan Projects, a reference to which has already been made, was set up by the National Development Council in September 1956 with the following terms of reference :⁵⁰

(i) to organize investigations, including inspection in the field of important projects, both at the Centre and in the States, through specially selected teams ;

(ii) to initiate studies with the object of evolving suitable forms of organization, methods, standards and techniques for achieving economy, avoiding waste and ensuring efficient execution of projects ;

(iii) to promote the development of suitable machinery for continuous efficiency audit in individual projects and in agencies responsible for their execution ;

(iv) to secure the implementation of suggestions made in reports submitted to the Committee on Plan Projects and to make the results of studies and investigations generally available ; and

(v) to undertake such other tasks as the National Development Council may propose for the promotion of economy and efficiency in the execution of the Second Five Year Plan.

The Committee on Plan Projects has organised studies with the following objectives in view :⁵¹

(a) Efficiency of programming techniques ;

(b) Roadblocks to the progress of projects according to targets ;

(c) Efficiency of cost estimates and development of standard prac-

tices and norms in repetitive projects ;

(d) Phasing and relationship of costs and benefits to get the best out of investments made ; and

(e) Sufficiency of the programmes.

The economies achieved are the result of studies in efficiency and are a welcome reminder that there is room even in the best-run projects for economy in actual expenditure by subjecting existing methods to systematic and intensive analysis. Another result is the reaching of best experience to the staff engaged on actual implementation of the projects in India. The teams of study have also exposed the project staff to new ideas in technical and managerial practice. Occasionally, experience of outside experts has been made available to the project staff to enrich their experience of field work.⁵²

To sum up, the fundamental and statutory law provide the basis to Indian Administration. This is now supplemented by a study into procedures and methods. The quest is for making them simpler and shorter in the interest of efficiency and economy in administration. The O and M Division, the Special Reorganization Unit of the Finance Ministry and the Committee on Plan Projects have done pioneer work in this direction. The emphasis of administrative research has lately shifted to a review of the working of the O and M Division⁵³ and Evaluation of Plan Projects.⁵⁴

52. *Sixth Report of Organization and Methods Division*. Cabinet Secretariat. 1959-61, p. 58.

53. See Appendix I to *Sixth Report of Organization and Methods Division*. Cabinet Secretariat, 1959-61, pp. 81-90.

54. *The Hindustan Times*, November 5, 1964.

50. *Ibid.* p. 57.

51. *Sixth Report of Organization and Methods Division*, Cabinet Secretariat. 1959-61, p. 58.

Rs. 197 crores and disbursements from Rs. 103 crores to Rs. 125 crores.

Recent Developments

One may usefully draw attention to certain important amendments which the I.D.B.I. Act, 1964 has made to the IFC Act, 1948. The shares held in the Corporation by the R.B.I. and the Central Government have been transferred at par value to the I.D.B.I. and the latter has acquired additional shares so as to bring its total holdings up to 50 per cent of the paid-up capital of the Corporation which now stands at Rs. 834.60 lakhs. Certain changes have been made in the provisions relating to the composition of the Board of Directors and the arrangements for audit of the Corpora-

tion. The power of giving policy directives to the Corporation has passed from the Central Government to the Corporation which is to have access to financial assistance from the IDB in certain specified ways.

It is expected that the formation of the IDB and the consequential changes in the IFC Act will enable the Corporation to play a more fruitful role in industrial development by effective lending operations. Now, co-ordination between sister institutions in the field will grow in depth, lacunae in the requirements of industry will be eliminated more easily and very large projects which the Corporation could not handle alone will be assured of comprehensive attention by a consortium of financial institutions.

CURRENT AFFAIRS

Food self-sufficiency and Defence Emergency (Contd. from p. 380)

grains like rice and wheat aggregate approximately 40 million tonnes in an average year during the last season the quantity was officially estimated to have been well over 45 million tonnes—enough to cover about two-thirds of the gross cereal requirements of the country as a whole. So far there has been no attempt on the part of the Union Food & Agriculture Ministry to place all cereals under any kind of controlled marketing or distribution; only the finer grains, and that on a strictly regional basis, have been sought to be placed under some sort of restrictions—in large measure ineffectually. And it is obvious that nothing better could be expected so long as the present regionalism in food administration continued to persist. If the present policies in this behalf could be effectively replaced by an integrated national policy to be spelt out and enforced by the Union Government our food production, though not ample, would nevertheless be found to be just marginally sufficient to meet basic minimum demands. And an essential cornerstone of such a policy will necessarily have to be complete and wholesale elimination of all private trade in food grains. Only by such means is it possible to envisage any kind of a satisfactory solution of the recurrent food crisis in the country. Shri P. C. Sen of West Bengal deserves to be not merely congratulated but also emulated in the matter of his latest decision to wholly nationalise the food grains trade in his State; this will be bound to contain speculative pressures to a large extent and in corresponding measure, ease the situation. But considering that West Bengal is a deficit State—and as already seen the proportion of deficit for the next year will be somewhere around 40 per cent of total requirements—and in the absence of a national policy ensuring sharing out of the surpluses where they exist and of making up the total diet allocation by a proportional mixture of fine and coarse grains, the situation in the coming year would be one of considerable gravity. Very similar would be bound to be the situation in other deficit States like Bihar, Kerala etc., but where, under present administrative policies, its gravity may be still more intense.

A Four Pronged Drive Necessary

Production increases under the crash programme now initiated would of course, be very welcome and would be a necessary cornerstone in laying the foundations of a sound basis for economic growth. But increased production without a nationally unified and integrated food policy would only help to swell the speculators' advances. It was originally expected that with the bumper harvest of the 1964-65 season which was estimated to have yielded a gross cereal output of well over 80 million tonnes—an all time peak—and the increased imports during the corresponding period wheat imports from the U.S.A. under PL 480 and from Canada and Australia are together reported to have been of the order of well over 6 million tonnes—the food crisis of the preceding year would not recur again so soon. That this has done with far greater severity than previously is ample proof of the fact that this has not been the normal expression of the relations between demand and supply. Scarcity was deliberately engineered by interested parties for private gains at the expense of the community and the nation. The only possible solution to the food problem therefore it is obvious would have to be a simultaneous four pronged attack on (1) the present regionalism in food administration, (2) the current stagnation in agricultural production, (3) statutory rationing in all urban areas and some measure of a modified system of rationing in rural and deficit areas and (4) total procurement of all food grains production in the country except only what the actual cultivating farmer may be allowed to retain for his family's own consumption requirements. If it is necessary to amend the Constitution to enable the Union Government to assume a dominant role in the spelling out of an integrated national policy in this behalf there should be no hesitation to do so. Food, one must realise, is as vital for economic growth as it is for effective national defence and we cannot afford to continue our present policy of drift—what else can it be called when we find that even the Prime Minister of India goes on alternately issuing dire threats to the speculating trade and go all out to cajole

and flit with it—without imperilling the sovereign integrity of the nation. This is a basic truth that one must clearly realise without delay or subterfuge.

Aid Without Strings

It was heartening to notice in a newspaper report published as we go to press that a U.S. Government spokesman in Washington was reported to have stated that every attempt was being made to speed up delivery of the balance of the wheat due under the PL 480 agreement for 1965 and that there was no question of any political conditions or diplomatic pressures being involved in the process. He was further reported to have stated that as for the coming year he did not know of any reason why it should not be possible to conclude fresh agreements to continue wheat exports to India in 1966 under PL 480. His Government, the spokesman was reported to have added, was very glad that India had been intensifying her efforts under newly formulated crash programmes to achieve self-sufficiency in food grains production. But so long as India had to continue to depend upon imported food grains there was no reason why the U.S. should not continue to come to her aid in this matter as in the past. There was no question, the spokesman was reported to have reiterated, of any kind of political or diplomatic strings being attached to such aid.

It is encouraging to read such a report purporting as it did to come from an accredited source. This would help to ease the burdens of the Union Food Ministry to a certain extent especially in the context of the recently formulated undertaking to introduce a system of statutory rationing in all towns in the country with populations of 300,000 and more with effect from the new year and its gradual extension next year, to all urban areas with populations of upto 100,000. It would however be foolish on our part if by placing too great a reliance upon such assurances as we have been wont to do in the past there were to be any relaxation in the determination to intensify food production in the country towards self-sufficiency in the immediate future. Apart from the

diplomatic and other pressures that are being brought to bear upon India by the aid-giving countries of the West to enable Pakistan to emerge from the mess of her own making without the least possible damage and in which assistance in the matter of food and finance may easily be sought to be made instruments of pressure a base of surplus agricultural production, especially food production, is one of the primary essentials of the foundations upon which alone the structure of rapid economic growth can be built. For one reason and another agriculture has been given a comparatively low priority in Plan allocations in the Second and Third Plans and implementation has been even far less satisfactory. One of the reasons may have been the anxiety to expedite the process of arriving at the stage of take off in the development of our industrial base and infrastructure and in social overheads especially in the context of the terms on which large quantities of wheat exports to India were agreed to be made by the U.S.A. The possible effects of a virtual situation of only marginal food grains supply in a developing economy were obviously not visualized. And even apart from the emergency created by the escalation of armed Indo-Pakistani conflict the country as a result of her neglect of agricultural progress had already been inevitably heading towards a crisis in her economic development. The present emergency has only helped to develop an awareness of the urgency of the matter and which might have been made very much more acute if as it was recently apprehended U.S. wheat imports had to stop on account of political pressures that might have obtruded on the process.

We should be very clear in our realization of the fact that although large measures of financial assistance have been flowing into India for purposes of development most Western democracies have a definite anti-Indian slant where Pakistan is concerned. Although with the exception of a few opinionated news magazines and periodicals the U.S. press as a whole does not appear to have been definitely anti-Indian its pro-Pakistan slant has not been any too well concealed. In Britain both the Labour Government especially the Prime Minister and the press as a whole have been anti-Indian and overtly pro-Pakistani. The British Prime Minister has however, sought to

make some amends later but the attitude of the British politicians would seem to be persistently anti-Indian. From the reports of a proceedings in the British House of Lords under date line October 28. Lord Blyton, a Labour Peer was reported have asked Lord Walston, Foreign Under Secretary, to take note that "there had been terrible anxiety in Pakistan that favouritism was shown to India because of the terrific lobby here and that they are left on the shelf." This in connection with the recently concluded agreement for a £10 million interest-free loan between India and Britain. Lord Barnby, a Conservative Peer was reputed to have asked "Is it to be understood that the U.K. representative at the U.N. is to support the motion there requesting India to institute a plebiscite in Kashmir and bringing about of an affirmative answer?" Lord Blyton was further reported to have stated: "I do not object to loans to poorer nations without interest but I am afraid we shall have to consider on loans to India that Pakistan has been a faithful ally of this country in CENIO and SFATO."

These are symptomatic of the points of view of the British politician whether of the Tory or the Socialist School. Lord Blyton has accused India of having a "terrific lobby" in Britain.

any impartial observer with any regard for truth, could not fail to observe Pakistan's anti-Indian lobby in both Britain and the U.S.A. and, in spite of the work of the Indian Prime Minister's personal envoys in Bonn and Paris, also in these two important Western Capitals. Indeed, both Britain and the U.S. must have been tacitly condoning Pakistan's recent attack upon India when they allowed Turkey and Iran to transport to Pakistan modern arms from their CENIO arsenals. Feeble warnings no doubt have been publicly issued by both countries, but one would have to be extremely gullible to believe that either Turkey or Iran would have the temerity to give part of their CENIO arms, which ultimately came from the U.S. herself if the U.S. Government were really concerned that they should not reach Pakistan.

All these little incidents are additional facts, if any were needed that so far as her Western friends are concerned India, it seems likely, will largely have to go it alone. This is an object lesson which India cannot afford to ignore and the current crash food production programme should be followed up in other directions to enable the country to achieve that measure of self reliance which alone will compel respect from the so-called Western allies of Pakistan.



Two gnats taking off on a reconnaissance patrol

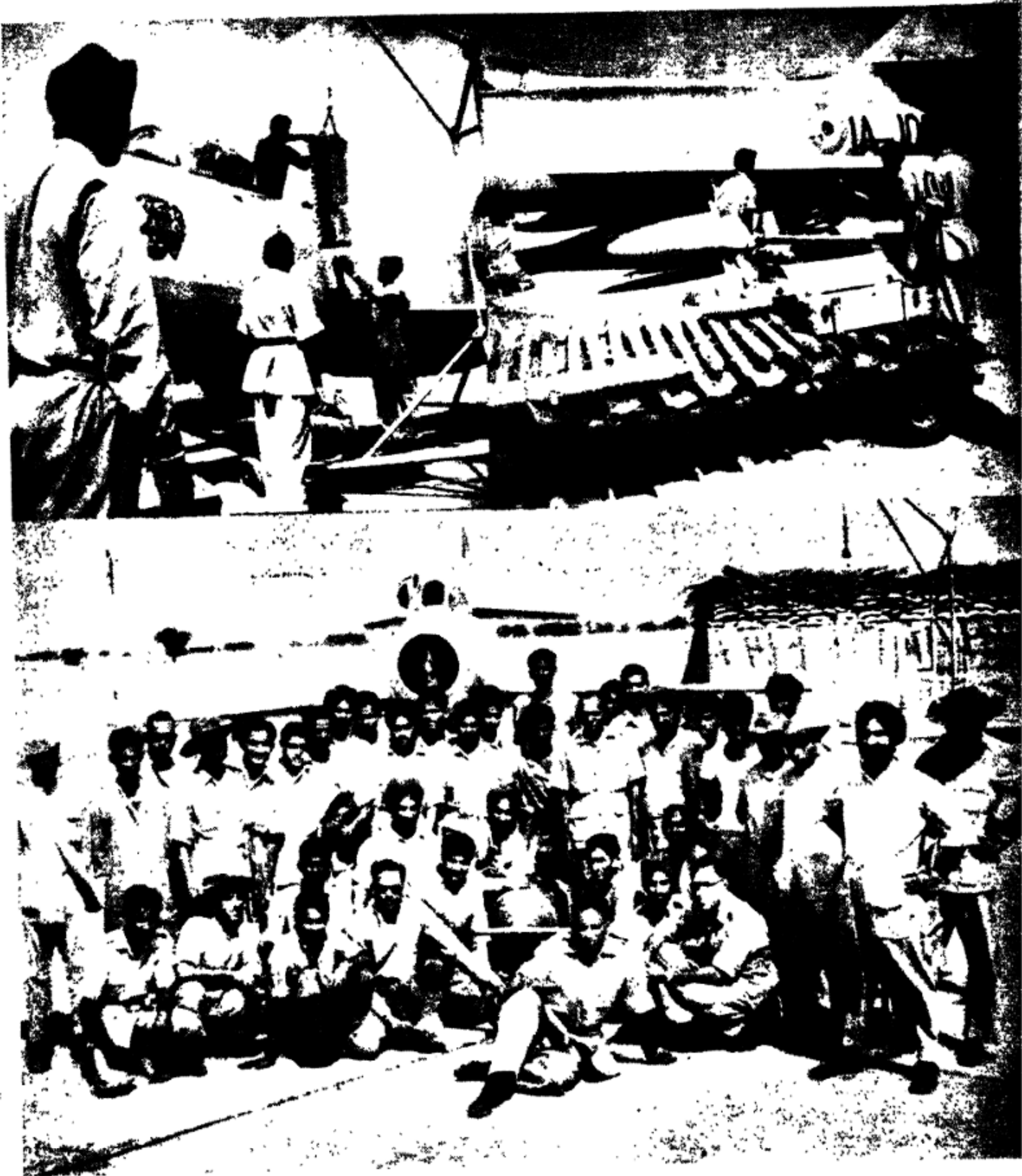
I BALED OUT IN ENEMY TERRITORY

Fg. Off. D. P. CHINOY

As long as I live, I will always remember the day. It was September 10, 1965. I was piloting a Mystere aircraft on a daylight bombing sortie in Pakistan. With me there were two other planes bound on the same mission. We reached the target, and overflowed it to ascertain and reconnoitre. As we circled over the target at 50 feet the enemy's anti-aircraft guns boomed. I suddenly felt my aeroplane shake. There was also a severe thud. I knew the plane had been hit. Whatever doubts I had were soon dispelled when the cockpit was filled with smoke and the fire warning light on the panel lit up. Immediately I pulled up to gain height and contacted the leader of the flight on R/T to tell him that my aircraft had been hit and was on fire. While I was doing this I throttled the engine back

and started turning northwards. My leader in reply told me to steer 090 or in other words towards the East and get out of the area. The plane's power generator had failed, and the radio telephone faded out, I was therefore cut off from the outside world.

By now, I could neither see the horizon nor the instruments in front of me because of the thick smoke. My eyes were smarting and I found it difficult even to breathe. I knew that staying in the aircraft was out of the question and I must soon bale out. I therefore jettisoned the canopy. The fresh air cleared the smoke from the cockpit somewhat. Peering at the altimeter, I found that my height was 3,000 feet and the airspeed had fallen to almost zero. I pulled the ejection lever and with a mighty



(Top) Airmen Technicians busy making planes ready for short notice strikes
(Bottom) Ground Crew of a mystere squadron before loading a H. E. bomb

heave I was catapulted out of the aircraft which I knew would soon be a wreckage. I felt sorry for the plane but knew this was no time for it because as I descended I could hear the booming of the heavy guns and the pinging of small arms fire whizzing past me. I was being shot at from the ground. The parachute gave me safety but also made me an easy helpless target. I only hoped I would land safely.

As soon as I touched the ground, I released myself from the parachute and survival pack and took cover in the high grass around me. I kept running and crawling from one grassy patch to another. The declining sun was my guide and by keeping it to my left I could be sure that I was heading north. Slowly the sound of gun

fire became weaker and I knew I was going away from it. I rested and with the cigarette lighter, which I always carry during flying, burnt the confidential papers that I had on me. I however retained my map with me so as to assist me in getting out of the enemy territory. As I was burning the papers I heard rifle shots again and this time they were quite close. It became necessary for me to move away because I never knew if my little bonfire had been noticed by the enemy and he was coming for me.

I fled again, leaving behind some of the unnecessary flying clothing and equipment I had on me. Running and walking and always taking shelter behind the tall grass patches I came across a village. Nearby



A graveyard of the much boosted Pakistani Pattons



Bridge blown up across Ichhawal Canal near Burki

there was a built-up area surrounded by sand bags. These I avoided like poison.

But my troubles were not over. After about an hour of running and walking I saw a villager very near me. For a moment I thought all was lost. He was so near. Fortunately though I had seen him he was blissfully ignorant of my presence. I ducked into the tall grass and hid there. I knew that in the bright sun the grass gave me insufficient cover. But I had no way out. I could not risk meeting the villager because that would have meant my capture and being handed over to the enemy. With bated breath I waited. I heaved a sigh of relief as I saw the villager move away. I

had however learnt my lesson. Moving about in the daylight was too dangerous and I must wait for the sun to set.

As night descended I covered my face and hands with mud. I also took off all shining objects from my person which could reflect light and give me away. By then the moon had risen. So I started again keeping the moon in front of me. This I knew would take me east. I ran and walked for nearly five hours avoiding all villages, all human beings and above all dogs.

After about five hours of cross-country running in which I went over fields, waded through streams and made my way through

grass, I saw a road ahead. I calculated that by now I must be on the main road leading to Amritsar. I started moving along the road, but very cautiously. Soon I saw the welcome sight of a well and helped my self to some water actually drinking almost a bucketful. I rested a bit next to the well and then I heard some noises on the other side of the road. At first I froze, but then estimating the distance I had covered during the five hours of running and walking I was certain that the noises were being made by our own troops. However, I listened anxiously and what I heard reassured me. The language in which the men spoke was South Indian and I knew these could not be Pakistanis. Cautiously, I made my way to them and saw some Army vehicles. The men were astounded at seeing

me. I put my hands up and told the Jawans my name and asked them to take me to their officer. At first they would not believe me. But after about two hours of close interrogation they were satisfied about my identity. Then of course I was at once given some food and water and as they put me into a jeep the physical and mental strain of the past ten hours or more caught up with me and I flaked out.

As the jeep moved I knew my ordeal was over. The feeling of security was too much for my tired body which had undergone a lot during the brief spell of a few hours. My nerves found the sense of security overpowering. Soon, I was fast asleep. Hours later I woke up, stretched my limbs and reassured myself that I was with friends and ready to fight again.

THE 33RD CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL PEN-CLUB ORGANISATION

FELIKS PASIC

"All of us, when we meet, usually appear in a different attire. Solitary and unnoticed, we are mystifyingly facing the question of life and death, of its meaning and meaninglessness; facing each other we seek some sort of an answer, pride and doubt, various masks of security. But, if no doubts existed, there would have been no literature, and the writer is only that member of humanity who dares to shiver in public, to express boldly his or her feelings, and this boldness can sometimes be a challenge to one's own insignificance and nothingness. As I see PEN-Club, it provides an opportunity for people of different nationality and opposing ideology to get to know one another in a way which is not secured anywhere else. I have no illusions whatsoever about the PEN-Club, i.e., that it can solve grave economic and political problems of our times, and I do not expect any supernatural peace to be established in the world in consequence of our mutual talks. But, in point of fact, as compared with the greater closeness in the world, which has been brought about by a rapid development of transport and communications, our intellectual provincialism grows both important and discouraging. It is one thing to write an essay about another country, or have one's own opinion of it, but it is completely another thing to face it directly and to meet its citizens face to face. The real confusion of the existence, the nuances of reality, and finally the awareness of the common human substance of those nuances can be grasped only in terms of an increasingly extensive mutual understanding," said Arthur Miller at the

closing of the 33rd World Congress of the International Association of PEN-Clubs that took place on July 7, 1965 at Bled, Yugoslavia.

Delegates and guests from 58 countries from all parts of the world, prominent writers and contributors to the field of literature, welcomed the words of the newly-elected President of this organisation, finding in that statement the deepest meaning of the Bled meeting and talks.

The Congress has been wound up, so that, instead of a conclusion in general terms, we shall herewith quote the opinion of one of the participants: the meeting at Bled has shown how small has become the world of literature and how indispensable is the establishment of spiritual co-existence between nations, between writers, from all countries of this world as a whole.

The Hungarian writer Istvan Soter, taking the floor during the closing session, described the six days of talks in Bled as an example of the confirmed desire that writers meet and talk in an atmosphere of friendship and tolerance. "The role of literature changes in front of our eyes. In a world which is itself going through constant change," Soter went on, "the role of national literatures also changes. The literatures of individual nations cannot exist on their own, separated by barriers created on account of state boundaries and different languages, since the objectives are held in common."

A little while earlier, from that same rostrum, the Congress was addressed by the Macedonian writer Milan Djurcinov, who

said that "there is no difference between developed and underdeveloped literatures," that "one particular literature can be judged only in terms of its impact on human mind, on the human being in all his or her complexity, to influence people on a permanent basis, to confront them with the vital conditions of their existence and, finally, to be necessarily engaged in the search for the settlement of the numerous troubles and punishments in which the human being is constantly involved."

All cultures should develop in all their rich aspects, and not according to the general vision of a poet, but in a manner securing that the specific values of each nation become common property.

The Congress expressed that desire for closer ties between cultures and literatures in the sense of a community within the community of nations in the form of a protest which won unanimous support.

Acknowledging the recent events in which once again representatives of the Spanish, Catalanian, and Portuguese literatures were victimized, the participants in the Bled meeting raised their voices "against indescribable measures to which the three Iberian literatures have been constantly exposed: one professional association, the Association of Portuguese Writers, has been dissolved merely because it wanted to use its right to give a prize to one literary work: one language, the Catalanian one, has been prevented from being perfected through normal publications and criticism; Spanish professors have been in poverty, and the writers, whose works are banned, are deprived of their passports if they are in the country, or they are refused visas if they are abroad. The last mentioned was the case of Jose Bergamin, honorary guest at the Congress. The same applies to seven other writers who have also been invited to attend."

The International PEN-Club, the text of this brief resolution reads, expresses its

full solidarity with the literatures of Castile, Catalonia and Portugal, the ones which have remained faithful to the principles of the freedom of expression and back their writers' constant efforts to persuade their respective governments to grant them the right of free expression to which they are entitled.

Unanimous applause also indicated the approval of the Congress of a letter from two great writers of Latin America—Pablo Neruda and Miguel Anhel Asturias. "Since Mr. Juan Bosch, a prominent Latin American writer, who is very famous in the Spanish speaking areas, is now practically under arrest in Puerto Rico, his freedom of movement being restricted, we want to make the following suggestion: it is our desire that the International PEN-Club should apply to the UN Commission for Human Rights, so as to make it possible for Juan Bosch to return to his country as its President, elected according to the Constitution and in a democratic manner."

With regard to the spirit which prevailed at the Congress, the talks held at various round tables are no less important. Those meetings had one and the same topic: "The Writer and the Contemporary Society," and, according to general agreement, the writers proved to be ready to answer the questions which do not affect them solely, i.e., which are not purely professional problems, but also questions concerned with the society in which we live, to solve them jointly, with full respect for national and personal views and the specific characteristics of a given society. The participation of Soviet writers in these talks and their presence at the Congress in general have been interpreted as the beginning of a fruitful co-operation of representatives of a great literature in the Association of PEN-Clubs.

To some extent the Bled meeting has also provided an opportunity for a rapprochement between the literatures of the

East and the West ; it was an effort within the framework of the general and generous aspiration for overcoming the barriers created by ideological and other differences and that literatures become really the common and general benefit of humanity. The very fact that representatives of so many countries and of so many different literatures have held a meeting at Bled is not only proof of the desire for better

mutual acquaintance, since it is also and at the same time a fact which describes in brief the character and significance of the Congress.

The Congress ended with the recitation of a poem by the Slovene poet Presern which was read by a contemporary Slovene writer, Matej Bor, and that this was the only but the most beautiful ceremony in the Bled festival hall.

NATIONAL SAVINGS AND NATIONAL DEFENCE

ILA PALCHOU DHURI

FACED with aggression from Pakistan, which we are combating effectively Indians feel that they cannot rest till the enemy has been driven from our soil. Our thoughts naturally turn to two aspects :

(1) Our burning admiration for and pride in our Jawans who have proved their gallantry, and are offering the utmost sacrifice to save India's freedom.

(2) What the people can do to support this defence effort ?

National Savings is a potent medium of national defence effort.

As people queue up in hundreds and thousands to give their drops of blood for the Jawans to save their lives—when they are being treated from injury, the small drops of savings will also go to supply amenities, medical aid, arms and ammunitions for our defence efforts.

In National Savings there is no age limit. The school children can buy the Savings Stamps for 25 Paisa, and as soon as the card shows Rs. 5, a Certificate carrying interest is available. The housewife can save her little mite, the college

students can also join this savings campaign. There is scope for saving in this scheme for the factory workers, agriculturists, artisans and the domestic workers.

Every person, even with the lowest income, can participate in the defence effort. Herein lies the satisfaction of National Savings. It is possible to make this Scheme—a total participation scheme.

Now is the time to respond to National Savings. There are many kinds of investments in National Savings to suit all pockets and all incomes, and every information is available at all Post Offices.

As it is, National Savings have made a good impact on the resources of the Government. To make this scheme more acceptable, I would suggest the following for consideration of the relevant authorities :

The Banks have now all revised their interest rates. The rates for varying periods of deposits range from 4 per cent per annum on Savings Bank Accounts to 7½ per cent on fixed deposits for 5 years (compound).

Thus, a completely new circle of clientele has been able to be attracted for deposits with Banks.

After some time, (practically a period of 2 months), the rates of Post office Savings Bank deposits were enhanced to 4 per cent per annum. 8 per cent per annum interest was also offered on the new 10 Year National Savings Certificates—which were on sale on 1st June, 1965. This gap of two months reduced the chances of this very effective deposit, for people had already put their money in Banks. Moreover, this 10 Year National Savings Certificate will attract the average rate of income tax calculated on the taxable income of the investor in the year of encashment, including the interest on the Certificate.

To make these 10 Year National Savings Certificates truly popular, the following would be desirable measures :

- (a) The Certificate could have a tax free $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent simple interest, with all other facilities that are there for the National Defence Certificates. This would simplify accounting and be a real incentive to invest. If the income tax structure is calculated, it will be found that 7.55 per cent is what the

investor is getting now, hence a simpler system would benefit the Government.

- (b) The National Savings Organisation could have short-term Security Certificates for say, 1 Year, 3 Years or 5 Years.
- (c) The authorised Agents should be given a better incentive than their existing commission. Everything has become dearer, and mobility, the mainstay of an Agent, has become more expensive.

In these days of emergency, any concessions for Agents would not be justified, had it not been for a national effort. It is the Agent who will make the people thrift-conscious. It is the Agent who, provided he can move about unhampered, will be able to enhance the sales of the National Savings Schemes.

National Savings—means National effort—that is really constructive.

Women, in particular, can invest in and sponsor National Savings.

Let all the women take up this work, for the country's defence. It has so much scope, even when taken up as a part-time activity.

It is their efforts that will touch our Jawans, supply amenities, keep industry and development going at full speed.

IN A DEFENSIVE MOOD

A. K. MOITRA

There is complete agreement that the Defence of India is of paramount importance. "Breathes there the man with soul so dead" as to dispute this? Politicians of all shades of opinions (and in our country politicians are also of paramount importance so much so, that confusion often arises as to what is the ultimate objective, the good of the country or the good of the politicians) have given free and frequent expression to this sentiment—sincerely by a few, vociferously by many and hypocritically by others. However, it is by no means clear as to what our defence is threatened with. Is it some outside enemy (with the passage of time, it is to be remembered as a lesson of history, friends and foes change sides with sickening rapidity) is it an emasculated philosophy of life, is it corruption, is it greed to make money even at the expense of independence, is it foreign aid with invisible strings? Or is it a combined offence of an axis in which all these factors have entered into an alliance?

How are the great masses of people giving their daily verdict on this, is difficult to ascertain in the absence of any tested apparatus to measure it. However, it can be taken for granted that a vague general feeling exists that it is better to be misgoverned by one's own nationals than to be governed by aliens—for good or bad.

Thus any measure that the Government in power may take to strengthen our national security should evoke our unequivocal support. The Government on the other hand, being democratic in character in theory, is expected to take the people into confidence so that they clearly understand the methods and the purpose of the

Government and the mechanism, the pattern and the working of the measures the Government is adopting to achieve the desired objective. Simply by transmitting some noble message from time to time, from a raised platform, in imitation of the divine messages that the air-borne Gods were credited with in the 'Puranas', national conscience and solidarity cannot be forged now—the link with divinity has been irretrievably cut off.

The Government must take the people into confidence, in word and deed, to enlist its unstinted and unflagging co-operation and support. Taking into account the emotional make up of our people, support may be unstinted in the beginning but it may peter out in the long run. Thus every means must be employed to ensure that it does not dessicate under the scorching influence of governmental (bureaucratic) formalities. It is the duty of the ruling politicians, more than the executive officers, to achieve the peoples' participation in the defence efforts. It is they who must set the example and call the people to imitate them. If the action of the ruling politicians precipitates towards making inflammatory speeches only, the passions of the people will be inflamed but the energy will not be harnessed to constructive activity.

By its action, by its devotion to the cause, by upholding the truth, things which appear to be lamentably lacking, the government must captivate the co-operation of the people. Unless this is done, the situation is likely to remain fraught with grave danger. The Government may not get the full co-operation of the people it

so righteously expects and the people, lacking proper enlightenment as to aims and achievements of the Government may remain dubious and uncertain. Knowledge of the true state of affairs is the most important, vital and permanent link that binds the Government with the people and if this is withheld, spontaneous response from the people may not be forthcoming. There will be a few exceptional cases, where it is prudent to withhold knowledge from the people for the time being, but it must be borne in mind that such secrecy must be purely of a temporary nature and any tendency to impart to it a semblance of permanence will arouse the suspicion that motives other than those of the security of the country, are the major reasons. Such permanent concealment is clearly detrimental to the nation's larger interests and would breed tyranny and oppression, corruption and injustice, which in the process of time will recoil not only on the ruling politicians but more severely on the people as a whole. After all, Government is for the people and if the people lose and those who run the Government gain, it is a net loss and it will be a race towards disintegration.

Defence of India must have the unqualified support of all right thinking people and as thinking is an important ingredient of the subject, the actions taken for such defence must withstand at least a cursory scrutiny. As a matter of fact, it must be capable of bearing the most incisive test. In promulgating our theory of defence, we cannot beat a hasty retreat, we have to take the offensive and to hold our own.

How do circumstances reveal themselves in the light of what has been said above? It has been stated that the method, purpose and the working of the measures taken, have to be made clear. Cases have come up before trying magistrates in which

charges have been framed by the police under the Defence of India Rules against ordinary humdrum people who by the wildest stretch of the imagination cannot be conceived as putting the defence of India out of gear. If one is to take seriously the view that these people are capable of putting the defence of India in jeopardy, as the authorities seem to do, then surely it is in a terrible mess. A shopkeeper who had two kilograms of mustard oil without licence was alleged to have been arrested under the D.I. Rules. Another day-labourer who, to provide food to his hungry family, had bought two kilograms of rice from an unauthorised vendor was arrested under the D.I. Rules. The magistrate let off the accused in one such case with caustic comments against the police. People are left to wonder whether conventional criminal and anti-social activities are at such a low ebb that the police had to fritter away their energy in such a manner. If they have nothing else in their hand it may be suggested that they may be more usefully employed in checking the traffic violations by taxis, lorries, buses and particularly State Buses. If they do that, many lives may be saved. Or is it that the overall food situation has assumed such complexity that the authorities are completely out of their depth and they are in a frantic search for scape-goats. Do the authorities know that in and around Calcutta, to pick up one instance, there is a large force of floating labour without any ration cards and if they know, what provisions have been made for them? If they set about procuring food they will be criminals in the eyes of the law. Many of these labourers are engaged in house and road building projects sponsored by the Government. Is one to arrive at the conclusion that the Government has to depend on criminals to carry through its projects? Or is it that the police has found an easy

way out by the application of the D.I. Rules to write up its monthly reports of activities and to keep up the statistics?

We do not know why the D. I. Rules were to be invoked in such petty cases and the authorities do not seem to care whether people are properly enlightened. In the process of enlightenment, it is the truth that is of paramount importance and not party propaganda. At this critical juncture, it is time to realise that our country is much more important than the interests of any party whatever its connotation may be. The broadcasting system is a powerful instrument of scattering information far and wide. It seems strange that the All India Radio is engaged totally in dispersing ideas held by the Government alone so that its news items emit a stale odour. The question arises why it should be made a carrier of the Government's views to the exclusion of everything else. It smacks of totalitarianism. As a national institution, may we not legitimately expect that points of view, though these may differ from the Government's may find adequate expression through the broadcasting system. Such diversity of views not only will stimulate the listeners but may have the salutary effect of sharpening the wits of spokesmen on behalf of the Government—ordinarily such spokesman are apt to be pompous and complacent. Preventing the people from making an intelligent and realistic appraisal of the situation will not serve the purpose of defence.

Some of the acts of commission of the D.I. Rules may seem strange—stranger may seem some of the acts of omission.

No exemplary action under the D. I. Rules appears ever to have been taken against so-called black money. It has been openly admitted by the Government that an incredibly large amount is freely circulating, the extent of circulation is such as to upset the planned economic development of the country. Yet no systematic action

has been taken against the leading operators. On the other hand these people are being coaxed and cajoled in the manner that nurses employ in making recalcitrant babies drink milk. Is there some tangible connection between black money and blackmailing, i.e., if too much fuss is made, is the Government likely to get into hot water?

Black money implies that trade is not being run in proper channels. It means goods are being sold at prices far higher than the seller can legitimately issue or bill for. Black money thus can flourish only in a black market. In India, Government is the biggest buyer and amongst Government Departments, Defence is one of the biggest. Thus the biggest blow falls on the Government and it is bearing the onslaught with an equanimity and accommodation of spirit that saints may aspire for in vain. But so much forbearance may disrupt defence, though its spiritual merit may be very great. Modern defence is built up on and around machine and machinery which consist of thousands of parts, small and big. For one small part a machine-gun may remain out of commission. If these parts go underground, just imagine what price the Government has to pay to keep its machines in fighting fitness. Battles might have been lost for a horse-shoe; but wars will definitely be lost for lack of spare parts. We have become reconciled to adulterated foods (I will revert to it later) but what would happen if gun-powder is adulterated?

India was a land of magic, the tradition is not lost. Very often we witness feats of the most astounding vanishing tricks—tricks performed not with rabbits or pigeons but in respect of essential foodstuffs, e.g., rice, pulse, oil, vanaspati, etc. The magicians who have specialised in these matters have a roaring practice. I wonder why they do not tour Europe and America to show their feats, abroad. Their head would perhaps be so much in demand there that possibly

they would have to come back without it. This is a contingency that comes entirely under the realm of speculation and however pleasant the dream may appear to some, no definite opinion on the subject can be given. Whatever, it may, such indulgence in these vanishing tricks weakens our defensive system. These are cases of scarcity amidst plenty. It results in waste of foreign exchange (food is imported) which could have been utilised in buying more effective war-equipment; it results in frustration amongst the civil population who form the second line of defence. It may be remembered in this context that it is struggle carried on by the civil population that, more than anything else, brought freedom to India and lack of resistance on their part may have serious consequences. Again no really sensational cases against these precious magicians under the D. I. Rules have come to light. It appears that D. I. Rules are ineffective in these spheres also. These spheres enshroud amongst others baby-food and important drugs. Reactions in the fish market are also patently fishy.

One comes to the conclusion, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, that the D. I. Rules are incapable of doing anything really effective and big. To use a Bengali phrase it kills moles and in so doing it stinks. The sharks forage freely. D. I. Rules must be applied at the proper place on the proper occasion and in the proper time. If its propriety, impartiality and timeliness is violated, it may defeat defence itself.

The Defence of India is a very big thing. We must not suddenly wake up with a start to the idea of defence only when the enemy is at the door-step. The history of India has many instances of our volatility. We start with great pomp and determination and then suddenly everything melts away. We have to fight against this historical trend as a first step in defence

and this is no easy matter. We have to think of defence in peacetime. It must engage our attention all the time and all our activities in all other spheres are to be so co-ordinated that total effect is the strengthening of defence. Even our five-year plans must be subservient to it; because if it does not make us strong in our defence, it serves a very hollow purpose. A re-orientation of our outlook must take place and it must be remembered that major anti-social activities in the long run turn out anti-defensive in nature and the more anti-defensive the more heinous such activities are. This provides us with a yardstick for measurement of anti-social activities. In the context of the tame, timorous non-interfering and amorphous character of our society, it is rather a difficult conception. Sudden eruptions of violence do not bespeak a social force; social force is that integrated feeling which acts persistently, systematically and potently against the evils which have penetrated into our society and this is what we patently and precisely lack.

It is the duty of leadership to inspire the whole nation not only into wooing the professed ideals but into doing what the ideals plainly call for. The leadership must not only show the way but follow it. This is shouldering a responsibility and holding a trust from which there is no getting away. If the leadership makes a mistake (mistakes may take place occasionally) as a result of which any section of the people suffers, but this suffering is not visibly reflected in the leadership, then it is to be concluded that between the leadership and the people there is an alien layer of division that may be fraught with grave danger.

Inflammatory speeches on the eve of any crisis inciting an easily swayed people into an emotional frenzy of a momentary nature do not serve the cause of defence; these result in irreparable injury. Calm

judgment, clear reasoning, sound knowledge, deep conviction and strong determination should be the mainspring of our actions. Speeches will be judged not by the fireworks and rhetorics but by the deeds that follow. Speeches our people must clearly recognise, are a betrayal of intellectual ability unless these are supported by deeds. Our country has had enough of speeches, what is needed is action in conformity with speeches.

Another aspect that has all the ingredients of a major muddle is that why it is necessary to mobilise all our resources to ward off the petty border skirmishes into which we have been inveigled by Pakistan. Pakistan occupies a low rank among the powers of the world. During the British regime, there were also endless border skirmishes. In spite of these, life went on then very much the same way. But now, these small-scale attacks that Pakistan are making will continue in a planned manner and have an upsetting effect on our economy which cannot be tolerated in any way. These are flea-bites and there is no reason why our internal economic balance will be unhinged. Does our defence need so much nursing and is our economy so unstable, that at each such provocative action taken by Pakistan, disorganisation of daily life will overtake us and the prices of daily necessities will go sky-rocketting. I wonder whether we will be able to send a rocket in outer space but surely, if things go on at the present rate, the prices of our commodities will be the first to hit the moon. If this happens when Pakistan is involved what will happen should we, God forbid, be called up to face a really powerful nation, say Russia, the U.S.A. or the U.K. My words may seem very strange today, but history has many examples of friends turning enemies and vice-versa. Diplomatic somersaults are disturbingly frequent in history, the status-quo today may not be the same ten years hence.

In modern war perhaps, the most important single aspect is the morale of the people. Morale is a compound of faith and confidence in future. Faith that what one is fighting for is intrinsically just, confidence that what sacrifices are being made and hardship endured now will ensure a better future for the coming generation as a whole and not for a particularly small section of the privileged. If there is no hope that our struggles will not result in increased facilities as regards food, housing, education, medical care and employment, the spirit of fighting and resisting to the last does not survive and history has provided ample evidence that the common people of India did not care as to who won battles and who became the king. If we are successfully to wage a long and hard war, the character of our people would require to be drastically changed, for, on one hand we have to fight against the enemy and on the other the die-hard traditions. War brings out the real character of the people. By corrupting discipline, black marketing equipment and adulterating essentials, wars can not be won. To win wars are required deadly honesty, unwavering determination and a deep sense of oneness. Modern weapons are also necessary but on the foundation of the characteristics mentioned above. If the foundation is lacking, the best weapons will not be of any avail.

Lastly on the policy of national defence, one consideration must be given the most unflagging thought. India must not be made the battle ground for other contending nations to settle their issues. France and Germany were the scenes of two of the most devastating wars in human history. Japan was the scene of the greatest crime on humanity, though U.S.A. later have tried hard to atone for it. Indications are that the next war may flare up in the so-called backward countries of South East Asia. India is much too close to this area to maintain a complacent attitude. India must

clearly guard against the possibility of war finding a lodgment on its soil. India is being tugged in two different directions—warfare and welfare—by two great communist countries—China and Russia. Both are very powerful. It is hoped these powers will not decide to stage a trial of strength, on the Indian issue. Affiliation of India with any of the communist powers will vastly strengthen the position of the successful candidate and it cannot be reason-

ably expected that the other power block, headed by the U.S.A. will view such a situation without any uneasiness. Balance of power in the international sphere may change with dramatic unpredictability. Indian leaders need to be very careful today, or tomorrow India may run into the danger of being converted into a battle ground of the next global war with consequences far graver than anything the history of India has so far witnessed.

(This article was received before the Pakistani invasion. Ed M R.)

THE STORY OF LOK BHARATI

GLADYS EBY

When Manubhai R. Pancholi, Director of Lok Bharati, an institution for rural higher education in Gujarat, recently addressed the 1965 graduating class, he advocated a three-point goal.

"Resolve first of all," he urged, to dedicate some of your creative years to India; then set an example of simplicity in your living, despite an educational advantage you may now have over many of the villagers and farmers with whom you will labor; and last, in your personal life, do some useful, daily, constructive work."

In the receptive audience facing Director Pancholi were not only the latest crop of graduates but the remainder of a carefully selected student body numbering 325 young men and women, plus a tall Canadian agricultural graduate serving Lok Bharati through the Canadian University Service Overseas, and two members of the American Peace Corps stationed at the 99-acre site for 21 months.

Backing the director on this auspicious occasion were the 30-member faculty, about

a third of whom have been with the pioneer college since its inception in 1953. Several of the others are distinguished alumni.

And because they continue as a stabilizing influence on Lok Bharati's future, references were made to pronouncements of the late Nanabhai Bhatt, progressive educator from Bhavnagar, Gujarat who, although past the age of 70 in 1953, undertook the prodigious task of carrying out a unique rural higher education program in India.

"Rural people are illiterate," wrote Mr. Bhatt, "but it is wrong to believe that they are not cultured. Culture is lying dormant in the life of the poorest of villagers. Lok Bharati aims at awakening them to this culture through the unflickering lamp of fundamental education."

The khadi-clothed graduates left the large assembly room, packed their simple belongings, and left their alma mater for assignments which could help to change the face and improve the fortunes of India, especially the 82 per cent of its population

which eke out an existence in villages throughout India.

Lok Bharati does not cater to urban tastes. These it leaves to the numerous state universities and colleges of India. Nor does it necessarily aim at sophisticated agricultural futures for its alumni. This it bequeaths to India's traditional agricultural colleges.

Dr. V. S. Jha, one of a 15-man team currently studying the entire educational setup of India through its Education Commission, in commenting on the Lok Bharati experiment stated, "If education must aim at ameliorating and improving the economic and cultural conditions of the surrounding area, it should be a fruitful and rewarding experiment. The quality of an experiment can be assessed by its capability of being repeated in varying types. When the experiment becomes formal, it dies—*fait accompli*."

A temporary change in college enrollees was noted in 1965 by Jyotibhai Desai, Deputy Director of the institution, and a graduate of London's Institute of Education.

"We usually draw the great majority of our students from a ring of 32 post-basic resident schools in Gujarat, because village-born students of such schools, where training covers the student's every waking moment, have an admirable 'know-how' in the ways, works, and life of the farmer and villager. Students who lack this background and its attendant work and life habits need additional attention and in fact, a special kind of dedication to their future plans.

"This year there were no post-basic school graduates because of the new educational requirement that they must extend their education through the 11th grade rather than the 10th, in order to obtain a Secondary School Certificate (SSC).

"Consequently, this year we were forced to recruit from the traditional high

school, and the response was overwhelming. Out of 478 applicants this June, we could accommodate only 137. We wish the time were at hand when every Indian boy and girl who wishes for higher education could find his or her niche somewhere. We had to turn away almost a hundred applicants from the major three and one-half year course—Lok Seva Maha Vidyalaya (people's service college); 69 from the Rural Institute (two-year certificate course in agricultural science); and more than three times as many women as the 50 we could accommodate in our two-year Basic Primary Teachers' Training College."

It is felt at Lok Bharati that these figures reveal what could become an educational gap between those wanting higher education and the institutions which can provide it through technical, vocational, rural, or general academic schools.

Mr Desai added that priority has been given to Lok Bharati's number one problem—development of new leadership for village areas. "Village people must have leaders from their own soil for agriculture and dairy development, co-operatives, and local self-government."

Lok Bharati's beautiful, well-ordered campus and productive farm lands, set against a backdrop of low-lying hills, are a fitting testimonial to the man who began, back in 1910, to do something specific about his educational aims for Indian youth.

Motivated by the great Indian saint, Natthuran Sharma, Mr. Bhatt opened the doors of his newly formed Daxinamoorti, a national educational institute in Bhavnagar, which is now a city of about 200,000 some 30 miles southeast of Lok Bharati. One of his faculty members in 1935 was Mr. Pancholi, who subsequently married a Daxinamoorti pupil, the former Vijayaben Patel.

When Gandhi urged a more thorough emphasis on development of the whole man in the natural environment of the

villager, Mr. Bhatt in 1938 moved to a 40-acre site at Ambla, a tiny village 21 miles north of Bhavnagar. The Pancholis were his able assistants in establishing a Gram Daxinamoorti, resident school for young people ages 11 to 17.

In 1950 Mr. Bhatt came across a pamphlet written by an American, Arthur E. Morgan, first chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority Project, former president of Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, and a member of India's Universities Commission in 1949.

Morgan had concluded, "The Indian village is obsolete. Almost every young person who leaves a typical village and gets an education under favourable conditions, feels revulsion for the dirt, filth, and squalor he left behind, and refuses to return. Yet the village has been and must continue to be the life of India Only as the village prospers can India prosper. The Indian village can be made a beautiful and attractive place in which to live, with wide variety of economic opportunity far superior to the Indian city.

"The villages are a vast reservoir of human energy, intelligence, and aspiration, now wasting in futility. Indian boys and girls start out in life alert, curious, eager to live and to learn. The dull hopelessness of their environment kills this spirit in many, so that as men and women they are conservative and unchanging. Give the Indian villager a picture of a good life, with health, cleanliness, variety of occupation, place and time for recreation, and a feeling that his hopes may be fulfilled, and the energies of the people will make a new rural India, a fit and fine dwelling place for a great people."

In the meantime, Nanabhai Bhatt had given much thought to the urgent need for an institution of rural higher education in which his well-trained post-basic students could continue their grooming for life work in the villages.

Through the then Government of Saurashtra, a 99-acre grant was made in 1953 to establish Lok Bharati one-half mile from the village of Sanosara, which at that time had a population of about 1,500, and has since grown to 3,600.

The Indian Government, in asking Morgan to join their Universities Commission, had as one of its goals the bringing together of western technology and Gandhi's educational policies based on community life and industry. Subsequently, the Shrimali Report urged inauguration of a limited number of Rural Institutes throughout India.

And so Lok Bharati, with three years' experience behind it, was selected in 1956 as one of ten pilot Rural Institutes. In modified form, the Rural Institute is still a part of the college curriculum.

Professional guidance and interest continued to come from across the seas. In 1958 Dr. Louis Smith, Dean of Berea College, Berea, Kentucky, was a Ford Foundation Consultant on Rural Education with the Government of India. His observations were incorporated into the **Report on Rural Institutes** published by the Government of India's Committee on Plan Projects in April 1963. Dr. Smith returned in 1959 and 1960 as a consultant furnished by the International Co-operation Administration (which became U.S. AID). Dr. Luther M. Ambrose, also of Berea, came to India under ICA sponsorship in 1960. That year Lok Bharati shared in the \$40,000 grant for equipment which the United States of America made to two of India's Rural Institutes.

Mr. Jayant M. Shah, Lok Bharati professor of Economics, Politics, and Co-operation, and honorary deputy director of the Rural Institute Section, with Mr. Ratilal M. Andharia, one of Mr. Bhatt's original co-workers, were two of a delegation of 20 Indian educators to complete a year's training in 1960 at Berea College and the Uni-

versity of Kentucky under the U. S. AID program (then ICA) .

Mr. J. D. Dawson in 1960, on a sabbatical leave from Antioch College, prepared a report for India's Ministry of Education and Rural Institutes, following three months' study. As a result of Dawson's visit to Lok Bharati, the institution improved its "earn-while-learn" plan.

In this "earn-while-learn" plan, a Lok Bharati student pays no part of his Rs. 65 tuition fee, but contributes 400 hours of labor a year—approximately one-fourth of his school year—in a well-organized work program.

This is not just "busy work." Projects demonstrate the importance of productive manual labor as an integral part of normal human life, while they help in the learning situation.

For instance, a Rural Institute student during the course of a school year will have worked in the college dairy; he will have helped plant and harvest the multitudinous vegetable, fruit, and grain crops supervised by Farm Manager Vallabhai Patel; he will have taken responsibilities for menu planning and food preparation in the hostel kitchens; he might have helped begin the foundation for a new Rs. 80,000 hostel to house an additional 40 students; or bind books in the 20,000-volume library; or work in the administrative office.

A Lok Seva Maha Vidyalaya student, during his or her three and one-half year stay, will have shared work in a variety of fields, depending upon whether the major effort is in Gram Nirman Snatak (village reconstruction); Krishi Snatak (agriculture); or Lok Shikshan Snatak (teaching and social work).

An energetic extension program assures that no student ever has a dull moment. Field work embraces the teaching of night school in villages Sanosara, Gadhula, Krishnapura, and Sandhida, all within cycling range of Lok Bharati. Personal

talks with farmers in adjoining areas lead to better methods of farming, fertilizing, and soil conservation. Week-long demonstration camps, village fairs, and extended educational tours, all add to the maturation of Lok Bharati's future alumni, while spreading the gospel of progress to the humblest villager and farmer.

It can and does happen that these planned projects help to steer a student into one or another line of work. Nagjibhai Desai, a graduate of Lok Shikshan, class of 1958, after one such field trip, felt impelled to take on the responsibilities of an orphanage at Surendra Nagar, where he and his wife are teachers and kindly overseers.

Hansraj Parvadia, a 1962 Krishi (agriculture) graduate, showed during college training a missionary zeal in working with under-privileged members of the Adiwasi tribe. For three years—ever since the Chinese invasion—he has been working with aboriginal tribes in the North-East Frontier Agency (NEFA).

A recent survey of 299 alumni who had taken either the Lok Seva Maha Vidyalaya three and-one-half year course, or the Krishi Snatak Agriculture Course, which embodies a third year beyond Rural Institute, revealed that 134 had entered the educational field; 7 are serving under the Sarvodaya Scheme of Gujarat, branching out into lines of either agriculture, dairying, co-operatives, or school teaching; 39 are in Gram Vikas as agriculture extension officers for rural development; 17 have begun independent operations as farmers, etc; 16 are associated with reconstructive institutes, many of the Ashram type, working on one or all 18 of the Gandhi-inspired programs of khadi-making, Hindu-Muslim unity, prohibition, basic education, adult education, sanitation, etc.; 24 are in Intensive Area Schemes under the auspices of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission; 7 are active in co-operative societies; 2 have joined Vinoba Bhave's Bhoodan (land-gift)

movement; 29 are taking further study, many at graduate basic training colleges (GBTC) such as at Mangrol, Rajpipla, and Ahmedabad; 24 have become agriculture and dairy managers.

Ninety per cent of those not attending school are working directly with villagers and farmers, while ten per cent are headquartered in rural areas where some of them can still concentrate their efforts on improvement of the villagers' income and lot in life.

It takes scientific planning, some trial and error, and no lack of lakhs for an experiment of Lok Bharati's scope to flourish. Financial aid has been forthcoming from all over the world. India is, of course, the prime contributor through the Central Government, which partially supports the Rural Institute, including the Research and Extension Branches, to the extent of Rs. 30,000. The State Government of Gujarat contributes yearly Rs. 12,000 to the Basic Primary Teachers' Training College; Rs. 60,000 to Lok Seva Maha Vidyalaya, and Rs. 10,000 for the Rural Institute section.

Through its able and energetic 43-year-old Farm Manager Patel, whose education dates back to Gram Daxinamoorti days at Ambla, Lok Bharati oversees, through four highly productive farms, crops which bring in an annual net income of Rs. 42,000, with a hoped-for return by 1973 of one full lakh net profit. In addition to the campus and adjoining farms, orchards, and gardens, Lok Bharati operates 20 acres a few miles away at Krishnapara; 50 acres 30 miles south-east in Maidhar near Politana; and 50 acres at Aranej and Navargam near the Arabian Sea, donated by a former trustee of the institution, Jivankal Sheth.

Farmers adjoining all these holdings are among the first to buy Lok Bharati's improved cotton seed, mango graftings, Anabeshahi grape cuttings, wheat seeds which produce more than 50 bushels per

acre, and Keser mangoes which this year grossed Rs. 46,000 on 50 acres.

Recently the people of Australia have taken interest in developing through their Community Aid Abroad program, a much-needed fifth well on the Lok Bharati campus grounds. Their generous contribution of Rs. 11,000 has helped in the drilling to a depth of 70 feet.

Part of Lok Bharati's teaching program at the adult level is the Panchayati Raj Training Centre, conducted by Mr. Dulsukh Patel and his staff of two. Mr. Patel returned in 1960 from an eight-month tour of farms in the United States through auspices of the National 4-H Clubs of America. In a building set aside for the purpose, Mr. Patel greets and houses each year (except during the busy monsoon season) some thousand Sarpanches, Upsarpanches, and non-official members of Panchayati Raj throughout Saurashtra and Cutch for a concentrated eight-day course in village leadership and problem-solving.

In appraising the dozen years of Lok Bharati's educational impact, Manubhai Pancholi reiterates a basic idea of Gandhi's; "The village should not produce simply raw materials. It must have a share in producing finished goods. They, and then only, will village people find stimulation in the village area and not drift to cities.

"Right around this area small industries could be developed for making bricks and processing sugarcane on a large scale. This area abounds in colored soils which are now shipped to Bombay by the ton for conversion to dyes and paints."

Mr. Pancholi feels, however, in assessing not only the full impact of Lok Bharati on the nearest village, Sanosara, but on a majority of the villages in which his alumni are stationed, that graduates of this rural institute can accomplish their best work in a village of 1,000 or less. It takes a particular talent, a rare combination of skill, experience, perseverance, and personality,

to convince a heterogeneous population of small agriculturists, big landlords, traders, and small-scale industrialists to merge their conflicting interests for the good of the whole community.

Through co-operation, progress is being made. For example, Jayavantsinh Jadeja, age 30, who completed Lok Bharati's Lok Shikshan course in 1958, is doing a remarkably able job as organizer for the Intensive Area Scheme. Stationed at Manar, 30 miles south of Bhavnagar, he feels that the Khadi and Village Industries Commission's annual token grant of Rs. 8,000 can be waived within the next five years.

In the little village of Paniari, population 700, the Woollen Weavers Co-Operative Society had little work because of a lack of technical knowledge and necessary capital. Jayavantsinh has helped these few families of weavers produce woollen cloth worth Rs. 125,000.

Jayavantsinh draws a salary of only Rs. 215 a month, and there have been times

when, to help a good cause along, he took only Rs. 140 monthly. His activities comprise the whole gamut of co-operatives: sugarcane, milk, and manure; home spinning and weaving; construction of a new high school; and a workshop for production of clay and coloring materials for dyes.

Intensive work with inhabitants of 24 villages, and diffused help to 108 other villages, have resulted not only in almost total elimination of unemployment through self-help by the villagers, but a net income of Rs. 18,000 to the area scheme for ongoing development.

Jayavantsinh's story is but one of countless examples of creative leadership focused on the needs of India's own "bold peasantry, the country's pride." Village and farm impact, response, and renovation are goals which Lok Bharati's faculty believe can be achieved through rural education that is thoroughly correlated with Indian life.

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Reviews and notices of books in Gujarati :

Authors and publishers of Gujarati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia : Gandevi, Dist. Surat, instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

TAKE MY HANDS—By Dorothy Clarke Wilson. Published by Hodder and Stoughton Ltd., St. Pauls House, Warwiche Lane, London, E. C. 4 Price 21 Sh. Net. Published in 1964. Pp. 217.

This book is the biography of Mary Verghese, the daughter of a plantation owner in South India, who overcame a devastating physical handicap, due to an accident which made Mary a paraplegic shortly after her graduation. It is the life story of extraordinary Christian faith and devotion born of intense and prolonged suffering shared with people in many parts of the world.

Mary Varghese decided early in life that she would obtain an advanced education to make herself as useful as possible to her newly independent country and this led her to the Christian Medical College at Vellore (founded by the famous Dr. Ida Scudder). She became a Surgeon and then shortly after, an accident made Mary a paraplegic. The book vividly describes how Mary reconstructed her life, how she learned to perform delicate hand and face operations sitting on her wheel chair and how she became a fully qualified Rehabilitation Specialist—which India is so much in need of.

After the accident Mary thought herself utterly helpless and dependent on others—but she found courage and the key to her new useful life in the words of an old hymn :

Take my life and let it be
Consecrated Lord to thee.

Take my hands and let them move
At the impulse of thy love . . .

In her paraplegic stage Mary went to the United States as both patient and Physician-in-training at Dr. Howard Rusk's renowned Institute of Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation, where she learned all about the delicately intricate problems of rehabilitation and the paths of their practical solution. Currently she is the head of the newly established department of Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation at the Vellore Christian Medical College. About herself Mary says "Without the accident, I might have been only an ordinary doctor. Now I have been shown the way to help patients whose needs, in India, were unmet before." This is more than true.

This is a valuable book—not only as a testimony of moving faith in God's plan but a biography that will inspire growing numbers of people who, all over the world, are dedicated to the rehabilitation of the handicapped. There is scarcely a dull page in the book, which reads more interesting than a most thrilling romance. We consider the work a must-reading for medical people who are interested in rehabilitation of the handicapped the number of whom is countless in India. The book will also be found profitable and interesting reading to a general class of readers.

C. K. H.

Indian Periodicals

The Language Problem

Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose, writing in the **Science and Culture** in its issue of August, 1965 endeavours to demonstrate that the problem of a "national" or 'official' language vis-a-vis national integration, Comparisons with conditions in Europe with her population of 533 millions and an area of over 3.9 million square miles, against India's 439 millions spread over 1.2 million square miles, do not hold good in any respect :

"It is useful, while considering the problem of national integration in India to remember that we have a population of 439 millions spread over an area of 1,232,561 square miles. In contrast, the whole of Europe has an area of 3,900,000 square miles, with an estimated population of 533 millions. In Europe, there are many languages, and no single state. In spite of the Council of Europe and European Economic Community, and the war-time proposal of Winston Churchill to unify the British and the French empires no one considers that the states of Europe would combine into one within any reasonable measure of time, except under the stress of war.

"From this point of view, India has the advantage of, at least, being a federation of states in which there is only one common citizenship. If there are tensions now and then between one section of the population and another, one need not be very much surprised.

"This is particularly so because different parts of the country have been unequally influenced by the forces of economic and social change in the recent past. Thus,

West Bengal lost much of its dependence on land earlier than East Bengal. Orissa, Assam, Madhya Pradesh have lain outside the orbit of severe changes in their internal economy until after the advent of independence. It is only now, under the increasing strain of establishing an economy after the socialist model, that it is being discovered that the amount of even social changes undergone by different states has been very unequal.

"A part of these changes was initiated even before independence, under the influence of provincial autonomy according to the Reform Act of 1935. At least, it led in provinces like Bihar to the rise of a middle class which shook off its dependence on land, turned to the salaried professions, or to business under the patronage of the Provincial Government (see Bose 1962, 213). This tendency was also in evidence in Orissa and Assam within a short time ; and as a result of the same kind of political change.

"When India has a population equal to that of Europe minus Russia, and living upon a space which is less than two-thirds of that area, why should we assume that the problem of national integration should be simple ? Why should we moreover use Switzerland or Canada or the Scandinavian countries as our model when they have the population of one of the larger districts of India, or perhaps of one of the many states which go to make up our land ?

"Let us begin with the assurance that, in spite of our linguistic or even communal disturbances, we are not worse than most European nations who have fought bitterly against one another, sometimes for trade

and empire, sometimes over religious belief, and sometimes over difference in political ideology."

Prof. Bose goes on to try to put his fingers on "our own sorrows and our own problems" and to analyse the causes which stand in the way of national integration one of which, we admit, is the problem of a "national" language. The writer endeavours to assess the functions of the "national" or "official" language; the function of English and those of regional languages vis-a-vis either Hindi or English. It appears that Prof. Bose believes that regional languages, Hindi and English, have clear-cut and complimentary functions and the sense of hurt derived from the privileged position of a "national" language accorded to Hindi under the Constitution arises from a misapprehension of these functions. Prof. Bose endeavours to bring a show of dispassionate scientific reasoning to the assessment of a problem which appears to have been very much obscured under stresses of parochial emotions and regional passions. Prof. Bose's presentation would appear to merit serious study if not for anything else, at least for its apparent scientific and historical plausibility:

"It is, however, no consolation for us that we are no worse than other people. The point is that we have to attend to our own sorrows and our own problems as best we can, even if the problems seem to be too small and too insignificant to many of our internationally minded statesmen.

"One such problem harassing us today is the problem of a 'national language.' While we are likely to become excited over recent happenings in South India, it would perhaps be best to begin to think a little more clearly about what we really want. What is going to be the function of 'national' or 'official' language? What should, again be the function of English which has so long served the purpose of

inter-communication between the western-educated people all over India? How do the regional languages stand in relation to either Hindi or English?

"Let us go back once more to a little of history. There is no doubt about the fact that the concept of political nationalism came into India in the wake of British rule. Before that, India had already established a cultural unification in various ways. Production in India for many centuries in the past was organized on the basis of caste; although there were several important regional varieties of the same system. All India was under a common law of inheritance, namely, the Mitakshara, although Bengal and its immediate neighbourhood was under the Dayabhaga. But that too was derived from the Smritis. Various religious sects were not confined to any province, but extended their influence for centuries across linguistic and political barriers.

"It is interesting that in the Kumbha Mela when thousands of sadhus and pilgrims gather together periodically either at Allahabad, Hardwar, Nasik or Ujjain, the learned converse with one another in Sanskrit, if necessary, while the major communication between either sadhus or pilgrims from various parts of India is through a broken form of Hindi.

"Now, when the western-educated people of India began to feel deeply the need of unified political action, they spoke to one another in the English language. British administration was also carried through the English language; and people seeking office in any part of India therefore, found themselves using the English tongue as a ready means of communication.

"English also exercised considerable influence upon the vernacular literatures of India. Thus, as Bengal's language and literature entered a vigorous period of growth, Bengali writers did not hesitate

to absorb ideas or even form and style from the West. The point is that the use of a foreign tongue for certain purposes did not hinder the growth of local languages.

"It has already been said that the political concept of nationalism was the result of India's contact with the West. Naturally, English became the language of nationalistic organizations of an all-India character. There were, however, smaller organizations which employed the regional vernaculars; while, in literature, ideas of secular nationalism or of patriotism began to filter down among the common people mainly through the medium of the local languages.

"It was at this stage that a certain amount of re-thinking seems to have been done by some of our national leaders. Some of them felt that unless the message of nationalism or patriotism could be carried from one part of India to another by means of a common Indian language, the vast number of common people would never be drawn into a common political enterprise. At least, English would fail to serve that purpose.

"In 1874, Keshab Chandra Sen proposed that a simple form of Hindi should be used for this purpose. In 1879, Rajnarayan Basu made a similar proposal; and in 1886, he published a tract entitled **Briddda Hindur Asha** in which he made a strong plea for national unity through an extensive use of the Hindi language. Bhudev Chandra Mukherjee did the same in 1892 (Das 1959, 5-6). And it should be remembered that each of these three were stalwarts in their own fields of activity, and also writers of distinction in the Bengali language. They never felt that the interest of the local regional language was likely to be jeopardised by the use of Hindi for the special purpose of inter-provincial communication.

"The point we are trying to make out is that if different languages are used for specific and separate purposes there should

be no reason why they should do harm to one another. Today the conflict arises because Hindi has been made the sole official language of India under the Constitution. The complaint is often heard that the Central Government spends more on its propagation than is justified. By contrast, it spends proportionately much less than is fair upon the development of the regional languages.

"If many of the regional languages of India are spoken by populations of the size of Spain or Poland, for instance, and if the Indian Constitution has given fourteen such languages the status of national languages, the question of neglecting some at the expense of others should never arise. It is inequality which hurts; and it hurts more if it is felt, rightly or wrongly, that one particular language is being ousted by another by means of an unfair distribution of patronage.

"The readers' attention is here drawn to a statement issued by Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterjee and others, reproduced at the end of this note. The signatories have made a strong appeal for the statutory retention of English for inter-state and international communication, and for conducting public service examinations for employment by the Government."

From the problem of language, the writer here passes on to a consideration of the problem of a common script for all India. He appears to relate the question to that of the more urgent problem of more 'widespread and rapid' education for the people which, he quite rightly avers, can never be given . . . either by Hindi or English.

"We have, however, to remember that the problem of languages is not the only one which besets India today. There is, in addition, the problem of scripts, nearly twenty of which are in either extensive or restricted use all over the country. The frequency of compound letters in many of them renders it difficult to adopt any, in

their present unreformed state, for purposes of fast mechanical transcription.

"In the past, the need of a common script for all-India languages was raised as early as 1834 A.D. (see Das, *ibid.*, 4 and Bandopadhyay 1356 B.S., 206-214). This also became an important concern of nationalist Bengal in the first quarter of the present century. An educationist and religious leader, Satischandra Mukherjee, founder of the Dawn Society, gave support to the idea anew; while Justice Sarada Charan Mitra established in 1907 a society named **Ek-Lipi Vistar Parisad**, or Society for the Propagation of a Common Script, which ran a journal named **Devanagara** for several years (see Bose, 1959, 81; also Mukherjee and Mukherjee 1957, 372-38). Much later on, in 1951, Phanindra Nath Sett established in Calcutta a society named **Romak Lipi Samiti** or Society for (the propagation of the) Roman Script; but this ceased to function after about a decade.

"The greatest problem which appears to us to confront the nation today is the problem of universal education. Even now, more than 70 per cent of the people are illiterate. Widespread and rapid education in the arts and sciences can best be given to children and grown-ups alike in the mother-tongue. If books are not yet available in the fourteen languages of the Republic to convey to children and adults alike the best of knowledge with which their minds ought to be nourished, everything should be done to help in the production of suitable literature for the purpose. If books cannot be produced fast enough, then the aid of tape-recorded speeches, and the radio can be utilized efficiently for the same purpose. In any case, the need for extensive development of the regional languages cannot be over-emphasized.

"And let us also say that such universal education can never be given efficiently

and adequately in either Hindi or English, where the majority speak other languages. Both Hindi and English have their uses; but for special purposes.

"At the present moment, the new Hindi has not reached a creative level. Authors who try to weed out words in common use by Sanskritic equivalents just because they are derived from either Urdu or English are not doing any service to the language, but grave dis-service. Language grows from a people's needs of communication; and if these needs are already satisfied, there is not much sense in introducing artificial equivalents in order to satisfy a sentiment of chauvinism or of abstract purism.

"Today, English serves a definite purpose in regard to the technical and scientific requirements of the Indian nation. In contrast, Japan's entire education is in Japanese. But this has been done through hard labour, and not by means of resolutions alone. Japanese scientists have not closed their minds to either English, German, French or Spanish language. They learn these well enough to keep in touch with all that is happening in the world today. But when they have to make it their own, they do it from school to the highest levels of university education in the Japanese language. And the Japanese have not, on that account, fallen behind any other nation in either technological, scientific or artistic achievement. In fact, they have succeeded in becoming creative because science has come to them through the language of daily use.

"Perhaps it would be uncharitable to compare Japan with India. Yet, we cannot desist from pointing out that although, in India, instruction in the sciences has been in the international English language for over a hundred years, yet the total amount of work done has been less than that in Japan over an equivalent period. Moreover,

the intimate relation established between technology and society which we see in Japan is far above the level of what we have attained in our country through the use of English as the exclusive medium of instruction in sciences in all the 47 universities of India. In India, science has remained largely divorced from contact with the common needs of our daily life. It is pursued either in the abstract, or even when it is applied to use, it ignores the needs of the common villager—his housing, his agriculture and cattle, his problems of nutrition, health and disease, his changing society—and quite often scientists remain satisfied if they can satisfy the needs of a class of wealthy patrons.

“But that apart, we have tried to make it clear that the mother-tongue, Hindi and English have all their places; but in different spheres. And if we keep clearly in mind the function which each is to perform, and if due encouragement is given to each to function more efficiently in its particular sphere there is no reason why the problem of language or languages cannot be solved satisfactorily. The question has to be approached from a practical point of view, with no economic, political or emotional overtones added to it.”



Foreign Periodicals

RUNNING THE SHOW

Writing Editorially under the above legend, what the *Observer* of London has to say about the need to refurbish the bureaucratic organization of the administration in the U.K. may appear to be relevant also to current conditions in the Indian administrative organization :

"One of the paradoxes of our system of government is that it gives least prominence to the men who actually make the machine run. Most people can name some, if not all, of the twenty-three members of the Cabinet. But they would be hard put to it to name any of the 2,600 members of the Administrative Civil Service, the mandarins of Whitehall who form the top decision-making echelon of the bureaucracy. Yet in the long run the efficiency of the British government probably depends at least as much on this anonymous band as on the politicians. If we as a nation are going to adapt to new circumstances, a great deal will depend on the 2,600.

"Hence the importance of the last week's report by the Select Committee of Estimates—a watch-dog body of M.P.s who sniff round the corridors of power—on the civil service. For this shows quite clearly that all is not well with the Administrative Civil Service. The service is not getting as many recruits as it needs. While the University population has shot up, the number of candidates offering themselves for the Civil Service has remained stationary. Despite all efforts to broaden its appeal, White-

hall remains largely dependent on a narrow segment of Oxbridge arts graduates.

"This may merely reflect the fact that there are many new competing demands for graduates, which grow even faster than do our expanding universities. But it is difficult to escape the impression that the problem goes deeper than that. Not only is the whole nature of government changing in response to new requirements, but so is society and the Civil Service, although it is adapting itself fast, has yet to catch up with all these changes.

"The main changes have been in the scale of Government activities and the nature of government decisions. This is the era of positive government, the Administration not only spends two-fifths of the nation's income but also constantly intervenes in areas which previously were left to private citizens. At the same time, the time-span and the complexity of its decisions have altered out of all recognition. Policy decisions taken today—about town planning, transport, education and so on—will take years, perhaps even decades, to work themselves through. Moreover, they are often highly technological in character, reflecting assumptions, for example, about the cost of nuclear power in the seventies."

* * *

The whole attitude towards the currently fast expanding areas of Government's administrative responsibilities and, necessarily, also of prerogatives, would appear to have made it urgent that the administrative machinery is appropriately geared to and coordi-

nated with these widening areas of its obligations and powers and for the personnel to be appropriately equipped to fulfil these functions in the context of the currently emerging mobile society.

"The other change is social. We are gradually moving—hesitantly and probably far too slowly—towards a mobile society. A double mobility is involved. The first is a readiness to move from place to place; the other is a readiness to acquire new skills. Education is no longer something which ends when you leave schools or universities.

"The Civil Service—and, indeed, the whole machinery of government—has failed to adapt itself sufficiently quickly to these trends. Certainly, it is moving faster than many suppose. More outsiders are being brought into the service. There is an increasing awareness of the need to recruit men with specialised skills, such as economists. Nevertheless, the overwhelming impression left by the Civil Service remains that of a close caste of men whose prime expertise lies in dealing with one another and with their political masters.

"But is this a sufficient qualification these days? The increasing complexity of government means that the doctrine of Ministerial responsibility is becoming a myth. Ministers no longer resign when their departments have blundered—understandably so, since they probably didn't have the faintest idea of what was going on. Yet at the same time the people really responsible, the Civil Servants, cannot be called to account."

The Civil Service of the future, to conform to the emerging needs of a fast changing society and the changing concepts of Government that go with it, may have to emerge as a more positive factor in Government's

public relations than hitherto. This may create fresh problems some of which can be visualized even now. Nevertheless, that the present concepts of a faceless bureaucratic machine will gradually have to acquire a positive identity and thereby assume responsibilities so long borne by politicians only is inevitable.

"Indeed, this system is already fraying at the edges. A recent security enquiry actually named civil servants responsible for lapses. And if the recent recommendation for more specialised committees of M.P.s to enquire into the work of Government departments is accepted more and more civil servants will find themselves being cross examined.

"Again the new emphasis on mobility may mean that the Civil Service will have to accept as it does to some extent already that it will be able to recruit sufficient talent and specialised skills only by abandoning the idea that a man enters the bureaucracy at 21 and stays until 60. The main obstacle to allowing more mobility is not so much conservatism as the lack of a national pension scheme. That would not only allow managers and academics to move in and out of the Civil Service but would also permit the civil servants themselves to move into other professions.

* * *

"The Civil Service of the future may therefore not only be less "faceless" than the present one to the extent that civil servants have to defend their own actions, they are bound to become less anonymous. If temporary officials, like Dr. Balogh and the various industrialists brought into government by the Department of Economic Affairs, become a regular part of the White-

hall scene, this will have a radical effect on the character of the service. New Governments will, as in the United States, mean new men.

"There are obvious risks about such developments. The anonymity of the civil servants also ensure the flexibility of the system. They may fight the ideas of their Ministers but, once the decision has been taken, they will carry it out loyally and skillfully. If the civil servants could give interviews or appear on television, this might be much more difficult.

"There are other problems too. How can tycoon administrators like Dr Beeching be fitted into the government machine. How is it possible to reconcile the need for long-range, sometimes unpopular, decisions with the short-term political pressures which inevitably affect Ministerial minds? Every one would concede that the elected represen-

tatives of the public, namely the Ministers, should continue to have the last word. But how can the experts be both kept in their place and kept from becoming frustrated?

"It would be rash to pretend to have ready answers to these very complex questions. But unless they can be answered, we are going to be left with a machinery of government which is going to look increasingly inadequate. The Select Committee which examined the Civil Service recommended the setting up of a private inquiry into its structure to be followed perhaps by a Royal Commission. But if there ever was a case for a Royal Commission, it is surely for one which will examine our entire system of government without further delay. Otherwise we may be in danger of making scapegoats of our civil servants for failing to operate a machine which no longer meets the needs of today far less those of tomorrow."

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NOTES

half return on the trip to the moon is selling

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hyacinth and muck. These areas can be re-covered for market gardening and poultry farming while the ponds and **bundhs** can be cleaned, re-excavated, if necessary, and used for fish culture and ducks. Fruit trees can be planted wherever possible. Coconut and bananas should be planted in large numbers in high rainfall areas, for these can provide alternative food for those who eat wheat and rice. Green bananas, sweet yams, soyabeans, jackfruit seeds, Indian corn, gram, barley, etc., can all be used in place of wheat and also mixed with flour to make very edible **chapatis**. All efforts should be made immediately so that the results can be actively utilised as additional food supplies before the food position becomes acute. Chicken farming can be carried on even on the roofs of houses in cities and towns and, if started now, should produce good results in a few months. All land which has water supply in nearby places can be used for **boro rice now** and the paddy will be ready by the end of February or during March 1966. To get this done, slow movement of the State machine will not do. The public must come into the picture and the Press should do its best to guide and enthuse the people. **Clean all tanks and put in fingerlings now.** Also add some ducks. The Municipalities, and other local bodies must requisition all tanks and unused land and arrange for fish and poultry farming and food growing as a public enterprise. If any private owners do things on their own, they may be exempted from these large scale requisitioning of unused land for growing food.

The matter of pest control is very important in connection with food growing. There are millions of rats, mice, squirrels, birds and insects which destroy our crops and vegetables. These must be eradicated and controlled. Birds can be controlled by the use of nets fixed to poles. Rats, mice and squirrels can be removed by use of pest control methods. White ants and other insects also come under the same category.

But the main enemy of all plans is sloth, negligence, slow moving officials, dishonesty and the attempt of political parties to "cash in" on all public benefit movements. Just as political parties make false propaganda to get credit for what others have done, they also do propaganda to cover up their own sins. In this emergency the political parties may convert action to words. History has to be the hand-maiden of the politicians. The Grow More Food campaign is a matter of life and death for the millions who live in the cities, towns and villages of India. The public must realise that it is their own work and that they cannot depend on anybody else to do this for them. Every householder must take up food growing in one way or another. Even one kattah of land can save a life for three months if something is grown on it. A roof area can enable one to grow a dozen chickens and dozens of eggs. A small pond, cleaned by personal effort and the purchase of Rupees ten worth of fingerlings will yield some fish everyday for the owner after six months. Small patches of arid land can be turned to use by pouring all waste water there from kitchens, toilets etc. Nothing will be gained by looking at others, whether they are Thana Officers or Ministers. Political leaders will only talk, generally speaking. In any case, if Government Officers can do something they should organise water supply, seed supply and the supply of manure and help of tractor power, pumps, pipes etc. Political leaders can do some food growing themselves. And the public must grow more food in order to live and keep alive their own family members.

The matter of pest control is doubly important for the reason that India loses about 10 to 20 per cent of all food grown due to the ravages of rats, mice and the rest of the pest. If therefore half the destructive creatures are eliminated there should be a gain in the quantum of food of 5 to 10 per cent of the total.

The British and the Pakistanis

One finds it difficult to explain the fellowship of the British with the Pakistanis. For the Pakistanis are not mentally, morally or culturally like the British. The more obnoxious type of Pakistani is polygamous, servile (to those who are stronger and richer), offensive and exploitative (to the poor and the weak), disrespectful to women and lacking in higher culture and humanity. The British, with all their faults are very unlike the Pakistanis. The empire builders of Britain bullied and exploited weaker people, but they were morally and culturally much superior to the Pakistanis. And empire building has gone out of fashion on account of its occupational hazard. The only races which still go in for imperialistic ventures are those who, like the Chinese, have large herds at their disposal. Then again, the Pakistanis are not empire builders. Their alleged ancestors—the Turks, Arabs and others did a bit of conquering in the dim past, but the present day Pakistani is neither related to those people by blood, nor has any resemblance with them. The British, then, have a fondness for the Pakistanis on account of their servility and ready willingness to carry out the dictates of their erstwhile masters; who incidentally, created Pakistan by slicing up India and in the hope that this newly created state will forever endanger the safety of Free India. The British never liked the Indian nationalists and never forgave them for their fight for freedom from 1905 onward. They could always procure some paid agents **provocateurs** and other men to act as spies and meeting-breakers; but in spite of all such collaborators the British had to give up India after the second World War. Not that they could no longer hire any men to act as traitors to their motherland; but because Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose proved to them that the fighting races of India could follow a nationalist leader and make

war upon the British. The British thereafter began to collect all such Muslim leaders as agreed to act as their henchmen and organised a series of murderous riots to prove that Hindus and Muslims were two nations and could not live in one State. This Pakistan idea was a British idea and the British cannot forget their brain child, no matter what crimes it commits. That is why there is so much anti-Indian propaganda in the British Press and that is why the British go everywhere in the world to propagate anti-Indian feelings. But we do nothing about it. Until and unless, we retaliate, the Pro-Pakistani British "imperialists" will never change their ways. If we make things as difficult for the British in India and in other places too, as we can, the British Public will realise how valuable India's friendship is to Britain. The first step should be to send as many British men and women out of India as we can and that as early as possible.

Glorious Deeds

The defeat of the Pakistani army and air force by Indian soldiers and airmen was a glorious feat of generalship, co-ordination of arms, individual valour and unflinching tenacity. The men who fought, their officers, the commanders, the Air Marshal and the General, proved to the world that superior weapons can be defeated by superior men. General J. N. Chaudhury, Air Marshal Arjan Singh and the Commanders who carried out the plan of campaign in their behalf made military history by their combined and co-ordinated effort. There were many glorious deeds and a number of officers and men made the supreme sacrifice for mother India. Param Vir Chakra, Mahavir Chakra, Vir Chakra and other military decorations have been awarded to many deserving men (some posthumously). The General, the Air Marshal and their immediate assistants who

commanded the forces were given awards like Padma Vibhushan and Padma Bhushan which are civilian decorations normally granted to politicians, poets, singers, civil servants and others. We doubt if this mixing of talents has been very wise. After all a great soldier is a great soldier and a civil servant or a composer of songs cannot be put in the same class with him. He who saves a country and its people from the ravages of invading armies should be distinguished from persons who carry on civil Government, sing, teach or write poems.

Gold Bonds

The gold bonds are not being subscribed to so very enthusiastically as they deserve to be. The reasons are quite obvious. The people have become shy of the very name of gold. This is due to the various control orders issued by the Government from time to time and the harsh treatment the goldsmiths got as a result of the orders. Also, when quite a number of people gave away their gold to the government they expected that the gold would be used for the defence of the nation; but were left in doubt as to what exactly was achieved with the help of that gold. Not that the quantity was very large or that people complained about it; but the doubt should have been removed from the public mind. The gold bonds that are now being issued have no resemblance with the gold-gifts. These bonds are redeemable after fifteen years **in Gold**. The people are only **to lend their gold** to government and they will get back their gold with interest. So that the people should subscribe to these bonds in their thousands. But they are not coming forward quickly enough. Another reason for this is that the public have not been taken into confidence and requested to collaborate by the government. The Congress leaders, the officials of the government, the Banks and the advertisements are not enough. People who

carry public confidence should be organised to form area committees to place the gold bonds. Politicians and officials should be left out of these area committees as far as possible. There is no reason why sufficient quantities of gold should not be forthcoming as loan to government. Proper arrangements should yield the necessary quanta.

Foreign Exchange

If the government officers entrusted with the sale of gold bonds arranged to contact persons of position in different areas, and other persons of means through them: a great change may come about in the mobilisation of gold resources by borrowing gold from the public. It seems the political leaders and the officials, on their own, are not succeeding in creating eagerness in the public mind to lend gold for national defence. The officials and the political leaders cannot, apparently, agree to approach the general public through persons in whom the public have faith. We say this because quite a number of persons have said to us that they could ask the ladies of their families to give up their gold ornaments for gold bonds; but that nobody ever makes a move for concerted action for this purpose. The idea being that if several important persons of a particular locality started to take gold ornaments to the Bank to invest in gold bonds, others would follow them, if approached. As the officials are not doing much about this, the public should take up the work on their own.

In connection with the gold bonds, we have suggested before this that silver, copper, lead, gems and even scrap iron can be converted to foreign exchange. Why are not the government officials taking up the idea of collecting these things from the public? A separate body can arrange to buy these for cash and then sell the same

to foreign countries and obtain foreign exchange.

Arresting Persons Frivolously

In any country if innocent and honourable persons can be arrested by the police and put in the lock up without a proper enquiry by competent and reliable persons in order to prevent any frivolous or malicious interference with the peoples' freedom and liberty, then that country will be guilty of destroying human rights. This will be true, no matter what excuses unreliable, incompetent and dishonest government officers may put up to justify their wanton or irresponsible behaviour. We often hear that so and so have been arrested under such and such rules or sections and the reasons given by persons responsible for such action are usually that the arrested persons were suspected to be involved in this or that. Then after a few days, weeks or months, the arrested persons walk out of prison after, apparently, the suspicions about them have been dissipated, and nobody says anything to the government officers who thus destroy the freedom and liberty of some citizens of the Socialist Democratic and Secular Republic of India. In order to preserve the good name of this land of all human freedoms, everytime a person is arrested on suspicion the case should go up to a committee of judges in camera, if secrecy has to be observed. When a suspected person is released after he has been discredited before the public by his arrest on suspicion, he must be permitted to go before this committee of judges to prove that his arrest was frivolous, malicious or entirely wrongful. This will give some protection to the public from police excesses or mistakes.

Pakistani Morals

In a previous note we have pointed out that the British have great fondness for the

Pakistanis in spite of the fact that the latter are psychologically and ethically quite unlike the British. The recently published news of about eighty young women being abducted by Pakistani soldiers from a village in the Punjab shows up the depraved outlook of a none too uncommon type of Pakistani. These people abduct or rape women as a matter of course and quite often they carry out their criminal designs in an organised manner. Such men deserve to be lynched. But what about those **highly civilised** aiders and abettors of these low criminal types? Any power which chooses to aid Pakistan is indirectly supporting banditry, arson, mass killing of civilians, abduction and rape of helpless women and many other similar crimes against humanity.

Tibet and Pakhtoonistan

In the past we have repeatedly condemned India's recognition of the Chinese conquest of Tibet. But our political leaders were full of fellowship with the Chinese, and so were the British, and we officially continued to refer to that unhappy land of Lamas as the Tibet Region of China. Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan was a personal friend of Mahatma Gandhi, but his imprisonment by the Pakistanis was not taken up by our political leaders as an act of aggression on human rights in general. The Pakhtoon Region of Pakistan was a **fait accompli**, as was the trans-cease-fire-line region of Kashmir, on British and American advice no doubt. A change of outlook of a healthy realistic kind is now coming over Post-Nehru Delhi. This is a sign of a return to sanity.

Easy Ways of Achievement

The governments that we have given ourselves are certainly quite like what we deserve. This balance has always existed between what people obtain by their own

effort or as a result of their lack of effort and what they deserve to get. That explains our side of the case and we cannot complain about anything in which we find ourselves involved. The governments that we have given ourselves are mostly run on a fake British Pattern. That is, they depend on their prestige rather than on their ability to achieve objectives. The British (in India) knew very thoroughly how not to do things and, also, all the imaginary reasons for not doing them. The British, however, maintained the Indian Army in very good trim. Our army also is in very good trim after some temporary lapses. But the civil governments are neither efficient, nor very actively engaged in getting things done. The milk fiasco of Calcutta is a good example. Any one would know that 60,000 litres of milk can be obtained by keeping twenty thousand or more cows. If a government cannot get 20,000 cows, it cannot be very efficient or effective. If it has to put thousands out of employment in order to corner all available milk for its own milk supply project, that again does not prove its ability. It can give us schemes of **procurement** of cereals, milk or money; but it cannot have any schemes of **production**. Without more production in all fields India cannot be wealthier and stronger. Stop eating and you will have adequate food supply. Stop spending and your financial position will be good. This type of sermonizing of the people shows up the poverty of talent that the governments suffer from. Better men should be recruited by them to get things done.

Mr. Shastri On Tour Again

Of all the persons who tour the world as representatives of India, one way or another, we find Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri the most dependable. That is because he is straightforward and does not beat about the bush cunningly, cleverly and unsuccessfully. Some people say Silence is golden.

If that is so, the less there is of speech the more the gold content of a transaction. And, after all, we want gold or its equivalent in machinery, armaments or cereals. Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri's visit to the U.S.A., obviously aims at procurement of these desirable objects, and we are sure if he resisted American Foreign Policy, he should be able to achieve his objective. The visit to Tashkent which will follow, perhaps, will be quite useless, generally speaking. For the Pakistanis will never succeed in telling the truth even if the conference were held in Holy Mecca. When the British Empire was partitioned in this part of Asia, the British divided the land area and created "India" and Pakistan. But they gave their perfidiousness in full to the rulers of the newly created state. These men had a grossness of outlook to begin with and the added perfidy made them totally untrustworthy and obscene. So that, no country, excepting Britain, can get anywhere with the Pakistanis. The British are the creators of the Pakistan idea. They also developed and nurtured it to maturity. It is therefore only the British who can draw the teeth of the Pakistani leaders.

The Puzzle of Planning

When one begins to solve a jigsaw puzzle one has before one a complete and beautiful picture and a large number of very irregularly cut up pieces of the same picture which have to be joined together to make up the picture. The guide picture is perfect and constant. It does not change its shape, size or details. If one started to change the picture too and altered the cut pieces by addition or subtraction of the various pieces, the solution of the puzzle would become quite impossible. For as one solves a part of it, the puzzle develops and changes its nature and dimensions.

Our economic planning and the efforts made by our Government to fulfil its ever-

changing requirements can be well compared to a highly alive and mobile jigsaw puzzle. No wonder, therefore, that our officials, paid agents and volunteer-patriots cannot solve this over-all problem of planning or any part of it. For, the moment anybody tries to do anything according to any plan or scheme, somebody or other comes along and makes the plan better.

Then there are people who can always give 1001 reasons *à la* I.C.S. for delaying or not doing the thing. It is high time Jhri Lal Banadur Shastri or President Radhakrishnan did something drastic to stop all the shilly shallying and dilly dallying by our very large body of paid and unpaid incompetents with the work that must be immediately begun and very soon finished. In perspective Planning the vision of what must be achieved is always mixed up with illusions, hallucinations, miscalculation and deliberate obstruction. The proper defence of India requires that persons who suffer from these faults of illusions, hallucinations and miscalculation should be removed from positions of importance and replaced by better persons. Those who deliberately obstruct should be locked up under D.I. Rule. There is a lot of loose thinking connected with the defence of India. Persons who do all this loose thinking and decide what is required for this work of defence and make decisions wrongly should be put on the mat by high power bodies of competent men and women in all States and made answerable for their actions. Reward and punishment must go hand in hand to assure the fullest co-operation of all persons in achieving nationally important objectives. We have decorated and rewarded our heroes in the light of our ideas of granting suitable distinction to deserving persons. We cannot say that our ideas have been very good in all cases in this sphere of demonstrating the collective will. The reason for this will be found in the bureaucratic guidance

that we are subjected to Nationally. In the field of meting out punishment, the bureaucrats themselves are quite often the prospective recipients, or those others who are well looked after by the bureaucrats. In the circumstances the greatest of crimes can go unpunished quite often. How can we stop this? The "prosecution" must be left with persons who are not members of the Government, nor of the opposition. An independent body of men and women must be found who can be relied upon to do this.

China's Nuclear Power

China's attempt at becoming a nuclear power is based on Chinese Psychology which has never been anything but sly and subtle. The Chinese have exploded nuclear devices in order to impress the world. May be but China will not spend so much of vital resources only to impress the world. Then is China trying to fight a nuclear war? If so with whom? The USA or Russia. The USA have a stock pile of 800-25 megaton nuclear bombs which he can deliver too. The Russians surely are very nearly as capable in a nuclear manner. China with even 100 bombs cannot escape total destruction in a nuclear war with the USA or Russia. By total destruction we mean total destruction and Mao Tse-tung knows it no matter how big he may talk about China's nuclear power. We therefore think that China will avoid a nuclear war with any of these two major powers. She will not use a nuclear bomb on any other power for fear of punitive action by one or both of these powers. So her nuclear bombs are meant for show as well as for defence purposes. The USA or Russia will not use any nuclear weapons against China if they knew that China was capable of even a limited counter attack with nuclear bombs. The reason why India should also have some nuclear bombs is that no

power will then use any nuclear weapons against India without fear of some sort of counter attack of a similar kind.

Grow More Food

Politicians must talk. One can think of mute artists, scientists, composers, industrialists, craftsmen and engineers; but not of mute politicians. For, no one can make the impossible possible and the unreal real without convincing talk. We have said repeatedly that the solution of the food problem lies in cultivating every inch of cultivable land and in using all tanks for fish culture, all courtyards or roofs for poultry and all narrow strips and road side land for fruit trees. Sea fishing can be carried out too on a large scale. There is plenty of fish in the seas all round India and that fish can easily feed millions. But no efforts are being made by "high level" persons actually to grow more food. From Delhi to Calcutta, on both sides of the railway line hundreds of thousands of acres of land just lie uncultivated! That is so everywhere and we only hear of Fourth Plan targets and eating less food. Some one also imagined publicly that Indians now eat 2100 calories per day, but should be able to eat a little more after the Plan targets have been hit. Are we to understand that 8 or 16 oz., of cereals yield 2100 calories? We again tell the public to grow more food **anyhow** and without reference to talks, discussions, speeches and pronouncements emanating from those who have power but do not know how to use it.

H. K. Chainani

The tragic death of H. K. Chainani, Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court has caused a great loss to the nation. He was a highly cultured gentleman who was, at the same time, efficient, capable of prolonged hard work in which he always displayed a rare precision, accuracy and deep knowledge and his approach to his own or his official work had always put truth and justice right at the forefront. He was knocked down and badly injured by a speeding car while he was taking his evening walk on the Marine Drive in Bombay on the 14th of November 1965. He never regained consciousness and succumbed to his injuries on the 28th of November 1965 after two unsuccessful operations had been performed upon him.

Born in 1904, he was educated in Karachi and Magdalene College, Cambridge, where he took his Natural Science Tripos, and qualified for the Indian Civil Service. He acted twice as Governor of Maharashtra. He first acted as Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court when Mr. Chagla went to the U.S.A. as Ambassador in 1958 and was later made permanent.

We offer our sincerest condolences to the bereaved family.

ON THE SAINT NINIAN BRIDGE

GEOFFREY JOHNSON

In a zig-zag notch of the fossil vertebrae
That the mammoth bird encrusted over the river
He had just escaped by the trim of his fluttering tie
The projectile speed of us that scream forever

When a stranger, a woman like impudent
Skipped wild as a whirwind left to his embrace
His coolness calmed her, she once more thrown and bent
In safety's isolation the married couple's pleasure

The cement tower that it is to be a part of
Pop heavy but the light quivering for us
Pulsed were certain in our world as they dove-hit
I old down from the parapet the water lilies

Then turn to the river, the water coiled
With weeds the bird that had exiled Ophelias hair
They looked each one from beneath a tented
In wonder what the waves, from the sea

Life always had been dramatic in this bird's nest —
The fugitive cut down the creature's tallop
Gone in a minute the fire of sunset bridge
Turned at a touch to a host queen in her shallop

No less dramatic was now a deeper thrilled
The closer they drew the chain with pearl loaded
They could evade the truth whenever they wished
But when this tale of eve and what it needed?

Current Affairs

KARUNA K. NANDI

Calcutta's Milk Supply Racket

The problem of milk supply in Calcutta has always been endemic since almost as far back as one can remember. The earliest organized attempt to deal with the problem in a wholesome manner may be said to have begun with the establishment of the Co-operative Milk Supply Union during the twenties which began to make pasteurized and hygienically bottled milk available directly to a limited area of consumers by collecting the milk from milkmen from the immediate neighbourhood of the metropolis. There used to be also one or two small dairy organizations participating in the trade. But their combined supply and processing resources were such as could cover only an infinitesimal proportion of the city's demand which has been progressively rising over the decades correspondingly with the rise in the population.

But for these small enterprises which can be said to have been meeting a very small area of selective demand the city's milk trade remained virtually in the hands of the *khatal* owners. This was far from a satisfactory state of affairs. Apart from the milk being generally heavily diluted the cattle maintained by the *khatal*s were kept in most insanitary conditions and heavy price pressures always blew up during seasons of lean yield or heavy demand and on account of the complete lack of control over the unhygienic and other questionable practices of the trade not a little of the city's gastrointestinal and other infectious disease epidemics were directly traced to the unsatisfactory conditions of milk supply in the metropolis, especially among infants and small children.

It was some time after Independence that the late Dr. B. C. Roy conceived of and organized the Haringhata dairy development and milk sup-

ply scheme. It was obvious that the huge burden of demand for milk in the Greater Calcutta metropolis could never be fully covered by any single organization except in progressive stages. The scheme was therefore based upon a two-pronged programme of simultaneous dairy development and animal husbandry under direct Government supervision and management and collection of milk from the private cattle owner, processing, standardizing and pasteurizing the same to augment the supply from the Government's own dairy organization. The *Thatal*s in Calcutta had long been a sore spot in the metropolis's sanitation and public health and the Calcutta Corporation was easily induced to enact the necessary legislation to banish them from within the city. It was expected that under the compulsion of the Corporation's actions in this behalf the *Thatal* owners would be easily persuaded to sell their product to the Haringhata Government organization as they would soon be losing their well established and traditional market in the city. To facilitate their removal from the city the Government's Milk and Animal Husbandry Departments built extensive accommodation near Kalyani where the *Thatal* owners would be invited to house their cattle. This it was expected would be an additional inducement for the *Thatal* owners to sell their milk production to the Government. These sheds however, remained untenanted because the Corporation's bid to oust the *khatal*s from within the city limits proved only a very limited and partial success.

So far as their collection of milk was concerned the endeavours of the Government's milk supply organization can be said to have never been endowed with a great deal of success. For a long time the organization had to depend mainly upon imported milk powder and when, last year, the Union Government severely slashed

foreign exchange allocations to the organization. Calcutta's Government managed milk supply was faced with a severe crisis almost a break down, which was temporarily averted by the Union Government having relented and released some foreign exchange for the purpose. Renewed emphasis had necessarily to be laid upon stepping up the rate of procurement of milk and, after a great deal of shilly-shallying Government decided to ban the manufacture and sale of certain categories of milk based sweets. But to this we shall have occasion to revert later in course of this discussion.

According to a recent statement by a Government spokesman, the number of advance cards ensuring milk supply in the city has increased by 8,000 since the above ban was promulgated raising the total to 153,000. The maximum daily procurement during this period was stated to have risen to over 66,000 litres. If this rate of procurement could be maintained advance cards could be increased by another 50,000 in the near future. The gross supply by the organization comprises three categories of milk called standard cow's milk, toned milk and double-toned milk depending upon their varying fat contents. If the average supply per advance card is assumed to be of the order of one-half litre the total supply would be somewhere around 75,000 litres a day. Thus the mainstay of the milk supply organization would seem to be upon the milk procured from outside sources and not from the yield of its own dairies. The question would then inevitably pose itself as to what has been the measure of development in the organization's own dairy and animal husbandry enterprise? Remembering that a great deal of the taxpayers' money has been invested in the enterprise and, on the face of it, results can be claimed to have been hardly commensurate, a probe in to the working of the enterprise by an independent and impartial authority would seem to be urgently indicated.

Especially so, having regard to the considerable additional investments that have been poured into the recently inaugurated Kalyani scheme of the organization. According to the Minister of the State Government in charge construction of the sheds and buildings alone have cost more

than Rs. 70 lakhs. The new Kalyani unit is intended to house 5,200 milch cattle and their future progeny; procuring the cattle and necessary equipments etc., are also going to cost several more lakhs of rupees. It is intended to raise a new breed of cattle at this centre by crossing the local Muriana cow with a Jersey stud which, according to certain experiments in these lines already claimed to have been successfully carried out is expected to improve both the quantum of yield per cattle and the active yielding span of the new breed. On paper and as presented by the Minister in charge at the inauguration ceremony of the scheme, prospects would appear to be very hopeful. But judging by the past performances of the Animal Husbandry and Milk Departments of the West Bengal Government (the two departments have been bifurcated and put into separate and apparently self-contained and somewhat water-tight compartments some time ago under two sets of highly paid *sinecures* at the top—why it is not easy to understand), one can hardly be blamed if there were to be any marked lack of enthusiasm in the reception of the new scheme.

As already observed, the performances of the Haringhata scheme at least so far as its dairy development and animal husbandry activities were concerned, would appear to have been marked by a conspicuous lack of progress. The basic foundation of the entire Government milk supply organization would seem so far, to have been increasingly dependent upon both the availability of imported milk powder and the measure of successful procurement of milk from private cattle owners within transportable distance of the organization's chilling, pasteurizing and bottling plants at Haringhata and Calcutta. The emphasis upon the need to assume statutory powers to enable increasing procurement of milk from private sources by banning the manufacture and sale of milk-based products for which there is a popular consumption demand will have to be assessed and evaluated in this context.

Two conclusions would seem to follow as a matter of course. First, that in spite of the claims made in respect of the bright prospects of the new experiments now being carried out at the Kalyani centre and the Government seem to have

been maintaining a complete silence as to the present form at Handhata and prospects of future progress there. The mainstay of the milk supply emergency as a whole would continue to be the measure of necessary procurement of milk from private sources for an indefinite period in the future. The Government it is understood are already thinking of putting up additional chilling plants and necessary transport buckins for collection and transportation of milk from greater distances than so far. It is assumed that in view of the revised order promulgated to ban the manufacture and sale of milk products of almost all varieties in popular demand private milk co-owners would be only too glad to sell their product to the Government and thus enable the latter milk supply organization to afford progressively wider consumer coverage in the Greater Calcutta metropolis to be stretched. The fact that this would put out of employment something like a 10,000 worker immediately assuming the average family unit per worker to be about 5 this would reduce to destitution some 50,000 persons in the State does not seem to unduly disturb them. What they seem to be more concerned with is by this means to cover up the huge waste of public resources that the entire Government Milk Supply and Animal Husbandry organization has been responsible for.

There is also another result of the present measures and that the Government's contemplated scheme for widening the radius from within which milk for Calcutta would be procured that could be tentatively apprehended. The explosion of demand and the rise in the local price of milk that this would be bound to cause at the outlying procurement centres would be likely it is reasonable to apprehend to cause local milk famines. After all what has been sought to be done is not to ensure an immediate and substantial increase in the gross milk production in the State in the public and private sector but mainly a diversion of existing supply into certain appointed channels. One wonders why it should be necessary in such an event to maintain the tremely top heavy and highly expensive Milk and Animal Husbandry organization at the taxpayers expense for this hardly legitimate purpose.

A small staff of processing personnel and the normal distributive organization should, one can argue be ample in the circumstances.

But there is also another legal and moral aspect of the matter which should engage attention. The Constitution of India ensures to every citizen the right to pursue his chosen avocation without interference. The Constitution also guarantees the sanctity of private property and enjoins that there shall be no discrimination between one citizen and another. Would it be regarded as being in conformity with these constitutional guarantees that one section of the State's citizen should be deprived of their chosen avocation by an executive fiat so that a very small and favoured section of the metropolitan population should benefit thereby? The fact that the executive fiat has been promulgated under the emergency provisions of the Defence of India Rule would seem to be a gross abuse of the extraordinary powers that the President has vested in the executive government for a specified purpose.

West Bengal's Food Policy

Although we had welcomed in these columns last month what we then believed was the announcement of an innovative bold and courageous food policy by the West Bengal Government, it is not clear what the final shape of it is likely to be now. We do not see as a great deal of encouragement to hold on to our earlier assumptions in the connection. The food policy as now finally announced and which will form the basis of a debate we write as:

(1) The basic premise of the policy is that the production of cereals in the state would be less and the Central Government will not be able to give us adequate assistance;

(2) The principle to be followed is to obviate gross inequities in consumption between different areas and sections of the community in the State;

(3) 'The only way to prevent such inequities is for the Government to procure the *maximum* (emphasis the writer's) quantity of rice and paddy internally and to distribute the same together with such Central supplies

as can be obtained at *reasonable prices* (2) (emphasis and question again the writer's own) under the direct control of Government through statutory rationing in areas of high purchasing power and through modified rationing in other urban and rural areas.

(1) It is inevitable that there will be a very big unbridled gap in cereals in West Bengal in 1966 in the light of the total supply likely to be available compared to the total demand and consumption requirements. The people of West Bengal will therefore have to submit in the future to a considerable extent to forced underconsumption of cereals.

(2) The policy of distribution is based on the consideration that non-producers of all kinds will require supplies throughout the year and people have inadequate production for a part of the year depending upon their holding either as owners or *faradars*.

(3) For modified rationing the rural population would be treated as before in terms of acreages depending upon the size of their holdings and the crop they raise.

(4) Statutory rationing would be extended to some areas on the peripheries of Greater Calcutta and some industrial towns like Asansol and Durgapur. But this would be done in *radial slices*.

(5) To ensure maximum procurement Government would purchase all distress sales by farmers through co-operatives and its own agents. These two agencies will also purchase all surplus offered by surplus producers. All stocks procured in different districts and pockets will be returned to those areas for local distribution.

(6) The Government would impose a levy order requiring all surplus farmers to surrender their surplus to Government agents, the surplus being calculated on the size of land holdings determined in the shape of quintals per acre per annum.

(7) The levy on rice mills has been increased from 50 per cent to 100 per cent of their production—mills to procure paddy only in restricted areas within the vicinity of their own locale and at fixed floor prices.

(8) Wholesale trade in paddy and rice

is being wholly banned except under special circumstances and in a restricted measure at the discretion of a District Officer.

The above measures are a fair summary of the State's food policy for 1966 as defined by Government. In spite of our earlier assumptions to the contrary we find certain very important loopholes in the present announcement. In the first instance the policy is wholly regional in content and assumes that Central supplies of rice and wheat at *reasonable prices* may not at all be available in even attenuated measures.

Secondly statutory rationing would be extended contrary to earlier announcements only to certain selected areas and not to all urban areas and industrial complexes. This would make rationing a far more complex and unsupportable burden than at present. It has already been announced that some fringe areas on the outer peripheries of the Greater Calcutta fully rationed area would also be covered by rationing. Most of these peripheral areas around Calcutta have been rapidly undergoing phenomenal change in social and economic content. For instance, the many hundreds of square miles covered by the area adjacent to the Tollymore Beach municipal complex—which used to be a thinly populated paddy area only about 20 years ago—has now become a highly congested urban area. A small patch of Belur right down to Diamond Harbour (a once rich paddy area—hundreds of acres have been acquired and purchased for new industrial complexes—and although most of it still remains under some sort of cultivation—the ownership being vested in cultural monuments) now the yield in most cases is only nominal. Still all these areas were left outside the purview of the Greater Calcutta rationing system causing endless hardship and trouble. Similar changes have also been evident in other urban areas especially those in whose vicinity new industrial developments have been in evidence. The very basis of the equitableness in the consumption pattern of cereals upon which the Government's food policy would seem to have been posed would require that all centres of population except those of primary producers of food crops would require to be simultaneously

covered by rationing if this equitableness is intended to be ensured.

Thirdly, the procurement machinery envisaged in the statement of Governments' policy appears to be only vaguely described. The term "agent", for instance requires to be precisely defined. One is reminded of the instance of so-called "total procurement" undertaken by certain provincial governments during the late forties when Government "agents" appointed in this behalf developed into a veritable instrument of oppression of the primary producer and into a new kind of very profitable black-markets in the country. It should be recalled that these agents became and remained the virtual dictators of food grains transactions and prices until the late Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, taking courage in both hands, — and it must have called for an extraordinary measure of courage and boldness — and decontrolled food all over the country in the face of the direst possible prognostications by his colleagues. The State Government should beware of these dire apprehensions and should have the imagination to steer clear of all adventurers, especially representatives of the "trade" and of the mills in setting up their procurement machinery. The absence of any specific definition of the term "agent" in this connection raises spectres which it is not quite easy to conjure away.

Finally, we are not quite convinced of the Government's *bona fides* when it reiterates its emphasis upon the apprehension of a large "unbridged gap" in cereals availability. According to a previous estimate by the Chief Minister of West Bengal, the total paddy yield of the State in terms of rice during the 1965-66 harvest year is not likely to exceed a gross 4.5 million tonnes. He estimates the state's minimum requirements at 6.9 million tonnes leaving an uncovered deficit of 1.1 million tonnes. This estimate appears to us to be an exaggeration. The State's population in 1961 was 31.9 millions and should now, at a 2.4 per cent annual rise, be at the level of 37.4 millions. Of this those in the age groups 0-9 years and 65 years and above, comprise 32 per cent of the total. On the basis of 16 oz. daily to 68 per cent of the total population (25.5 millions) and half that much to the rest (11.9 millions)

the total consumption requirements of the State should be 4.16 million tonnes, plus .97 million tonnes; total 5.13 million tonnes. Allowing 10 per cent of this for unavoidable wastage and seed grains, the gross consumption demand should, at this rate, aggregate 5.65 million tonnes. If output were at the level of 4.5 million tonnes, the measure of the deficit would work out at 1.15 million tonnes. This would work out at approximately 25 per cent of the estimated output of the next harvest year — a very substantial deficit indeed. But, surely, there should be some assistance available, especially in terms of supplies of wheat as well as some rice from the Centre? Besides, West Bengal in the past, has been a direct purchaser of rice from other surplus producing States on a Government to Government basis and unless the Centre enunciates and immediately enforces an integrated national food policy for the whole country — a measure which should have been taken long ago — in which case the Centre should assume the over all responsibility of feeding the State there does not seem to be any legitimate reason to apprehend that such purchases will have to be discontinued altogether during the next year?

We have already made a passing reference earlier in course of the present discussion to the possible loopholes in the Government's procurement machinery. Our suspicions in this behalf are all the more deepened by the total lack of awareness in the declaration embodying the State Government's food policy as well as in all of the ancillary enforcement measures applied so far and conceived for the future, of the vital as well as urgent need for adequately dealing with hoarders of foodgrains, both past, present and future. The West Bengal Chief Minister himself was said to have been responsible for a statement earlier in the season that according to information available to himself some 2 million tonnes of rice were estimated to have gone underground into secret hoards during the last harvest year. At the Centre the Prime Minister was also reported to have made a similar statement, but nothing appears to have been done either by the Centre or at State level to deal with this dastardly menace. At the same time the loopholes left in the currently envisaged procurement machinery in West Bengal

may, we apprehend, enable the profiteer to further insinuate himself into the field unless timely measures are taken to effectively and successfully plug them in advance. As it is, the State Government seem fully reconciled to a policy of co-existence with the anti-social speculators in and hoarders of foodgrains. The periodical statistical estimates of the number of cases of hoarding claimed to have been dealt with from time to time would convince no one of the Government's *bona fides* in this matter for these statements have never yet been backed by any information about the quantity of foodgrains that may have been recovered thereby and forfeited to the public stocks. The plea, preferred on occasions, that the Government have been unable to locate and seize unauthorised stocks of foodgrains would not hold water. We commented earlier in these columns that if the Government's police and intelligence organizations were unable to achieve this very elementary and simple objective, they should immediately be dismissed for gross negligence and incompetence.

A successful bid to eliminate private trade in foodgrains, as the West Bengal Government's food policy statement claims to be its objective, must ensure not merely total effective procurement of all current surplus output (that is output beyond the actual cultivators' own consumption requirements), but also effective liquidation of and annexation to Government stocks of all previous hoards of foodgrains privately owned and held. It is necessary to carefully examine and probe the investments of banks and other private sector credit organizations against the hypothecation of foodgrains to assess if these are all *bona fide* transactions and, in that event, to requisition these stocks for Government to take over. If these institutions may have merely been providing a facade of legitimacy to more shady behind-the-curtains transactions, as may very well happen in certain cases, then it is essential that these cases must be dealt with with a requisite measure of minimum ruthlessness. It is not impossible that individual speculators, finding in the Government's decision to wholly nationalise the food trade in the State, a threat to their already subsisting holdings of foodgrains may have been rushing to banks for the purpose of protecting

their hoards by hypothecating them to banks against nominal credits. Unless measures are taken to successfully immobilize private hoards of foodgrains and, preferably, to annex them to Government stocks, the very foundations of their present food policy would be bound to prove to have been based upon shifting sands. For a condition of co-existence of the kind between Government and the trade that such a situation may eventuate, would be bound to create complications in both supply and prices that the Government would not find it easy to deal with. That this has already been happening especially in the peripherally rationed area, where rice off the new Aman harvest has already begun to arrive in small trickles and which is selling at retail prices varying between Rs. 2.25 and Rs. 2.50 per kg., should be obvious even to the most casual observer. On the other hand, if the State Government were really able to command the resources, in both efficiency and integrity, to plug all leakages in their procurement drive and add to their stocks by liquidating existing private hoards, supplies to cover fully the next year's requirements as a whole, even if no assistance from the Centre were available and purchases from outside the State proved impossible, should be amply available.

But such a contention would be bound to remain largely hypothetical if the realities of the food problem in the country as a whole were to be realistically considered. In spite of the need for progress in foodgrains production having been grossly and really criminally neglected over the last two decades and longer, presumably because ample imports were available, it is a fact that the supposed heavy deficit in our foodgrains production has been largely a myth. During the last harvest year for instance, official statistics show our gross cereals output at about 81.5 million tonnes. Of this, rice accounted for 33 million tonnes, wheat 12.5 million tonnes, other coarse grains like Bajra, raggi, maize etc., 36 million tonnes. According to the Government a 16 oz. adult ration of cereals per day is considered to be quite liberal (in the statutorily rationed area of Calcutta they are at present allowing 12 oz. per day with the threat that it would have to be severely attenuated in the immediate

future). Assuming that the country's population has been registering a steady annual net increase of 2.4 per cent, it should take under 70 million tonnes of cereals to feed the population over the whole year. If we seek to do so by rice and wheat alone, we would have to face a 35 per cent deficit or even more. But if we allocated coarse and finer grains in reasonable proportions to make up a whole day's ration, we should be able to just about cover our basic consumption requirements even from our home output alone provided, of course, and it is the most crucial proviso, that (1) there is no waste, (2) no exploitation by the surplus-producing states by underestimating their output, (3) no undue pressures by deficit states by exaggerating estimates of their consumption demands, (4) there are no restrictions against movement of grains from state to state under Central aegis, (5) there is no speculative buying or hoarding by private individuals, corporations or the trade and, finally, (6) that an integrated, uniform, well knit and honestly and efficiently administered national food policy is evolved and pursued by the whole country under a unified Central leadership. In spite of the autonomous powers of the States, there are too many factors of mutual inter state dependence and adjustment and the problem as a whole is too colossal in magnitude and too complex and complicated to admit of any kind of satisfactory and enduring solution within the isolated resources and prerogatives of a single State or even a group of them.

This we have been reiterating again and again over the past three years. But the Government, seemingly, are too deaf and too complacent with the next general elections yet very nearly two years away. Or, is it because they are too deeply concerned in these still too distant elections and busy collecting the necessary sinews for them to be able to seriously bother as to who may be starving in the meanwhile? A real honest-to-goodness famine, some of them may think, may not be quite an unmixed evil, eliminating at a stroke many of the more complicated problems of indigence and congestion which have so long been baffling solution. Such a famine occurred only just more than two decades ago, which followed an utter breakdown in the administration's morale. The administration then,

was in the hands of an alien bureaucracy. But the crime of a second man made famine,—portents are almost unmistakable that it is once more on its way—would not be regarded as any less heinous or culpable because the administration now is comprised of a band of indigenous opportunists as the *ruling elite*.

Budget Prospects for New Year

The Finance Minister, Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, was recently reported to have told Parliament's Informal Consultative Committee for Finance that the next year's Budget would be about 10 per cent less than the current one. The Union Finance Minister was reported to have told the Committee that presently the budgetary outlook was static and a 10 per cent cut in the demand budget for the ensuing fiscal year has become imperative in view of what he was reported to have described as a steep fall in revenue receipts during the recent Indo-Pakistani hostilities. The Finance Minister was further reported to have told the Committee that the different Ministries of the Union Government had already been advised to reduce their demands for allocation by at least the indicated 10 per cent.

It would be clear from the above report that what the Finance Minister had to tell the Committee in this behalf was no enunciation of any fresh policy but merely that certain adjustments in the demand budget would have to be made under the compulsion of circumstances which are claimed to have been responsible for an attenuation of the size of the Government's revenue receipts. That the Finance Minister had no more to say on the matter would seem to be very disappointing in view of the Government's past commitments to the country that a concerted and wholehearted attempt would be made in the immediate future to cut down Government's consumption expenditure by as substantial a measure as would be consistent with the maintenance of the administrative machinery at their present level of efficiency. Government's consumption expenditure, which has been progressively and rather steeply rising over the last one

(Continued on P. 526)

THE BENGALI LANGUAGE UNDER THE BENGAL REGULATIONS OF 1793

DR. MOTI BARU

THE British brought with them to India their own language, the use whereof by them, and as such for almost all official purposes, was natural. But the language of the ruled as well did command the attention of these rulers from the very beginning. Being successors to the Mughal emperors they followed the tradition only in adopting the Persian language as the main Indian language for the transaction of official business, and that language occupied a prominent place in the field till it was realized that it was not the language even of the ruled and Act 29 of 1837 was passed providing for its replacement by the local languages. The only other Indian language recognised for Bengal and Orissa from the very beginning was Bengali. In fact a study of the early legal provisions as contained in the Bengal Regulations of 1793 suggests that had it not been for the lack of zeal for their language on the part of the Indians themselves, Bengali would have occupied a much more important place in the administrative field, than it actually came to do.

It was in 1793 that the legislation and publication of laws by or under the authority of the East India Company was systematised and the then existing law relevant to the matter was revised and given the shape of properly numbered regulations. The Bengali language was fully recognized in these regulations as the popular language of Bengal and Orissa, and was as such adopted for various official purposes.

To take up the field of legislation first, our the then rulers could make laws only in their own language, but they recognised some Indian languages for the purpose of publicity of these laws. Thus section XV of Regulation 41 of 1793 provided—

“Every regulation with its marginal notes shall be translated into Persian and Bengali languages by the Persian Translator to the

Government or such other person as the Governor General in Council may expressly appoint for that purpose.....”

The idea behind these translations was that they should be of real use to the people and those dealing with the people. This is obvious from the fact that definite directions were given in that very regulation as to the manner of translation—

“XVI. The translator is to be particularly careful to preserve in the translates the same uniformity in the designations and terms applied to persons and things, as is directed with regard to the English code in section XIV. Whenever he shall have occasion to insert the designation or name of any person or thing that he may have reason to believe may not be intelligible to the natives in general, and which may not have been used and explained in the translates of any former Regulation, he shall, in the first passage in which such word or term may occur, subjoin an explanation of it, that upon its recurring no doubt may be entertained as to its true meaning and import.”

“XVIII. The translator is to translate the Regulations into plain and easy language, and in all possible cases to reject words not in common use. As far as may be consistent with the preservation of the true meaning and spirit of the Regulations, he shall adopt the idiom of the native languages, instead of giving a close verbal translation of the English drafts, which must necessarily render the translates obscure, and often unintelligible to the natives ”

Section 11 of the same regulation made detailed provision for the preservation and distribution of these translations.

While this regulation made a general provision for translations and their distribution special provisions in this behalf were made in some other regulations. Thus Regulation 39 of 1793, which provided for the appointment of Cauzy ul Cozaat and other Cauzyes directed the judges in Bengal and Orissa to furnish the Cauzyes stationed within their respective jurisdictions with copies of not only Persian but also Bengali translations of all Regulations printed and published in the manner directed in Regulation 11 of 1793. Regulation 22 of 1793 which provided for the police establishment cast a duty on the District Magistrates and City Magistrates in Bengal and Orissa to furnish the Deroahs within their respective jurisdictions with a translation of that Regulation in the Bengali language also. Regulation 27 of the same year provided for the abolition of the Sayer and internal duties etc. Section II thereof directed printing of Bengali translations of orders contained in the Regulation and their circulation throughout the several districts for general information. Regulation 36 of 1793 which related to the registration of documents commanded the judges of several Zillahs and cities in Orissa to transmit a copy also of the Bengali translation thereof to every Cauzy in their jurisdiction.

In the field of administration of justice as well, Bengali was given due recognition. The seals of all the courts of Bengal and Orissa had to contain the name of the court in Persian and Bengali language and characters there being no provision for the use of English language or Roman characters for the purpose (vide Regulations 3 and 5 of 1793). The same with the addition of the Hindustani language and Nagree character applied to the seal of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut which was the predecessor of our present High Courts and was then entirely presided over by Europeans. (Vide Regulation 6 of 1793). A similar provision was made by Regulation 2 of 1793 in regard to the seals of the Collectors. Regulation 1 of 1793 prescribed Bengali as one of the languages of pleadings in district courts. English being not one of them.

III Every complaint answer reply, and rejoinder is to be written in the Persian or the Bengali language and

character, or in the *Hindustanee language and Nagree* character, and no other, and the parties are to be permitted to deliver their pleadings in whichever of those languages and characters they may think proper.

All orders and processes of the court which could be directed to be served or executed on any person had to be in Bengali also (vide Regulations 1 and 5 of 1793). Section 13 of Regulation 6 of 1793 made the following provisions in regard to Sudder Dewanny Adawlut.

All process both to parties and witnesses and every rule or order for the execution of a decree or final order and every other order whatever which may issue from the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut is to be written or printed in the Persian and Bengali languages in Bengal and Orissa.

For the language of judgments and orders there is no express provision but it appears that they could be and were written in Bengali also. In this connection it will be of interest to note that half a century later Act 12 of 1813 made it compulsory for Principal Sudder Aumens, and Moonsifs to give their judgments in their respective vernaculars and for the higher courts to have translations of their judgments and decrees in the vernacular language to be made part of the record. That only suggests earlier use of the vernacular languages in this field.

The use of the Bengali language was prescribed also for several official records and registers in Bengal and Orissa. Thus Regulation 16 of 1793 provided for registers of the Dewanny and Foujdary proceedings etc. to be in Persian as well as in Bengali languages. Regulation 19 of the same year provided for the maintenance in the Bengali language of a counterpart register of persons entitled to hold land revenue free. A similar provision was made in respect of the counterpart register of Badshahi grants by Regulation 37 of 1793 and in respect of counterpart registers of the landed estates subject to payment of revenue to Government and the counterpart register of the intermediate mutations in landed property by Regulation 48 of 1793. In fact Regulation 21 of 1793 provided for the

establishment in each district of an office for keeping the records in the native languages which related to the public revenue. This obviously provided for the records in the Bengali language also.

The above will suffice to show that under the Bengal Regulations of 1793 the Bengali language was recognised as the language of the people and use thereof was prescribed not only by the people but also by the officers in their

dealings with the people. Making of statutory provisions in this behalf, instead of depending on mere executive instructions or orders suggests the importance attached to the matter. It will appear that as time went on and more and more Indians acquired the knowledge of English and tried to imitate their rulers the use of the English language became more widespread for official purposes and that of the Bengali language declined in this field.

Nationalism in India

Nationalism in its aggressive form cannot but be condemned, as Rabindranath Tagore has done in his book on that subject published many years ago. Nationalism as a force of evil has been in evidence in the history of all imperialist nations, though at present only Italy, Japan and Germany may be condemned for their aggressive imperialism.

In India nationalism is not an evil. It is not aggressive. Indian nationalists want freedom for their country. They do not want, when free, to attack and subdue other peoples.

But internationalism is higher and broader than even the nationalism of India. Internationalism, however, must be preceded in India by the triumph of nationalism. Unless we are first a free national entity, how can we enter into relations of interdependence on other nations?

Ramananda Chatterjee

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METCALFE'S MISSION TO THE COURT OF MAHARAJA RANJIT SINGH

S. R. BAKSHI

TOWARDS the end of the eighteenth century and in the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the British position in India was not yet too strongly entrenched and their Indian antagonists were not too weak, Francophobia dominated the Foreign Office of England and the imagination of the British statesmen at the helm of affairs in India. When Lord Minto took over as Governor-General at Fort William in July, 1807, he felt highly alarmed by the knowledge of the strategy Napoleon was planning to adopt. He feared that the ascendancy of France, once established in the territories of Persia, might gradually extend, by conciliation or by conquest, towards India through Afghanistan or Sind and ultimately open a passage for the French troops to advance into the Indian dominions of the East India Company.

Lord Minto, therefore, decided to send a political mission to the Court of Lahore and his choice for it fell upon C. T. Metcalfe who had already gained diplomatic experience as a Political Officer attached to Lord Lake, during the Governor-Generalship of Lord Wellesley. Though hardly twenty three, he was the most promising of the younger civilians and one of the best among diplomats. Imbued with a vast amount of personal courage, self-control, patience and diplomatic skill, he was required, firstly, to woo Maharaja Ranjit Singh to an alliance against the French and, secondly, to secure for the Company political control over the Cis-Sutlej territory by preventing the Sikh Chief from extending his territory in that region.

On receipt of intelligence of the approach of this mission, Maharaja Ranjit Singh marched from Lahore to Kasur, the town he had recently conquered. In doing so, he had a dual object in view. Firstly, he had a plan to start for an expedition beyond the Sutlej; and, secondly, he wished to avoid the entry of the British mission into the principal cities of Lahore and Amritsar, lest they should have the knowledge of the resources and defences of his state.

The British envoy was received at Kasur by Maharaja Ranjit Singh with all outward courtesies. He was, however, apprehensive and suspicious regarding the motives of this mission. Whatever might have been the reason for his apprehension, the British sources alleged that it was 'artfully planted' into his mind by those 'designing persons' who saw their safety in retarding the development of intimate relations between the Maharaja and the British Government. Undoubtedly, he himself had heard much about the British motives and was not unaware of the British policy of expansion in India. The British envoy stated that the friendship which subsisted between him and the British, had induced Lord Minto to depute him, in order to communicate some important intelligence with which the Maharaja's interests were materially concerned. He told him that the British Government had received reliable and authentic reports that the French who were endeavouring to establish themselves in Persia, had planned the invasion and seizure of Kabul and the Punjab. Therefore, treating the British interests and that of the Maharaja to be indetical; the Governor-General of India had commissioned him to negotiate with him some arrangements for the extirpation of the common enemy and appointed Mountstuart Elphinstone as envoy to the Court of the King of Kabul for a similar purpose, who would, in a short time, pass through his state with his permission.

Several meetings took place; some between the envoy and the Maharaja and others between him and the Maharaja's principal ministers, viz. Sardar Mith Singh, Dewan Mohkam Chand, Mir Prabh Dyal, Hakim Aziz-ud-Din, Mian Imam-ud-Din and Hakim Wazir-ud-Din. But instead of any substantial outcome of an agreed nature, serious differences of opinion ensued between the two parties. Whereas Metcalfe put forth his demand for a cordial and friendly alliance with the Lahore Durbar for checkmating the appre-

hended advance of the French towards India, the Maharaja and his counsellors pressed for an acknowledgment by the British of the sovereignty of the Court of Lahore over the cis-Sutlej region, a major part of which he had already subjugated. With these differing aims of the two parties, the chances of an agreement between them seemed remote, because each party endeavoured to sing its own particular tune and avoided reference to its own aims. Hence they failed to give due appreciation to each others' views which were not without a substantial reality to them. However, to allay their fears and suspicions and to find a way out for an agreement between the two parties, such meetings continued.

In one of these meetings, the Maharaja's ministers put forward three proposals for an agreement (a) a close alliance between the Maharaja and the British Government declaring the friends and the enemies of the one as the friends and the enemies of the other; (b) recognition of the Maharaja's claim to sovereignty over the entire Sikh country and (c) assurance by the British Government that the proposed mission to Kabul would not interfere with the Maharaja's claims upon the territories of the king of Kabul.

To Metcalfe, these proposals appeared to be merely a cloak to conceal the Maharaja's real designs. He, therefore, did not appreciate the humour of this farce and instead of conceding them, preferred simply to express his views thereon. With regard to the first one, he expressed the wish of his Government to form an alliance with the Maharaja only for defensive purposes. Regarding the second proposal, he proposed to defer discussion on it, till the receipt of a letter of the Governor-General containing his views on the cis-Sutlej region. On the third proposal, he assured the Maharaja's Counsellors that the British mission to the Court of the King of Kabul was calculated to promote the interests of the Lahore Durbar and it was primarily intended to bring the Maharaja and the King of Kabul together against the common enemy. If, however, a reconciliation of their mutual differences was not possible, he had no reason to contemplate any British interference in their disputes.

These explanations of Metcalfe did not

satisfy the Maharaja, because his intended object was not achieved and his main proposal was not categorically conceded. The evasive replies of the British envoy appeared to him entirely unconvincing. In the hesitation of the envoy to accept his second proposal, he scented the probability of a British move to thwart his own designs of conquest in the cis-Sutlej region and ultimately to overthrow his power. Metcalfe, too, was not happy with the trend of negotiations and did not expect any reasonable outcome from them.

Meanwhile, Iqir Aziz ud-Din came to inform Metcalfe that the Maharaja was about to march to a *ghat* below the junction of the Beas and Sutlej and very much wished that the British envoy should accompany him. Metcalfe looked at this sudden and unexpected proposal with considerable misgivings. He thought that by doing so, Maharaja Ranjit Singh probably wished to impress upon the Sardars of the cis-Sutlej principalities that he enjoyed British countenance to his move in their region. This placed him in a strange predicament and made him reluctant to accept the proposal to accompany Maharaja Ranjit Singh in his military excursion, possibly because he considered it an extraordinary step on the part of the Maharaja in total disregard of British wishes and a virtual closing of the door for further negotiations or, possibly, he did not want to be a party to this aggressive excursion which might have a damaging effect on the British prestige. But after due consideration and cool calculation of British interests, he agreed to follow the Maharaja.

The Sikh Chief crossed the Sutlej and encamped at Khai, a village about 12 miles inland. Metcalfe followed him and had a meeting with him, in which the negotiations did not show any appreciable advance. On October 4, 1808, the Sikh Chief advanced from Khai to Faridkot, disregarding the protests of the British envoy who stated that the aim of his mission was to negotiate a settlement, not to accompany him in his military campaigns.

The Sikh Chief continued his career of conquest in the cis-Sutlej region with full zest and vigour ignoring the complaints and remonstrances of the British envoy. He marched from

Faridkot to Malerkotla, a town about 60 miles eastward. Its Chief, Ata-ulla-Khan submitted almost without resistance. By persuasion, the Maharaja again dragged the British envoy to Malerkotla. Now the feeling of his being used as a tool to work out the Maharaja's ends became firm in his mind. He, therefore, refused to accompany him further and felt so much disgusted that he desired some place to be assigned, where the mission might stay, till the Maharaja was free from his campaign and instructions were received from Calcutta.

Thereafter, Metcalfe was asked to proceed to Amritsar; and the Maharaja hastened to complete his work. Soon he annexed Ambala, Thanesar, Shahabad and some other places. After these demonstrations of military superiority in the cis-Sutlej region, the Sikh Chief returned to Amritsar and decided to make another bid to convert the British envoy to his views and obtain from him the recognition of the authority of the Lahore Durbar over the cis-Sutlej states and an assurance that the British Government would not make an effort to bring them under its protection. But the envoy declined to give such an undertaking without a reference to his Government.

Under these circumstances, Lord Minto sent a strong note of protest to the Maharaja in which he reminded him of the existing engagement of amity between him and the Calcutta Government and expressed surprise and concern over his measures to subjugate the cis-Sutlej territories. He vehemently criticized the Maharaja's policy of aggrandizement and put forward British claims on the states of that region. He made it clear that by the issue of war with the Marathas during Lord Wellesley's time, the British Government became possessed of the power and rights in the North of Hindustan. Having thus refused to acknowledge the Maharaja's rights over any cis-Sutlej territory, Lord Minto advised him to restore all the places, subjugated by him, to their former possessors and confine his army to the right bank of the river Sutlej.

The Governor-General's suggestions contained in his note were not liked by Maharaja Ranjit Singh and he was the least inclined to accept them. For sometime, therefore, he felt greatly agitated and was in a state of uncertainty. But finding the Governor-General firm in his attitude,

he became somewhat communicative without giving up his demand and hoped to find out some via media through negotiations.

At last, on December 21, 1808, a meeting took place between the Maharaja and the British envoy in which claims, pretensions, views and sentiments of the Lahore Chief were given in detail by Mir Prabhudial and Faqir Aziz-ud-Din, with occasional elucidation and remarks from the Sikh Chief. The British envoy demanded cession of the territories, annexed by the Maharaja, such as Ambala, Sahnewal, Faridkot and all other places annexed since his arrival in the Maharaja's camp.

Soon after this, the British Government became firm in its stand. This was mainly on account of the momentous changes in European politics. Napoleon Bonaparte became entangled in the Peninsular War and the British were now no longer apprehensive of his reaching within a striking distance of India. The changes in Europe strengthened British hands. Thus encouraged by the indefinite suspension of the Napoleonic Plan of invading the Eastern countries the Governor-General abandoned the idea of coaxing the Lahore Chieftain to an immediate alliance and decided to initiate a different approach to this problem.

Having come to the determination that the Sutlej should be the limit of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's acquisitions in that direction, the British Government, in order to uphold its resolution, immediately commanded the advance of a sufficient body of troops, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony, a military commander of superb zeal and ability. He was instructed to establish a military post at the river Sutlej and to support Metcalfe, in his negotiations with Maharaja Ranjit Singh. In fact, it was done so to overawe the Sikh Chief, and compel him to give up his claims on the cis-Sutlej region. Ochterlony reached Ludhiana on January 19, 1809, while an army of reserves under the command of Major-General St. Leger, was prepared to support this advance, should protracted operations become necessary.

This firm attitude of the British Government alarmed Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Doubting British motives, he began to make secret military preparations to meet the eventuality of a war

with them. A major part of his army, under Dewan Mokham Chand, the best of the Sikh Generals, famous for his conspicuous valour and equally well known for his anti-British feelings who was then assisting Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra in compelling the Gurkhas from his territory, was called back and ordered to march to the Phillaur Ghat on the river Sutlej opposite the town of Ludhiana. The Maharaja also summoned back all those chiefs who had retired to their homes on leave. He also accelerated the production of war material including equipment, weapons and ammunition. The artillery and infantry were kept in readiness without any waste of time and the completion of the fortification at Amritsar was hastened making its defence arrangements impregnable. In short he mobilized all available resources to meet any eventuality.

Under these circumstances the negotiations were restarted. Mr. Pridmore, the principal confidant of Sardar Fateh Singh Ahluwalia and a person more credible to Metcalf than any other diplomat of the Lahore Durbar, represented the Maharaja at the negotiations with the British envoy. In the course of his talk Metcalf expressed the resentment of his Government at the non-compliance of the British demand on the Maharaja and warned Mr. Pridmore that this attitude of the Lahore Chief might cause the total reduction of his power.

At this time a military incident occurred at Amritsar in which an attack was made by the Akalis of the Golden Temple on the Muhammadan soldiers of Metcalf's escort who had gathered for Muharram celebrations at Amritsar. In this clash the Akalis under their renowned leader Jathedar Phul Singh were completely routed

by the few British sepoys. This defeat, though minor, appeared to leave a great impression on the Maharaja's mind. After this traumatic experience it appears that the Lahore Chief realized the inadequacy of his resources compared to those of the British and perceived that it would be a suicidal step to persist with foolish obstinacy for coping with the fast-moving challenge of war. This explains why he gradually became avid for a treaty of alliance. He agreed to the demand for withdrawal from the cis-Sutlej region and to sign the Treaty of Amritsar on April 25, 1809.

The Treaty of Amritsar consisted of three clauses. It was agreed that perpetual friendship would subsist between the two Governments, the British would not interfere in the trans-Sutlej region and the Maharaja would not encroach upon the cis-Sutlej territory. The treaty was to be considered null and void if either of the parties violated any of these articles.

An able administrator imbued with drive, energy, imagination and far-sightedness, Maharaja Ranjit Singh felt that his own position in the Punjab was hardly established because only a portion of it had so far been under his control which too had not yet been fully consolidated. He feared that the pro-British faction, consisting of some of the Sikh Chieftains of the cis-Sutlej region might take off the alliance from him at a time of emergency and rise in rebellion with the help of the British and thus topple his hard-earned ascendancy. He was also well aware of the inexhaustible resources of the British and considered it a folly to strike his head against the stone wall and thereby expose his kingdom to imminent hazards.

WELFARE STATE AND PROFESSIONAL ACCOUNTANT

R. M. LALL

WHILE dilating on what a welfare state stands for, I would try to dispel what to me appear to be two misconceptions about this term. The first misunderstanding is that the welfare state is a modern concept. The second is that it represents a cut-and-dried political doctrine standing out for something distinct.

The first view regarding the history of the concept is partly fallacious in the sense that whereas the use of the term came into vogue in the last century,¹ the contents of the concept can be traced to the earliest times dating back to the Greek and Roman civilisations.

In his 'Republic', Plato paints the picture of an ideal state in which there should be state-regulated education, common ownership of property and wives among the guardian classes and the rule of philosophy. On the idealistic plane, it is difficult to visualise any better concept of welfare. Plato's idealism is not altogether abstruse, for he also gives an economic theory of the State by saying that the first element in the formation of the State is the economic motive.

Another Greek philosopher, Aristotle, while emphasizing the value of education like Plato, holds that the function of the State is positive, that is, promotion of the good life among the citizens and that the State has an organic growth; its end is to give a perfect, self-sufficing and fully developed life to the individuals living in it. These ideas represent the highest consummation of thoughts on human welfare.

Coming to the Medieval Age of ecclesiastical ascendancy, we find St. Thomas Aquinas holding that a State justifies itself by

1. The modern concept of the welfare state was first fully developed by the German Academic Sozial-politiker or 'Socialists of the Chair' from 1870 onward and was first put into practice by Bismarck. See Hayek, F. A., "The Constitution of Liberty", p. 502.

the education it gives to its members and by the provisions it makes for the poor and that the objective of the State is the realisation of the good in a virtuous life. The latter part of the thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth century witnessed the rise of secularism. Marsiglio conceived the State as a "self-sufficient unit existing for the purpose of good life and the general welfare of the citizens." He believed that "the State must be independent of any outside control. The different interests in the State should work for the common welfare" As a staunch votary of education and democracy, he was for reducing economic disparity among the citizens and pleaded for state regulation of the economic life of the community. Indeed, even today his views look so progressive.

Then we come to Locke who gives an altogether new concept of the "social contract" between the individual and the State and subordinates the executive and judicial functions of the State to the legislative function. The best of the welfare states of today would feel indebted to Locke, for much of their achievement is essentially legislative in character. Subsequently, Rousseau contributes a fund of meaning by interpreting this social contract theory via "general will". His theory provides the structure of the corporate character of society in which an isolated individual is a misfit.

During the eighteenth century, we find the predominance of economic considerations in political affairs and the advent of laissez faire, with Adam Smith, Turgot, Quesnay and Ferguson as representatives of the free trade schools of thought. The Industrial Revolution of England led to increased economic activity. At that time, the English idealists believed that the State existed for the individuals and that its function was to promote the good of the individuals.

It was, however, the English utilitarians who

struck a clear note that the "State is a human necessity because it promotes general welfare." Utilitarianism became popular in England in the nineteenth century. They gave a systematic political philosophy of the greatest good of the greatest number and favoured the democratic form of Government and advocated universal education and adult suffrage. Right from the middle of the 19th century till now, we find a number of influences affecting the theory of the State. The sociologists like Comte and Spencer and the psychologists like Wallas, McDougall and McIver, viewed the State from different angles but they did not come out with any distinct theory of the State.

Concept of Welfare State

This brief survey of the growth of political thought shows that political philosophers in the past, as even today, have had common good or welfare in their consideration while theorising about the State and its functions. It is, therefore, wrong to think that the Welfare State is a modern concept. This survey also reveals the truth that not a single thinker has tried to enunciate any theory of a Welfare State as such. They have raised various issues, like the theory of the State—the organic and contractual, its basis—force or will, its functions, its character—pluralistic or monistic, and so on. It is only incidentally that welfare or common good has come up for discussion. Even the utilitarians, who apparently advanced the welfare theory, have been criticised as giving a theory of a "government" and not of the State. for theoretically speaking, a government can be a welfare government whereas the State need not be a Welfare State. As such, there is no theory of State which positively relates it with welfare. The fact that countries like the U.K., the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., having basically different political set-ups, call themselves Welfare States amply demonstrate this contention.

Welfare is a holistic concept. Like other such concepts, its analytical study enables one to understand its nature and problems, without vouching its conceptual veracity. Welfare is what one thinks it to be. It is normative and qualita-

tive in character, hence its expression in objective terms is vague and controversial. To quote Hayek. "The conception of welfare state has no precise meaning." The test whether a State is a Welfare State or not can be applied in a way whereby we first consider the hypothesis as to what the people understand by welfare and then examine the degree in which the state endeavours to achieve it through its agencies. "A theory of the state must be a way of valuing the achievement of actual state, a criterion of measurement, rather than a statement of reality."²

India as a Welfare State

In the history of the human race, the ideals and aspirations of a Welfare State have never been embodied so explicitly and completely in any state document as in the Constitution of India. Part III of the Constitution dealing with Fundamental Rights includes the prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth. This is followed by a set of directive principles as laid down in Part IV. Although not enforceable in any court of law, these principles are fundamental in the governance of the country because the state has a duty to apply them in the making of laws. Some of the important principles are considered here.

(1) Under Article 38, the state shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as possible, a social order in which justice, social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of the national life.

(2) Under Article 39, the state shall direct its policy towards securing that citizens of both sexes have the right to an adequate means of livelihood; that the ownership and control of the community's resources are distributed so as best to subserve the common good; that the economic system does not operate so as to cause the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment; that men and women receive equal pay for equal work; that children and young persons are protected against abuse, exploitation and neglect.

2. Laski, H. J. "The State in Theory and Practice", p. 29.

(3) Under Article 41, within the limits of its economic capacity and development, the state is required to make effective provision for securing the right to work, to education and to public assistance in case of unemployment, old age, sickness, disablement and other cases of want.

(4) Under Article 43, the state shall endeavour by means of legislation or economic organisation to secure to all workers, whether in agriculture, industry or any other occupation, opportunities for employment at a living wage, conditions of work ensuring a decent standard of life and full employment of leisure and social and cultural opportunities.

(5) Under Article 47, the state is to regard the raising of the level of nutrition and standard of living of its people, and the improvement of public health as among its primary duties.

These aims of a Welfare State are supplemented by many constitutional safeguards ensuring the freedom of speech, of movement, of religion and of assembly; the protection of life and personal liberty against arbitrary or illegal actions, and so on.

These objectives of welfare are being pursued both by the Government and people of India in the face of innumerable odds. However, turning from these constitutional provisions to stark reality, one fails to understand with what justification we can call our country a Welfare State especially in view of the overwhelming poverty of the masses—a poverty which is not relative but absolute. Whatever the causes of this poverty may be, pressure of population, low productivity of agriculture, lack of commercial and industrial development, centuries of slavery—the basic task of our Welfare State is to increase productivity in the aggregate and also per capita, with this object in view, we have embarked on an era of planning, seeking improvement in all directions—education, commerce, industry, agriculture, community development, abolition of caste and so on.

Role for Accountants

It is here that Accountants have an unprecedented role to play, particularly in the

development of industries, commerce, trade and business both in the public and private sectors. What is needed is that the importance of their services has to be brought home to appropriate quarters. Their contribution in the following fields can be considerable:

(a) *Private Accounting*: A private accountant, in the words of Kohler, is "an accountant whose technical skills and employment are confined to a single organisation." His functions include design and installation of accounting systems, book-keeping, preparation of financial statements and reports, cost accounting, internal auditing, preparation of budgets, interpretation and analysis of financial statements, preparation of tax returns, etc.

(b) *Public Accounting*: The performance of a public accountant is characterised by his independence, that is, the 'freedom of action to accomplish desired objectives by such means as he deems suitable, and to reject practices and proposals he considers unsound.' His professional services include auditing and investigations, collection, presentation, analysis and interpretation of accounting data, dealing with tax problems including tax planning, determination of tax, preparation of returns, representation before taxing authorities, and other professional services of a specialised nature, such as business counselling as in matters of raising finance, selecting accounting personnel, effecting reorganisations, making valuations, budgeting, devising incentive plans, framing rate regulations, developing internal auditing procedures, arbitration of commercial and financial disputes, investigation of insurance losses, acting as expert witnesses, and so on.

(c) *Government Accounting*: Professional Accountants by virtue of their specialised training and skill can be of immense service at all levels of administration in the country. Government accounting differs from private accounting in certain respects. First, there is absence of profit motive in government. Secondly, the books are maintained on cash basis and the accounting system is characterised by lengthy procedures. Thirdly, budgetary accounts are integrated with actual revenue and expenditure so as to indicate whether expenditure is in accordance with

appropriate Acts, statutes, laws. Fourthly, the accounts are segregated by funds, each fund constituting an independent fiscal entity. In this field, chartered accountants can acquit themselves well as finance ministers, auditors-general, accountants-general, top executives of government undertakings, chairmen and members of industrial, commercial and fiscal bodies, tax officers etc. It is unfortunate that the Government has not yet fully realised the importance of their services. It is to be hoped that the Government, in order to attract talent, would at least start an All India Accounting Service open to qualified accountants offering remuneration in keeping with their status, skill and experience.

Criteria for Accountants' Role

In a Welfare State, accountants should be judged solely in terms of their demonstrable contribution to the general economic welfare. Accountants should interpret their social responsibilities as conforming to reasonable or socially accepted standards of the good. In evolving and discharging their social responsibilities, they should be governed by two guiding principles.

First, accountants should not act under the influence of any of the pressure groups, such as organisations of industrialists, commercial interests, labour unions, consumers, etc. In particular, they should distinguish between the Government and the State; Government is just to subserve the State. They should understand that a law, an order or a policy of the government would not necessarily promote welfare simply because the government says it would. In their performance, they have to learn to exercise the independence of a judge, nay, even more than that, because the independence of the judge is conditioned by the laws of the country. Tax practitioners amongst us would appreciate the truth that there are certain laws, the non-observance of which, and not their compliance would promote general welfare.

In such situations, as promoters of welfare, accountants should see that in the making of laws they have an effective say with a view to maximising the greatest good of the largest number. It appears to me that the profession agrees with this suggestion in principle but not in practice.

Secondly, closely, following the first principle is the second one, viz., to define as to what is expected of accountants at a given time and circumstance in a Welfare State. It is neither desirable nor feasible to codify all their obligations. Even the best of pronouncements on what is "generally accepted" by the profession have been found deficient because, in the words of Maurice Moonitz, "they contain inconsistencies within themselves, with inadequate or no explanation . . . they are incomplete . . . they are a mixture of objective summaries of what is being done and of normative standards, as well as being a mixture of postulates, principles, and rules . . . they express the state of mind of the group that prepared them." Only general standards should be laid down and widely understood, for it is difficult to enforce moral conduct, when the content of morality is not known.

At this stage, a question crops up: By whom should our social obligations be defined: by the profession, by businessmen, by the Government or any other agency? The duty of an interest or a profession in a democracy is not merely to meet its social responsibilities as these are defined by that interest, "but rather to follow the social obligations which are defined by the whole community through the give-and-take of public discussion and compromise"³ Therefore the profession should not act as the sole and final arbiter of its responsibilities, for its sense of values, like that of any other interest, is largely influenced by its particular experiences and special interests.

The best course for it is not only to advance its ideas and be prepared to convince other interests of their soundness, but ultimately to keep itself in readiness to mould its ideas through the interaction between its judgments and those of other interests. After all, it is a profession whose services to the community, and the profession depends for its existence upon its ability to meet such social responsibilities as may be fixed by the community at large. If it does not rise to the call of the community, it

3. Bowen H. R. "Social Responsibilities of the Businessman."

would either stagnate or die. At this point, one cannot help recalling the recent parliamentary debates on the Vivian Bose Commission Enquiry Report, indicating the hiatus between what the public expects of chartered accountants and what they are actually doing. Here the image of chartered accountants stands tarnished and the situation calls both for self-examination and removal of public misunderstanding. Partially, the public opinion is not well-informed and partially chartered accountants are responsible.

Responsibility of Accountants

To be of real help in a Welfare State, accountants have to change their outlook and venture into new fields and expand the boundaries of their existing fields of work. Till recently, the profession has concentrated almost exclusively upon audit and taxation practice to the neglect of cost accounting, management accounting, internal auditing and business counselling. These techniques have to be adequately developed and more fully applied by accountants. Beginnings should be made in new ventures, however imperfect.

The profession should not hesitate to make a beginning in the direction of propriety-cum-efficiency audits, for, "it is possible for the profession in the near future to develop standards and criteria for measuring alternative business practices." Researches should be an unending exploration on the verge of experience and each day the profession should improve its methods so that this profession, to quote an authority, "could assume the distinctive role of the attestor in which the accountant would attest to everyone concerned as to the accuracy of assertions even on such issues as the level of employment maintained or the contribution to the education of the forthcoming generation, as well as the financial effectiveness of the organisation.

"In this broader role of attestor, the accountant would certify as to the effectiveness with which an organisational entity has carried out all its objectives. This role would require an observer, sensitive to all the values to which an organisation could direct itself, capable of determining the extent to which each of the various

objectives has been attained, and communicating the information to other people." By such techniques, the profession would contribute significantly to the general welfare.

Problem of Measurement

Basically, welfare is a function of the mind of an individual and the environments in which he is placed. When a person somehow collects into one whole the welfare of separate individuals as they reveal themselves, this is known as social welfare, or economic welfare. A person charged with measuring such welfare would have to face a set of complex problems as the accountant tackling the valuation of goodwill or shares has to. Anyway, what is practical is that social welfare in one situation can be compared with that in another and its measurement in comparative terms can be made the basis of economic planning. The accountant cannot play any vital part in its measurement unless he overcomes some of his present-day recognised limitations. He may have to do accounting for the community as a whole, as opposed to a business entity.

The objective of a Welfare State is to secure maximum welfare. But, Hicks gives us a set of what he calls marginal conditions, in which maximum welfare could be secured. Hicks says:

(1) "The marginal rate of substitution between any two products must be the same for every individual who consumes both," meaning thereby that we can increase welfare by making two individuals exchange two commodities between them if the utility of one of the commodities in terms of the other is greater for one individual than for another.

(2) "The marginal rate of transformation between any two products must be the same for any two firms that produce both." In simple words, if the cost of production of a commodity in terms of another commodity is greater for one firm than for another, welfare can be increased by transferring resources from the production of the first commodity by the first firm to its production by the second.

(3) "The marginal rate of transformation between any factor and any product must be the same for any pair of firms using the factor and

producing the product." That is, if one firm requires a larger quantity of one factor to produce a particular commodity than another, welfare can be increased if the resources are shifted from the first to the second firm till the difference disappears.

(4) "The marginal technical rate of substitution between any two factors must be the same for any two firms using these factors to produce the same product." To put it in lay man's language if the reduction of the amount of one factor of production requires a larger increase of the amount of another factor to produce a constant quantity of a product by one firm as compared with another welfare can be increased by making adjustments of the factors concerned between the firms.

(5) The marginal rate of substitution between any pairs of products for any person consuming both must be the same as the marginal rate of transformation between them. In simple words, welfare would be maximum when the utility of a commodity in terms of another for a person is the same as the cost of production of the first commodity in terms of the other for the production system.

(6) The marginal rate of substitution between the amount of a factor received for aiding its production by a given firm and the time spent in rendering this aid must be the same for each factor unit owner as the marginal rate of transformation between the time of his factor unit spent in aiding production and product. In simple words, the reward paid to the owner of a factor must be equal to the value of the marginal physical product of the factor.

(7) "The marginal rate of substitution between resource control at any pair of moments . . . must be the same for every pair of individuals or firms." That is, the welfare is maximum when the time preferences of individuals expressed as ratios of future to present amounts of money that are equally valued are the same.

In the determination of such margins, inter firm comparisons and social accounting can play a vital part. This latter subject is practically unknown in this country and, therefore, has to be developed to serve the purposes of a Welfare State. To quote the words of Kohler, Social

Accounting is "the application of double entry book-keeping to socio-economic analysis, it is concerned with the construction estimation, and analysis of national or international income, national or international balance sheets, and the design of the system of component accounts." So far the focus of the Accountant's activities has been the enterprise for which he is accounting.

Social Accounting

Social Accounting extends the focus to larger sectors of society, such as consumers foreigners, governments business enterprises as a whole. Social accounts deal with national income and product account including business income, personal income and expenditure account government receipts and expenditure account, rest of the world account gross saving and investment account balance of payments account input output tables, flow of funds accounts etc. National product accounting covers transactions among different sectors of the country's economy, such as between business and consumers, between each group and the rest of the world, etc. Balance of payments indicates the extent to which domestic product is provided to foreigners and also the amount of foreign product acquired for domestic consumption or investment. In case of flow of funds accounts the non monetary transactions are eliminated and purchases and sales of the national product are related to changes in the holding of money and money substitutes by different groups. In input output tables the final product is treated as 'the end result of a series of technological and economic interrelations in industries'.

From this short description of the ingredients of Social Accounting its usefulness for establishing a Welfare State can be easily realised in the context of the economic system we have at the moment. These accounts are indispensable in equilibrium studies. They can form the basis for sound corporation finance, security market regulations, labour relations government control of industry, etc. The flow of funds accounts and the accounting statements of commercial banks are also important for a correct study of national monetary structure and the impact of fluctuations.

in money and credit on prices and other economic activity. The national product accounts and balance of payments are practically the wheels on which rolls the implementation of Keynesian economics, which believes in the central policy rather than in automatic factors for curing economic ills, with its emphasis on saving, investment, consumer expenditure, national income

and product. Input-output tables provide a fund of valuable information in economic studies by assigning values to the variables of which the general equilibrium theory is composed. Thus, these studies have immense potentialities of maximising welfare. To a certain extent, they can be used for suggesting at which points "marginal conditions" can be established.

EDUCATION IN MODERN BULGARIA

ILIYA TACHEV

A salient feature of the educational system in the People's Republic of Bulgaria are its indissoluble links with the social and economic development of the country. The strengthening of the economy of the Republic and the improvement in the living standards of the working people create favourable conditions for the uninterrupted rise in the educational standards and culture of the people.

It is the belief of the Bulgarian Government that high and thorough education, as well as sound practical and vocational training can be obtained only through a unified system of education of the young generation from the age of three and until graduation from secondary schools or universities. That is why, carefully planned undertakings are under way in this country to develop the different educational and training institutions parallel with and with a view to the actual needs of the country.

Pre-school education is the object of particular attention and solicitude. Its objective is to provide conditions for undisturbed labour for the parents and to prepare the children for their normal school activities in the first grade of the elementary schools. There were a total of 313,000 children in the 77,000 kindergartens of the country in 1965. Over 80 per cent of the children who begin schools have passed through some of the classes of the kindergartens.

Current plans are for the above percentage to reach its maximum during the next 2 or 3 years. Under these conditions it will be possible to admit the children to school at the age of 6 instead of 7 years. Kindergartens in Bulgaria enjoy a very high reputation with the parents and with the people as a whole. Scores of buildings for kindergartens are being built every year on public initiative, on the initiative of the co-operative farms and industrial establishments, with the voluntary labour of many people, in addition to the buildings created with state funds.

In implementation of the Law on Closer Links between School and Life which provides for the further development of public education in the country (it came into force in 1959), the objective and subjective conditions are already at hand for the complete realization of the programme of compulsory 8-year course of education for all children under the age of 16. Only 0.63 per cent of the children of school age do not attend school, by far the main cause being heavy and continuous disease. That which has been achieved in the field of compulsory primary education during the last 21 years can be best appreciated by drawing a parallel with the past. Prior to Liberty Day, September 9, 1944, there were no schools in 27 per cent of the villages in the country. More than 100,000 children



A Kindergarten in the Mining town of Rudozem

remained out of school every year and only 18 per cent of the children of school age were guaranteed the necessary opportunities to study. The children of the national minorities in Bulgaria were forgotten. 75 per cent of the children of the Turkish population remained illiterate and only 1000 out of a total of 15000 gypsy children went to school.

The successful realization of compulsory 8 year course of education becomes the sound basis of a more rapid development and advance of education after the 8th grade of the primary schools. Without law and obligation only as a result of the high esteem in which education is held by the people in Bulgaria the transition is practically under way from compulsory education during the first eight years of study and compulsory secondary education. For the fourth year running, over 90 per cent of the children

country continue their studies in the general secondary schools or in various technical colleges and vocational schools. There is every reason to maintain that universal secondary education will be a fact in the not too distant future.

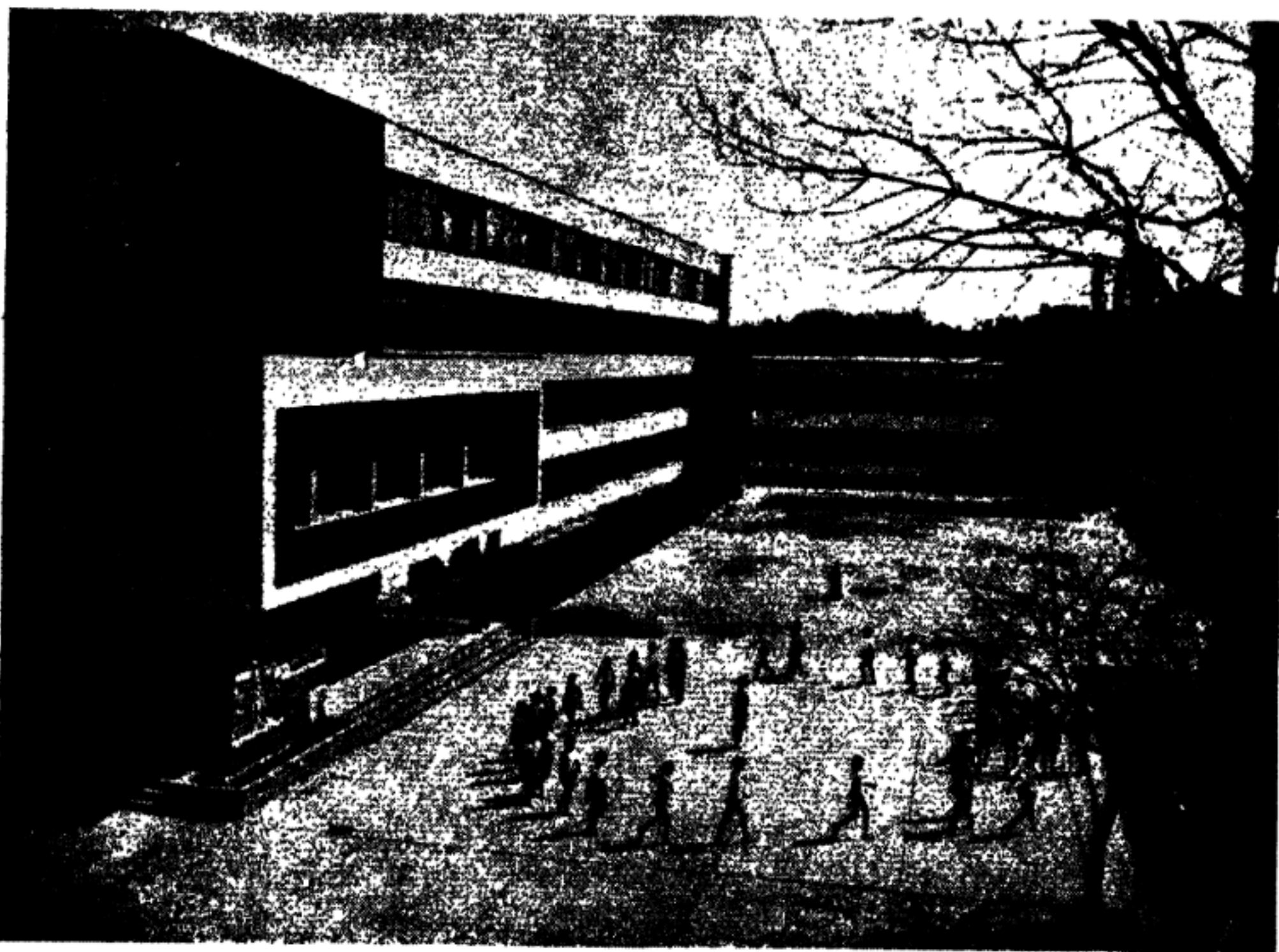
The People's Republic of Bulgaria possesses a very broad and well developed network of educational establishments for those graduating from the primary schools. The opening of ordinary and vocational secondary schools near to where the students are living, with a view to the economic development of the particular regions increases the influx of young people to the secondary schools. An average of 454.9 students per 10 000 of the population are attending general and vocational secondary schools in the country during the current year. Very few countries in the world could claim such a high percentage of secondary school students. These

schools are successfully tackling the task of preparing the young people for their future life, for their part in industry, and for their further education. Future improvements in secondary education in Bulgaria will follow the line of raising the level of general education given to the students still higher in view of the new development and advance of science and of increasing the technical qualifications and culture of the students to keep up with the epoch-making achievements of science.

Higher education has flourished in the real sense of the word. Bulgaria now has 27 educational institutions of higher learning attended by a total of over 82,000 students. These institutions are now training specialists for almost all branches of material and cultural advancement.

The degree to which education has been

placed in service of the people can be gauged by the following facts. A total of 226,094 specialists were trained in the country's vocational schools during the 21 years of free development, in addition to 227,710 specialists with secondary education and 101,210 specialists with university training. A total of 22,416 specialists with university education were trained during a corresponding period in the past (1924-1944). Training was given to 76,109 new teachers during these years of free life, as against a total of 28,236 teachers working in all the schools of the country in 1944. In terms of percentage, 86.5 per cent of all specialists now engaged in various branches of the country's economy have been trained after the revolution of 1944. The new system of education has been highly conducive to the great advance scored in the development of economic activities, to the transformation of Bulgaria from



A Newly built School at Sofia

a backward agrarian land into a modern industrial and agrarian country.

Education in Bulgaria is secular, democratic, free and accessible to all citizens regardless of sex, religious creed, or nationality. There exist no taxes connected with the system of education. What is more, the effective implementation of the system of 8 year compulsory education is assisted by the state which provides free meals at school canteens, board, and free school aids to the children of large families. Over 33 per cent of the students in the secondary schools and over 10 per cent of the university students receive state scholarships and other financial assistance in their studies.

Children with bodily or mental defects, children who have been through heavy illnesses or who are disposed to certain diseases, as well as orphans, have at their disposal a broad network of special schools where they are taught and prepared for their future activities as citizens of the country entirely at the expense of the state. Recreation camps were set up for the students on an unprecedented scale.

Particular attention is paid to the development of the natural talents of the young generation. There are over 800 ballet, music and other schools operating on a voluntary basis at the ordinary schools, at the country's reading clubs and at what are known as the homes of culture. The participation of children in various musical, dramatic, dance and other ensembles assumed proportions quite unthinkable in the past. Over

8,000 ensembles of this type furnish opportunities for the development of the talents of the future singers, dancers and actors of the country, and in thousands of other study circles the pupils and students expand their knowledge and test their capacities for work as future specialists in the precise sciences. There are more than 35,000 sports clubs, sections, and groups which offer opportunities for the training of the masters in physical education and sports of tomorrow. All schools possess the necessary conditions, teaching staff included, for development of natural talents of the children and students so that they may attain everything they are capable of, so that they may be useful to their people to the utmost.

The doors of the Bulgarian schools are wide open to genuine science. Gone away with forever are all unscientific explanations, religious mysticism, racism, and chauvinism. It is a fundamental legal requirement from all schools to offer scientific general and polytechnical knowledge to the students, to guarantee their correct moral, physical and aesthetic education, to cultivate in them an upright attitude towards and affection for labour and for the men of labour, to give the students practical training for their future life and in one word to provide for their all round development and culture. The schools in Bulgaria realize these new objectives and tasks on the basis of the pedagogical principles of linking education and training with productive labour and by adopting a polytechnical trend in the field of instruction and education.

SOUTH AFRICA

AMAR RAHA

"South Africa occupies a special position in the British Commonwealth, in the Christian world, and, practically speaking, in the whole civilized world: it is a slave state," said Lord Olivier, Secretary of State for India in the first MacDonald Government, over thirty years ago. But here in this State, the white population, constituting a fifth of the total, appropriate about 74 per cent of the national income and they are "better off than any where outside North America and where taxes are extremely low." Here signs "For Europeans only". "For non-whites", "Asiatics", "Natives" glorify race discrimination. The white South African does not shake hands "with his black brother". In fine, thousands of non-whites live in slum towns "where misery, over-crowding and dirt are beyond description. Hovels built of sackcloth, corrugated iron, bits cut from jerry cans, and a few pieces of wood—no floors, no fire places, no lighting, no lavatories . . . 5 to 10 people in rooms of perhaps 80 to 100 square feet."

UN and S. Africa

Once Jooste, the South African delegate to UN, defended this state of affairs and extolled the virtues of the government he represented. But, in the Security Council Session of 27th November to 4th December, 1963, certain African States along with USSR and India denounced this and pressed for an embargo on strategic materials, on oil and for economic sanctions; and the Phillippine representative said very boldly that: if the Council's resolutions were to have effect the members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) would have to take action.

Truth lies there as the UN Special Committee regretted that nearly twenty United Nations members still maintained diplomatic relations with a government that found convenient to flout everything of UN that went against its *apartheid* policies. Not only that. These States go out to

assist and strengthen a government that threatens international peace and security. On this the UN Special Committee opined: "The few States which accounted for most of South Africa's foreign trade and foreign investments in the Republic, and which were its principal suppliers of arms and equipment were indirectly providing encouragement to the South African Government in perpetuating its policy of social segregation, and such discriminatory and repressive measures and the expansion of military and police forces "had further aggravated the serious danger to international peace and security arising from South Africa's *apartheid* policies."

Further flouting of UN is seen when Nathanael Mbarwa, the Rev. Markus Kooper, the Rev. Michael Scott, Brian Bassingthwaite and Moses Garoeb, and Jacob Kuhangua submitted a petition to the General Assembly's Fourth Committee Sitting, 22 October to 11 November, 1963, against South African violation of Article 22 of of the Covenant of the League of Nations and in respect of the mandate for South West Africa. This act of the South African Government was bluntly and blatantly defended by the Minister for External Affairs, Mr. Louw, in June, 1955, with the words: We don't care tuppence whether the United Nations observes the two-third majority rule or the unanimity rule in dealing with South West African affairs because we have consistently said the United Nations has no right to concern itself with the affairs of South West Africa.

India and South Africa

The questions relating to 400,000 Indians involve not any thing different from questions relating to other non-whites and to India it is a serious problem.

So far as is known Indians, in general, came after 1860, as labour on the Sugar plantations. It can be claimed, however, that possibly the earliest in-comers were Catharina, wife of Jan

Wonters of Middeburg; wife of Anthonie Muller of Arnheim; and Maria, wife of Jan Sacharias of Amsterdam, and they were all Bengali girls who were taken there in the early period of Dutch rule.

Anyway, today Indians face the same fate as any other non-white does India protested against the South African 'don't care tuppence attitude' before the General Assembly in 1947. That time South Africa contended that the discriminatory action which formed the subject matter of the Indian complaint was not prohibited by the Charter: the purpose of the Charter 'is not to deal with every conceivable right' but only with such rights as may be regarded as fundamental, as so essential for the dignity and worth of the human person 'as to demand recognition in all countries at all times in regard to all human beings'. That was the argument of South Africa on 15th September 1947.

But, today South Africa insists that discrimination is not necessarily evidence of oppression, of cruelty or of inhumanity, and that 'the truly fundamental human rights of all races can not be safeguarded in the Union without distinctions in regard to non-fundamental rights'.

The Church

Such seems to be the attitude of a section of the Church too, and as per Native Laws Amendment Act 1957, Sec. 22(d), an African cannot attend Church of his own choice nor a Church leader should violate such order issued by the

Minister of Native Affairs.

There are according to the year book of the Swedish Missionary Board for 1953, eight Christian Churches in South Africa

The Reformed Church embraces the majority of the Boers and traditionally supports the policy of white supremacy and segregation. Many of the leaders and intellectual inspirers of the Nationalists are priests. Malan himself used to be a priest before he became a politician. The German Lutheran Group is also believed to be in sympathy with the government policy. But the Roman Catholics in June 1952, stated: 'Justice demands that non-Europeans are allowed by degrees to reach full participation in the political, economic and cultural life of the country.'

These Christians of today are descendants of those of the 17th Century when history witnessed the rise of nation states—and the Protestant European expansion whereas then, with the Catholics it was a crusading and missionary spirit.

They of yesterday presented Africans as cannibals, savage and what not. But who were they? As there were fishermen, woodcutters, lime burners, brick makers, bakers, masons, tailors, hunters so also according to Theal, early rank and file settlers 'had a most disreputable name in Europe . . . a set of wretches . . . known to everyone else by the odious name of kidnappers'. It can noted here that in 1614, as related by Edward Terry 'ten men who had been condemned to death at the Old Bailey in London had their sentences respited through the entreaty of certain merchants on condition of banishment to the Indies' and they were left at the Table Bay Shore.

Two Memorialists

But it is quite significant to note how Leendert Jenez and N. Proot felt about the Hotten-

	Whites	Natives	Coloured	Total
Reformed Church	1 278,000	267 000	292,000	1 837 000
Anglican	375,000	553 000	136 000	1 111 000
Methodist	181 000	1,008,000	90 000	1,279,000
Roman Catholics	118,000	373,000	56 000	547,000
Presbyterians	95,000	164 000	5 000	264,000
Baptists	21,000	71,000	5 000	100,000
Lutherans	23,000	391,000	48 000	165,000
Congregationalists	13,000	113,000	100,000	2 26,000

tots, who dwelt long upon foreigners' taking every day for their own use more of the land, which had belonged to them from all ages, and presented theirs to the Council of Seventeen on July 26, 1649. about The Fort and garden at the Cape of Good Hope :

..... We are quite convinced that the peasants of this country (ie. Holland), in case their cattle are shot down or taken away without payment would not be a hair better than these natives if they had not to fear the law.... The killing of our people is undoubtedly caused by revenge being taken by the natives when their cattle is seized, and not because they are cannibals.

The uncivil and ungrateful conduct of our people is therefore the cause

And to this uncivil and ungrateful conduct how the Hottentots, a mixture of Bushmen with early invading Hamites, who according to Seligman, C.S. are 'Europeans', i.e., belong to the same great branch of mankind as the whites, reacted is best described by Theal :

In 1613 two Hottentots were taken on board in Table Bay. Purpose to teach them English and use them as intermediaries to establish relations with the natives. But, one died of grief soon after leaving home, and the other reached England where he was given many presents, including a suit of brass armour. He returned to the Table Bay in the following year and taught his fellows to despise the bits of copper hitherto accepted by them in exchange for their cattle.'

The Table Land

This Table Land with mountains and hills in brilliant colours reminds one of France—magnificent views of sea and mountain between Cape Town and Cape of Good Hope. Here one finds comfort that is comparable only with American standards. This land, Holland, for £6,000,000, handed over to Britain in 1814, as per Treaty of Paris.

This was the time when Europe saw undreamt of industrial development. Maladjustment

between town and country resulted in much distress and suffering to all the sections of the community, and dissatisfaction and disillusionment were rife. Added to it were the 300,000 soldiers and sailors who returned home at the termination of the Napoleonic War in 1815 "to find their place again in civil life."

Hence, in 1819, the Colonial Office sought the sanction of Parliament for £50,000 to facilitate emigration. The amount was sanctioned and people started emigrating to the land of Bushmen, who are cheerful, merry people with a passionate love of dancing, and Hottentots. "It was a forlorn-looking plight", writes H. H. Dugmore, an Albany Settler, "in which we found ourselves, when the Dutch waggoners had emptied us and our luggage on to the green—sward...under the open firmament of heaven. Towns, villages, inns, hostels, there were none. We must take root and grow, or die where we stood. But we were standing on our own ground, and it was the first time many could say so."

They came and had for the first time their own ground to stand on, to take root and grow, but were not allowed the right to assemble, to speak against any ill-government measure and were denied the freedom of the press. On 10th March 1823 171 leading men, including Thomas Pringle, a friend of Sir Walter Scott, submitted a memorandum for a free press to the Rt. Hon'ble the Earl Bathurst, Secretary of State for Colonial Affairs.

Today

Pre-1819 Europeans and 1819's 47,000 Europeans have multiplied in numbers only to compose one-fifth of the total population and they own 75 per cent of the total land of the Union forcing 3 to 3.5 million 'Blacks' to live in reserves, covering 30 million acres, i.e., one-seventh of the land owned by 110,000 whites.

Sixty per cent of these whites are Boers who consist of farmers, civil servants and workers who though they swear by courage, firmness, strength, rigidity, toughness and severity, but not humanity, refinement, a sense of beauty, warmth and tolerance. These Boers have political power—it is Boer patriotism that rules South Africa,

while the English settlers settled in towns, in mining, and in trade and industry.

These rulers promulgated the Population Registration in 1950 that defines a white a person who in appearance obviously is or who is generally accepted as a white person, but does not include a person who, although in appearance obviously a white person (1) is generally accepted as a coloured person. Of course, Jews and Syrians are exceptions and are regarded as whites.

In this connection, one can refer to a news published in *Sunday Times*, a South African paper, of March 9 1958. Two days before her wedding a woman from Port Elizabeth received her birth certificate and found that her race was described on it as 'European Mixed'. At first she was merely puzzled—she did not realise the implication she thought it meant her parents were not of the same European descent. A telephone call to the Registrar of Births and Deaths revealed, however, that according to the certificate she was coloured. 'I felt sick with shock', said she.

Notice No 551 and Proclamation No 167

So every one becomes sick with shock the more he learns about the land where rule the

Verwoerds. The resistance grew in intensity and the government came out with all its weapons to suppress any opposition to itself. And to teach the fighters for Human Rights a lesson, the Government issued Notice No 551 on April 11, 1960. Rule 5 of the said notice states: No detainee shall receive daily papers, Sunday newspapers or any other literature containing general news, and Rule 13 (g) states that it is an offence on the part of the person who 'Sings, whistles. And added to it is the Proclamation No 167 of 17th August, 1960. No person (detained) shall without consent of the Minister or a person acting under his authority, be allowed to consult with a legal adviser on any matter relating to the arrest and detention of such person. Commenting on such a state of affairs *The Observer* in its issue of September 19 1965 says: 'No reasonable person can any longer claim to be in any real doubt about the conditions in South African prisons. As one might expect of an authoritarian society, political prisoners are treated worse than criminals.'

This is the ironic fate of a people of whom Terentius Afer (Terence the African) said: *Homo Sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto*—I am a man and nothing human is alien to me.

BEGINNINGS OF WIDOW RE-MARRIAGE MOVEMENT IN INDIA

Ch. MUTHYALAYYA NAIDU

To be a widow, unlike in other parts of the world, in India was "an iniquitous evil eating into the vitals of the Hindu society." She had to lead the life of absolute dependence upon her relatives by relieving the latter in their domestic chores like cooking, sweeping, etc. For these services the reward was not merely the denial of all sorts of dainties in food and dress but also to bear social ostracism and disquietude. It is difficult to understand why a woman should be deprived of even the minimum comforts when once she became a widow unlike man who was not denied the same when the latter became a widower. Hence to emancipate her Pt. Iswara Chandra Vidyasagar in Bengal and other reformers in other parts of India thought that re-marriage was the only solution. For that purpose they started a widow re-marriage movement which turned out to be a unique event in modern Indian History.

The initiative of Vidyasagar to start the widow re-marriage movement was eventful. One day, the mother of a widowed girl came to the mother of Vidyasagar and asked her whether the latter's son might look into any Shashtra if it permitted the re-marriage of widows. Vidyasagar found to his joy that the Parasara Samhita permitted it. He published his views in a book called 'Vidhava Vivaha' in 1853 which fell upon the orthodox sections like a thunder-bolt. He wanted to start an agitation in favour of **Vidhava Vivaha** and he thought he could not be successful without support from the Government. So he presented a petition signed by 5,302 persons to the Legislative council to legalise a widow to be re-married. Against

this the orthodox people numbering 60,000 submitted a counter-petition. But the Government rejected it and passed the Act XV in 1856 legalising the re-marriage of widows. Then, men like Srish Chandra Vidyasagar, Babus Durga Narayan and Madan Bose, Babu Narayan Chandra Banerji, son of Vidyasagar, came forward and married widows. All this occurred in the life time of Vidyasagar. As Vidyasagar became old, his son continued his work. In 1864 Babu Narayan Chandra Banerji opened a Widows' Home for aged widows at Baranagar near Calcutta whose President was Babu Raj Krishna Banerji. He performed 30 marriages in 4 years. The Lt. Governor of Bengal, Sir Steuart Bayley, praised the efforts of Banerji for his "unassuming patriotism and thoughtful disposition." But Banerji could not be further successful as his health failed as well as the public response to him was not adequate. Some of those who married widows, through his association, deserted them and married young girls. So, Banerji's association gradually declined; and by 1902 it was closed. Though it was closed the movement did not die. Already by 1889 Malabari, a Parsi, had started a widow re-marriage movement to set "the legislative engine in motion to cure the Hindus of our social evils by legal compulsion, and make us humane to our widows at high pressure." After him, in 1902, Sadharana Brahmo Samaj started in Bengal a Widows' Home in charge of a self-denying and right-minded Mrs. Kadumbini Lahiri. This movement spread quickly into other provinces and got rooted so deeply that it became almost a national movement.

In Bombay, the widow re-marriage movement was started in 1866 by K. T. Telang and M. G. Ranade who started a Widow Re-marriage Association in the face of "a strong popular feeling against the reform." Its secretary was Vishnu Sastri. They performed a marriage to a widow in 1869. Gradually, its influence began spreading so much that in 1870 Shett Ragunath Das Madhav Das of Kapola Bania caste donated a building called Widow Re-marriage Hall. After Ranade, R. G. Bhandarkar joined the movement by marrying a widowed girl. In 1896, a Widows' Home Association was started in Poona and its secretary was D. K. Karve. In 1902, in Baroda, a Widow Re-marriage Association was started at Shah-Jahanpur. In three years its members increased from 38 to 60. The total number of marriages occurred in Bombay between 1881-1904 were supposed to be 117. All this indicate that by 1903 public opinion favoured widow re-marriages. "Thirty years ago public opinion was deadly against it but the position is now improved. 90 per cent of the people approved it now but unfortunately they lacked enough courage to espouse the cause of poor widows of social difficulties involved." But, after 1903, the number of infant widows increased whereupon, Baroda passed on June 7, 1903 a Marriage Bill by which girls below 14 years were not allowed to be married. Thus Bombay joined with Bengal in the widow re-marriage movement very swiftly.

In Madras, from 1869 onwards a controversy started about widow re-marriage movement. Dewan Bahadur Raghunatha Rao and the late P. Chentsal Rao criticised the orthodox who opposed it. They failed because of lack of organization; but, within ten years their work was carried on by Kandukuri Veeresalingam Pantulu in 1879. He was an Assistant Telugu Pandit in the Government Arts College, Rajahmundry. He took up the cause with self-confidence. He was his own master. Though he had no

widowed relations, he was entirely "obliged to depend for the success of his undertaking upon the heart within and God overheard." He was encouraged by a classmate of his who was a pleader and later a Munsiff. To attract public attention, he first delivered a lecture at Rajahmundry in Telugu on 'The History of the Widow Re-marriage Movement.' In his address, he supported his viewpoint with the aid of the Smritis of Manu, Parasara, Yajnavalkya and a pamphlet named, "Purushartha Pradayini Press." 2,000 men attended his meeting "reminding one of the rush and anxiety of the way-worn pilgrims in the inner sanctum of the temples at Jagannath and Srirangam." When some persons attempted to refute his argument, he ousted them like a Daniel. Pyda Ramakrishniah came forward and donated Rs. 30,000 to make his movement a success. When his opponents could not successfully cope with him, they attempted to obstruct but he was supported by his students who served as a tower of strength to him. Convinced by the progress of his movement, a Tahsildar in Krishna district gave his widow-daughter to Veeresalingam to be married to a widower of Vizagapatam on 11th December, 1880. This was the first marriage in Madras Presidency. In 1898, Veeresalingam started Hindu Widows' Home at Madras which he in 1902 handed over to Madras Social Reform Association. Thus Veeresalingam "bearded the lion of custom in his own den, scorned the bull of ex-communication, put up with loneliness of the social ostracism and bore all persecution in calm forgiveness." Thus in Madras between 1800-1904, 51 marriages were performed. After Veeresalingam, R. Venkata Ratnam Naidu carried on the movement by performing a marriage in 1903.

Punjab took the field a little later. Yet, what Brahmo Samaj did in Bengal, Arya Samaj did in Punjab. Between 1890-95 some 8 marriages were performed in Punjab. In 1895, Dewan Sant Ram, a descendant of the

former Governor of Multan, performed a marriage to his widowed daughter. Later, between 1895-1901 more than 400 marriages were celebrated. In 1906, at Amritsar, when a widow marriage occurred between the widowed niece of Roshan Lal of Lahore and Babu Jagadamba of Bareilly it was done "in the teeth of opposition from the castemen of the bride. The bride's parents themselves objected but Roshan Lal performed it." Thus the movement was gradually extended and in 1915 at Lahore a Widow Remarriage Association was started with a committee consisting of men like Abinash Chandra Mazumdar and Lala Lajpat Rai.

In Bihar and U.P., widow re-marriages were rather rare. In 1915, at Agra when a marriage took place between two Kashmiri parties, it created much havoc because among Kashmiris no such marriages took place before. The marriage "generated excitement and wonder in the breast of almost every Kashmiri," but gradually the excitement deteriorated. A striking feature of this marriage was that womenfolk expected to be conservative supported it more than men. Tej Bahadur Sapru was one of those who attended the marriage and blessed it.

The same was the condition in the Central Provinces also. The movement was slowly taking root. In 1903 Wamanrao

Kohatkar gave his widowed daughter to a Sub-Collector of Tanjore.

Thus the widow re-marriage movement was gradually spreading throughout India, and the British Government also favoured it by passing the Civil Marriage Act in 1911. The need for it was felt because though the 1856 Act legalised the re-marriage of widows the number of child-widows had been increasing. To prevent the child-widows from being remarried at a very early age, the government introduced the Civil Marriage Bill in 1910 fixing the minimum age of the couples, in the case of male at 18 and female at 14 years. The Bill further added that to perform this marriage the consent of the parties also was required. When Basu introduced this bill more than 50,000 orthodox Hindus submitted 40 petitions objecting to its passage on the ground that it was opposed to their Shastras and that it would create confusion in the order of succession. But this Bill was supported by a largely attended meeting of the citizens of Benares held at the Town Hall on 16th July, 1911. So the Government passed the Bill which became known as the Widow Re-marriage Act of 1911. In its commemoration a public meeting was held at the Prarthana Samaj Hall in which Major Kukday said "Multiplication and growth is, however, the universal law of life. To secure a systematic propagation of the race, I believe in widow re-marriage also."

ENGLAND TODAY

P. R. DASWANI

How best could England today be summed up? The *Times Literary Supplement* of Britain in a very thought-provoking article called "The Dynamic Society" says: "Some nations who were undeniably dynamic when our century dawned are even more so: Americans, for example. Some who were undeniably static have become dynamic: Russians, Indians and Chinese. Some who are still dynamic have undeniably become less so, and even criticize the implications of rapid material development: for instance, the British. We fail to find in Britain the dynamic, the creative sense and will, the 'go' which we find—and whereof we see the material results—in other unlike countries".

Is this state a temporary phase in English life—a rest period, so to say, after a long, strenuous march towards a great and affluent society—or does it constitute a fundamental change? The future alone can provide an answer to this question. For the present perhaps the following account may help in some ways towards an understanding of England today.

The Two Cultures

Ever since Sir C. P. Snow, the well-known English author, spoke of "The two cultures and the scientific revolution" in the now famous Rede lecture of 1959, the "two cultures" has become a fairly common phrase in use in England. It crops up now and then in conversation, in discussion and in current literature. The term "culture", however, has different meanings and associations in different contexts. In terms of intellectual climate, Snow's two cultures could be called the "literary" and the "scientific" cultures which in his opinion have never before been as insulated from each other as they are today. In terms of social structure and hierarchy, the two cultures could be called the traditional and the mass cultures

and it is with these that we are concerned here.

Differences in culture exist in every country, but probably the distinction can be more clearly drawn in England than in some countries. Whenever English culture is spoken of as if it were a single culture, it is normally identified with the culture of the English aristocratic class. The old aristocracy is today largely extinct. This is not to say that its culture is entirely extinct; certain traditional forms have been inherited by the upper middle class. Yet the large mass of people lead a somewhat different life. True, there has been a radical change in their environment: from the lowest strata of society in feudal times and in the days of early industrialization they have emerged into the relatively prosperous lower-middle class and the modern working class. Though there are many meeting grounds with the upper classes, they could be fairly easily seen to fall in a category by itself.

In fact, the two cultures represent what is known as the "present compromise" in society—the compromise between the old genteel culture, preserved with certain traditional institutions, though now offered on highly competitive terms to many whom it was traditionally denied; and below this a literate self-conscious mass culture, very assertive and very dynamic, which provides the sustenance for those who are unwilling or unable to partake of the higher culture.

To begin with, the traditional culture is predominantly literary. The classical learning, on which it was originally grounded may no longer be widely diffused, but its influence endures, if only in the low cultural rating still assigned to the sciences. Secondly, English traditional culture is strongly anti-theoretical in tendency: "general ideas" in fields as diverse as politics or the criticism of the arts, or educational theory, are fiercely resisted in a way which would be unaccountable in France and in the U.S. Thirdly, there is an intense resistance to any new

cultural movement. The causes of this are complex. In part explanation, it may be said that this is a natural feature of any society untouched by that benign materialism, such as one finds in America, which automatically assigns to anything that exists a place in the culture. Fourthly, English traditional culture has always contained a very high level of criticism. This is true not merely of academic subjects, but also of the higher journalism, which is remarkable by European as well as American standards. And this seems to be intimately connected with the highly personal (and to many highly "uneconomic") character of the higher education. The close connection between teacher and student and the absence of the professorial manner help to introduce and sustain an atmosphere of ready criticism. Fifthly, English traditional culture is hostile to professionalism in any form. The syllabus of the public school and Oxford and Cambridge are still thought to provide all that is necessary for, say, a Treasury official or a high executive in industry to know. And, finally, English traditional culture has a strong class character, so that a line between education and manners, between culture and convention, would be hard to draw. And, this, of course, is the direct result of the close connection between the culture and the restricted educational system within which it has been stored.

Alongside the traditional culture, now exists a new culture, which, in its entry requirements and in its general characteristics, stands in marked contrast to the old culture. For whereas the old culture is exclusive, the new culture aims at the maximum diffusion; whereas the old culture is primarily literary, the new culture is a leisure culture. Where the old culture is highly critical, the new culture is based on acceptance; where the old culture is modest and unobtrusive, the new culture is ostentatious and essentially bound up with high consumption. And while the old culture is a class culture, the new culture is classless. These are the characteristics that distinguish the new mass culture from the traditional culture. Mass culture, in England, has however certain characteristics of its own. It is essentially subject to change but it has a history; and in this way it is different from folk or savage

culture. The changes that occur are not incidental or imposed from the outside: they take place in accordance with tradition. There is a constant effort to embody the "achievements" of earlier works in later works, and this process we can see in action over a whole range of artifacts like films, clothes, pop-songs, or motorcars. Finally, mass culture is reflective. Those who partake in it can recognize on inspection whether they are sufficiently "sharp". The existence of this kind of self-consciousness, which is probably a direct consequence of articulateness, definitely raises mass culture above the level of a mere arbitrary phenomenon.

The Establishment

To the question "Who governs Britain?", ordinarily, a reader would reply that at the moment a reader would reply that at the moment the Labour Party does so. The question can, however, have a deeper significance. In most societies, constituted as they are today, there exists in fact, though not necessarily in principle, a class of people sharing certain common characteristics as of elite; no power can be exercised so as to conflict with its fundamental interests. Call it what you may, this ruling oligarchy is fairly clearly distinguishable from other sections of a society. Its existence is the price that perhaps every society, democratic or otherwise, has to pay. The oligarchy need not be as exclusive, however, as it is in some countries, notably such as England. It is fashionable to call it there the 'Establishment'; probably in no other democratic country could the power elite openly enjoy a similar status. Who constitute the Establishment in England?

A. J. P. Taylor, the well-known English historian, has given a particularly vivid description, albeit in a lighter vein. The requirements for entering the British power elite, he says, are fairly well-known. "You must wear collar and tie and a dark suit; and able to dictate reasonably grammatical English; oratory—once highly regarded—is no longer required. Anyone capable of reading from typescript can go to the highest place. These are the bare essentials. The right parents are a considerable asset. It is still best

to come from the nobility and gentry. Parents from the professional class are good, particularly if they pay surtax. Rich businessmen, oddly, not at all good. If you are so foolish as to be born into the industrial working class then you must get out of it by winning a scholarship to a grammar school or, failing this, by becoming either a Trade Union official or a W. L. A. (Workers' Educational Association) tutor. If you are born of an agricultural labourer, you should give up at the start. The right education helps. It is of little moment what you learn, though Latin is still probably the most useful subject and any form of science a handicap: the important thing is where you learn. Eton remains by far the best but Winchester runs in close in the Labour Party. Otherwise prefer a first-rate grammar school to a minor public school, and run away to sea rather than go to a secondary modern school. Oxford and Cambridge are so obvious a requirement as hardly to need mention. Any other University can be valued only for the instruction it provides. As to accomplishments, it is no longer necessary to ride a horse, shoot fish or even play bridge. In fact the less accomplished you are outside your work the better. Otherwise you are in danger of becoming a 'character' and this is hard to live down."

This description might suggest that the members of the two main parties—the Conservative and the Labour—differ from each other only in the policies that they pursue and not in respect of the social class from which they come. Some political observers believe that the two party system in both the U.S. and the U.K. has been reduced to this state. In the U.K. at least the position appears to be less simple. The Conservatives and the Labourites differ not only in the policies they pursue but also differ widely in their outlook.

The Labour Party has always claimed to be a radical force in British politics. The three successive victories of the Conservatives prior to the last elections in which Labour Party won, had put them into an introspective mood. One group of Labour Party economists came out for a "revisionist" policy. They assumed that the major obstacles to their victory at elections had been

(1) a widespread feeling that Labour is a narrow, class party and (2) the unpopularity of nationalization, and therefore they advocated the abandonment of the claim that the Labour was the party of radical Socialist challenge. What it must become they said, is not the anti Establishment party but an alternative team of management inside the Establishment—a party not unlike the Democrats in the U.S. What it must do is to persuade the electorate that a Labour Government can take over the modified form of capitalism which has emerged since 1945, without precipitating a crisis, and manage it at least as well as the Conservatives.

Some people could see in this attitude the beginnings of a reaction against Socialism even in those areas of the West where it has long been a force. They assumed that Socialism had no place in an affluent society that the contradictions of pre-war capitalism had been removed and the new post-war capitalism would continue to produce a satisfactory rate and a just distribution of economic progress without recourse to socialist planning and nationalization of industries. This optimism of the revisionist analysis is shared probably by a large number of opinion makers in the Western world. Yet their assumptions have been questioned: it can be argued for example that maximum production cannot be achieved without some kind of socialist planning. Quite apart from economic grounds, one can still argue whether "socialism" is to be confined only to the achievement of material prosperity and its just distribution whether its concept cannot be broadened so as to include other areas of cultural life such as enjoyment of leisure and art.

Whatever be the arguments produced for or against "socialism" in the present day affluent societies of the West, there is still a large and powerful section within the Labour Party in Britain which is committed to the radical position. They believe that the prime function of the Labour Party is to provide an ideology for non-conformist critics of the Establishment and a political instrument for interests and social groups which are denied justice under the *status quo*. So far from trying to show that its leaders can manage capitalism as competently as the

Tories and reshaping itself in the image of the American Democratic Party, the Labour Party, they maintain, must remain a Socialist challenge to the established order.

The Welfare State

No account of England today would be complete without mention of The Welfare State. It is perhaps the proudest achievement of the British. About a third of the ordinary total revenue of all public authorities in the United Kingdom today goes every year into expenditure on various social services: in figures this expenditure amounts to about £3,000 million a year. The various heads of expenditure are (1) Social Security comprising National Insurance, National Assistance and Family Allowances schemes, (2) National Health Service, (3) Other Welfare Services such as an employment service with special services for young people and the disabled, rehabilitation and resettlement services for the disabled, free milk and subsidised dinners for school children, and free legal aid in certain cases, (4) Education at Primary and Secondary stages, (5) Youth Services, providing voluntary opportunities for developing leisure-time activities of young people, (6) Housing and Town Planning. In addition, voluntary organisations provide further services, often in co-operation with the public authorities. These services together form the basis of what is known as the Welfare State in Britain.

The Welfare State has undoubtedly been instrumental in largely eradicating poverty and economic insecurity from the society and providing, to speak of "free" in a slightly limited sense, a free school educational and health service to the entire nation. There is little point in describing here how far this has been done. Some excellent introductory books exist dealing with all the aspects of the Welfare State in Britain. There is more point in discussing present social conditions, in many ways related to each other, that are causing considerable stress to the society in spite of the existence of the Welfare State. The conditions that appear to be attracting widespread attention are the high incidence of mental disorder, the problems of old age and the increasing

sense of isolation and boredom among the population.

It is generally recognized that the most widespread among serious illness, in Britain today is mental disorder. Four out of ten beds in all hospitals are occupied by patients suffering from various mental disorders. Statistics show that one child in ten will need treatment for some form of mental disorder. Some member of every family in five will sooner or later suffer a disabling mental illness. Between one-quarter and one-third of all absence from work is due to some form of neurotic illness. Thus, it is said that the greatest medical problem in Britain and the greatest single cause of misery and despair is mental disorder.

Mental disorder here must be understood in its widest sense and includes a large proportion of milder nervous disorders in addition to more severe cases of mental derangement. There has been considerable thinking on the subject; a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the adequacy of the existing arrangements for treatment and care. New ideas have been explored, one of which is the "community care" of the mentally disordered. Instead of maintaining outlying mental hospitals away from the centre of the town, treatment centres of varying kinds are being established within the city in convenient places. The idea is to bring psychiatric services to the home or the community of the patients.

Another problem is of old people. All persons of pensionable age that is, men who are 65 years old and over and women who are 60 years old and over, together form about 15 per cent of the whole population in Britain. There has been a steady rise in the growth of their number over the past few decades and the trend continues. By the 1980's it is estimated to rise upto 20 per cent. Out of this number, approximately speaking, 100,000 old-age pensioners over eighty years old live alone, and 200,000 couples over seventy years old live alone in independent households. Many others settle in communal homes maintained by local authorities. Greater control over disease and mortality has left the present-day affluent societies of the West with an increasing number of old people among their population.

Their problems should be obvious, two constant causes of misery among old people have been shortage of suitable housing and the presence of unrelieved loneliness. The State, of course, assumes directly the responsibility of providing old-age pension, and in addition financial assistance wherever necessary. There are, however, some physical and emotional aspects of the difficulties of a large number of old people which could not be met by financial assistance, at least the present amount of it that is obtained by them. Voluntary assistance has been slow in attempting to fill the gap.

The feeling of isolation and boredom among the population is so widespread that it has become a social problem. Public provision for recreation and leisure-time activities, of course exists on quite a wide scale, but the problem, perhaps, has deeper personal sources. One of them may be the relative paucity of satisfying emotional relationships in social and private life. Living in a family or moving in so-called friendly circles does not necessarily involve an element of emotional depth. Where there is none provided in other kinds of contacts the results could be most distressful.

Perhaps the key to understanding the causes of the conditions described lies in considering the family in England today. More married women in Britain work today than before. This would mean that husband and wife would both be away from home for the greater part of the day, the children being left in the nursery or in the school. Most families consist of the spouses and their children, if any, to the exclusion of grandparents. More young persons are marrying in late teens or early twenties and forming independent families. There is thus considerable effect on the growth of proper family ties between the spouses and between parents and children, not to speak of the relations with members of the "extended" family—grandparents, cousins and others. There is a wide-spread belief that the development of the social services has caused the weakening of family ties and responsibilities. The truth, however, appears to be that, for various reasons such as increased geographical mobility and social mobility there is a tendency for the "more peripheral" kinship and relation-

ship with members of the extended family to become less important and more of a latent force, coming into use only in small emergencies, and occasional contacts. Contacts with in-laws are of this kind. The development of social services has been both a consequence of and a contributing factor to this tendency. For example, more and more tasks which formerly were the responsibility of the extended family have been taken over by both statutory and voluntary social services. On the other hand, there is also no doubt that the break-up of the extended family to the extent mentioned has affected in turn the framing of social policy.

On the question of the single family as a unit, recent developments in social services have clearly given recognition to the importance of maintaining it. The probation officer, the psychiatric social worker, the marriage guidance counsellor and family case-worker are all concerned in maintaining and if necessary restoring family life. Perhaps a more serious charge against the Welfare State is that the values which it enshrines are wholly hedonistic and material. Welfare as some people say has come to have only one significance and that is material welfare. The social services are concerned, of course in the first instance with meeting basic needs with overcoming such evils as poverty, sickness, inadequate and low standard housing, ignorance and squalor. But to suggest that they are limited to these ends is to do less than justice to the broader concept of welfare and of the responsibilities of the Welfare State which should include not only needs of the body and the mind but also those of a moral and spiritual nature.

The degree of emphasis placed on moral and spiritual needs in social policy and administration, will however, depend on two things. It will depend firstly, on the degree of understanding and awareness achieved by the framers of social policies and the social workers and administrators whose duty it is to implement them and, secondly, on the values implicit in the behaviour and aspirations of the community as a whole. These latter are crucial. A society whose goals and standards are solely, or almost solely, material will think of welfare in materialist terms, while

a society whose values are distorted may even prostitute welfare to its own ends.

Selective Education

The English educational system is in a flux today. The reorganisation of the public schools, which give a characteristic colour to the system, is one of the major items of the Labour Party policy. Public schools, as many know, are really privately-owned boarding schools among which are such world-renowned names as Eton, Harrow and Winchester. They have for long been considered anomalous in the present structure of society; some form of integration with the State system of schools is being thought necessary. It is, however, no more true today, though popular belief persists, that the public schools are the preserve of the aristocracy and the idle rich. Even at Eton the commoners far outnumber the titled. But social exclusiveness remains. Behind the gates of England's public schools over 50,000 boys—6 per cent of their national age group—go through their adolescence physically and culturally isolated from the main, plebeian stream of English life. On way or the other they all expect to take their place in that nebulous group called the Establishment, or among its hangers-on. Tacitly, presumptuously, they are led to believe that "it is better to be an Eton failure than a State school success."

This combination of the social isolation and cultural domination of one small class is virtually unique in the contemporary world. . . . Disraeli once said that in England there were two nations—the Privileged and the People—divorced not merely by birth or money but by the manner of their education. Some public schools are very good indeed, but whatever other qualities they may or may not possess they are all more or less separate. Are they the greatest single cause of stratification and of class consciousness in Britain? To say yes may be going too far. Society, perhaps, especially in England, is too complex a thing for such a categorical analysis. Because England has a stratified society and a stratified system of education it does not follow that the first is necessarily the result of the second. It might equally well be the other way

round. The most that can be said with certainty is that each can emphasize the other; but each can change the other too—and nobody who knows the public schools today can doubt that they have changed substantially in response to social pressures beyond their control.

Of all the social influences, however, perhaps the one that most directly affects the public schools today is the expansion of the State schools and the provincial Universities, other than, that is, Oxford and Cambridge which have been the traditional reserves of public school boys. Let us examine the nature of the State school system in short. Children after completing their primary education at the age of 11 are judged by what is called the 11-plus examination as to their intellectual ability and then sent either to Grammar schools (for a mostly academic type of education) or to Secondary modern schools (mixed education meant for those who cannot qualify for a grammar school). In addition there are technical schools, entry to many of which might be made only at the age of 13.

The 11-plus examination has met severe criticism. Failure to qualify for a Grammar school is felt very keenly by parents and is considered almost a disastrous failure and those children who are alternatively put into a secondary modern school start with both educational and psychological handicaps; their opportunities in life become permanently delimited. Moreover, it is arguable whether the age of eleven could be an age where intellectual ability, if not any other, should or can be judged once for all; whether there are not many, so to say, late starters. There has been of course some modifications: that is, a few students with a good record from the secondary modern schools are allowed to enter the top sixth form of Grammar schools at the age of 16 or 17. Nevertheless, the secondary modern schools remain the "untouchables" of the British educational system today. Partly to compensate this widespread feeling of dissatisfaction among the people so-called comprehensive schools combining the various threads of secondary education in one school have been developed. Their status is controversial and future usefulness uncertain.

The Grammar school therefore continues to

occupy a position in the State schools system what the public school occupies in the whole educational system, it is the Grammar school education that provides the best opportunities in life to the State school children. But that is not the end, over all the difficulties of obtaining a Grammar school education there is added the problem of University entrance, an independent problem, the Universities being separate autonomous bodies. Each University adopts its own method of selection, theoretically entrance is not conditioned by the type of school education obtained by the candidate. Yet in Britain today only about 3 or 4 per cent of those who enter the educational system stay in it to the end, that is, reach a University. A large proportion of course has no intention to do so; among the rest there is severe competition because of very limited vacancies available at the Universities. Moreover the type of school education obtained by the candidate weighs heavily with the selection authorities, specially at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

The results of this race—a long steep-chase from start to finish have been described as premature specialization, the elimination from the syllabus of all side issues and concentration upon the techniques of examination. It is becoming increasingly true that the primary function of the system is not so much to educate as to eliminate people. These are rather strong words. It would be better to call it a system of selection superimposed on a system of education in such a way as to cast a doubt on the primary purpose. It is possible of course that the clever boy will not be harmed by this system but he must always be in a very small minority.

Should this system be radically revised? Should educational 'ladders' of all kinds be eliminated? If they cannot be is it right to make intellectual merit the only criterion for selection? It can be argued that both the rights and duties of man stem solely from his most general characteristic his humanity, and have nothing to do with any particular endowment or ability that he may possess. A man may not justifiably claim any special benefit or provision from society simply because of some superior talent he happens to have. Equally of course society

may not, in virtue of this endowment, lay claim to any special contribution or effort on his part.

One view is that the ladder version of society is objectionable in two related respects, first, that it weakens the principle of common betterment which ought to be an absolute value, second, that it sweetens the poison of hierarchy, in particular by offering the hierarchy of merit as a thing different in kind from the hierarchy of money or birth. Equality of opportunity is acceptable only if the opportunities offered do not exhibit too wide a range of inequality and if even the least favoured is on a reasonably high material level. Any attempt to provide educational opportunities for the more gifted must go hand-in-hand with if not after raising the educational standard for all.

Some people however, hold that individual opportunity is compatible with and presupposes common betterment. For there is no way of guaranteeing that the best education is offered to the most gifted as long as educational or cultural squallor survives. As long as the bottom stream (that is the weakest division in each school-year class) continues to flow at its present low level it will always be extremely difficult to retrieve out of it children of ability who have got into it on account of late development. Moreover children born and brought up in areas of society which are culturally impoverished find it proportionately more difficult to make use of, and secure recognition for such abilities as they have. They therefore hold that arguments adduced to eliminate the ladder from the social establish nothing more than its use should be controlled and supplemented.

This in short is the practice and theory of education in England today.

Young People and Society

How are the youth in Britain faring today? In the British society as in many others included in our own where traditional values are in the process of being re-integrated in the light of modern conditions the youth cannot but reflect the conflicts of such a change. Different societies have greater or less success in allowing adolescents to arrive at their own kind of maturity.

without damaging themselves or society in the process. But as technological needs and social planning increase so does the centralized organization of individual lives. There is an atomic interaction, as older patterns and hierarchies loosen, a new kind of stratification—economic and educational rather than cultural or geographic—begins to emerge from the combined pressure of industrial need and public good intention. To some extent the potentially academic are separated from the rest; so are the technologists, the clerical, the apprentices, and so on with increasing effectiveness.

In such a society—democratic and so having no official “philosophy”, commercial, still to some extent expressing traditional form and values but rapidly becoming more open and democratic—young people are between conflicting voices. They can often sense a contradiction between what they are assured at school and in other public organizations and much they are invited to interest themselves in and admire once they leave these sheltered environments. They may recognize a similar contrast between what their parents tell them if indeed they speak of the subject—are the foundations of a worthwhile personal life and the assumptions made at many a street corner or at many a work bench.

Added to this sense of contradiction is the fact that many young workers have now a great deal of spare money, and it has become a sizeable business to cater for their wants and to suggest new levels of need or new ways of spending. And in a free price economy (as distinct from a planned economy) where the purchasing power is, there will enterprising commercial interests be gathered together. What these young people want, that it will be profitable to sell them, what they want, or perhaps what by skilful advertising they can be made to think they want. In the nineteenth century the exploitation of the young was conditioned by their poverty; today it is conditioned probably by their riches.

An interesting study has been made into the spending habits of the teenage public. It has been found that young people between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five—excluding those who are married—spend about £900 million a year at

their own discretion. An analysis of their expenditure in 1957 gives the following figures:

6%	£55 million on meals out:
5.5%	£50 million on holidays:
10%	£90 million on men's clothing and footwear:
4.5%	£10 million on alcoholic drink:
1%	£35 million on sweets:
6.5%	£59.5 million each on recreational goods and other entertainments:
9.5%	£85 million on cigarettes and tobacco:
13%	£117 million on women's clothing:
3% each	£25.5 million on cinemas, reading matter, bicycles and motorbikes:
1% each	£15 million on cosmetics, gramophones and soft drinks:

Admitting that teenagers spend most of their well gotten earnings on things that make them happy and do them no harm, physically, intellectually or morally many people, however, believe that certain items do raise qualms and may justify the use of the word exploitation in its worst sense. Exploitation of a market need not, of course, have anti-social consequences merely because it is undertaken without regard to its social effects by those who hope to profit by it. One can exploit human cultural interests as well as human weaknesses. One group of business interests may exploit the housewife's desire for a nice clean house with good furniture, while another is encouraging her husband to smoke more cigarettes. The point is, that the exploitation of the teenage market is not as such anti-social. It is asocial. But it is feared that some of its manifestations are definitely anti-social.

The anti-social tendencies of the young are most manifest in the field of crime and delinquency. It has been estimated that in the ten-year period (1946-56) the incidence of conviction of youth aged 17-20 for drink trebled, and for both sexual offences and disorderly conduct, it doubled. The incidence of suicide and attempted suicide more than doubled in the same period. This rise of crime among the young is against expectation. Sociologists have always traced a strong correlation between poverty and crime.

Reformers confidently expected that improvements in social conditions would progressively reduce the incidence of every sort of crime. True, this was a theory which tended to overlook upper class crime and to discount personal reasons for crime, but by and large everyone expected it to work out more or less accurately. The fact is that it has failed to do so. To answer this paradox, many explanations have been advanced—the second world war, the hydrogen bomb, the Welfare State, the limitations of opportunity in a boring society. No one can point with any certainty to any one particular cause or combination of causes. It may seem however that the modern society does not know how to ask the best of the young, that as a whole it is not much more concerned with them than to ask them to earn and consume. It is necessary no doubt to do both, but man's deepest need are not satisfied by a mechanical participation in an economic process.

The attitude and actions of young people today do give an impression that they couldn't care less. Yet this attitude is often not so much cynical as sceptical. They feel themselves in a world and society which disagrees or is unsure about its meaning and purpose. This is not to say that they find their day to day personal life taskless or without standards. Meanwhile much of the outside world constantly tries to persuade them to believe this or think that to try this or that. Yet the realities of their daily work, the small sense of status this gives them, often makes them feel that at the bottom the outside world regards them as indistinguishable units, a mass. What wonder that they react into a defensive refusal to give of their inner selves?

From one aspect it is a sign of health that they throw up so strongly self-respecting a defence against the conflicting mass of public voices. Their personal relations with one another are often marked by a vivid and tolerant co-operativeness. They suggest how strong is the potential idealism of young people, that idealism which is now so often baffled and turned back upon itself. At what should be the age for enthusiasm, for attack, for unregarding commitment, in a period of offering unparalleled opportunities for young people to see and know and explore, whole areas

of human experience have been thus defensively written off. As if in compensation young people often show an intense loyalty to things and people they believe to be of their own kind. When something attracts their loyalty they will show and accept leadership and discipline of a high order.

Religion

In the East, next to nationality perhaps the most important question to a stranger would be about his religion. Among the inhabitants of the West this question is, of course, needless, the entire Western civilization may be termed, classically, as the Christian civilization. Within Christianity however, there are many denominations. Perhaps because of the all-pervading character of Christianity in the West and because of considerable inter-denominational mixing by marriage, the question of one's religious denomination has assumed much less importance in the West than the question about religion in the East. Yet curiously, with regard to non-Christian people Christianity to an average orthodox Christian in the West would be so to say, *the* religion of the world. Other religious groups in the world are to him perhaps still in a less advanced stage.

On the other hand, an average orthodox Easterner has a more accepting and tolerant attitude towards religions other than his own, but curiously a man here, it would be to him unthinkable that any civilized person would not belong to any religion at all. Religion is to him what breathing is to life. It might surprise him to know that many so-called Christians deny that they are Christians and among them are a number of highly respectable and eminent people.

Every person in Britain possesses the right to religious freedom. He may change his religion at will, and may manifest his faith in teaching, worship and observance. Churches and religious societies of all kinds may own property, conduct schools and propagate their beliefs in speech and writing. Except that the Lord Chancellor may not be a Roman Catholic, public offices are open without distinction to members of all churches or of none.

The "established" churches are the Church of England and Church of Scotland. The Church of England is uniquely related to the Crown in that the Sovereign must be a member of that Church and, as "Defender of the Faith", must promise on his or her accession to uphold it. The Church is also linked with the State through the House of Lords in which the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and the twenty four senior diocesan bishops have seats. The Church of England is not free to change its form of worship as laid in the Book of Common Prayer, without the consent of Parliament.

Unestablished Churches include: the Free Churches (Methodist, Congregational, Baptist and unestablished Presbyterian Churches), and the Roman Catholic Church. There are also some 145 synagogues in Britain for the Anglo-Jewish community.

No official figures giving details of church membership are available since 1851 the last time any census was made that put a question about religious denomination. To inquire about the present day influence of religion on people's lives in Britain, one has either to infer for him self from one's contacts with people—a difficult task for a visitor belonging to a different religion—or to refer to private surveys made in recent past. After doing so it would appear that organized religion has ceased much to be of a vital force on a large section of the population in Britain. Many so called Christians as observed, would disclaim any religious affiliation altogether, some would be positively hostile to that idea specially among the younger generation at best most would affirm an allegiance that in its real nature is more of a nominal character than that of a devout faith.

To the question would you describe as being of any religion or denomination 25 per cent of a sample of 5000 in a survey made by Mr. Gorer said that they would not do so. Of those who indicated that they would do so no less than 58 per cent gave their affiliation as to themselves the Church of England, while 10 per cent said that they were Methodists and 8 per cent that they were Roman Catholics. The percentages for the Church of England can mean no more than that those who have no religious attachment, but do not want so to describe themselves, put down the established Church of England.

The most notable among a number of surveys made about frequency of attendance at religious services is that of the Audience Research Department of the B B C in 1954. It provides valuable information regarding the attitude of the public to religion. Interviews were conducted with 1859 persons selected as a representative sample of the population of Great Britain over the age of 16. Twenty five per cent said that they attended on 'most Sundays' but they may be giving a wide meaning to the word 'most'. Twelve per cent said "about once a month" twenty four per cent "once or twice a year" and thirty nine per cent 'never'. As regards the relation of attendance at services to age and social class it was found that the percentage of church goers drops sharply in the twenties and rises in the forties. Frequent church going becomes markedly less common with decline in the social scale. Twenty one per cent of the top social group and forty four per cent in the bottom social group described themselves as non-church goers.

The answers to other questions in the B B C inquiry do not suggest any explicit repudiation of Christianity on a wide scale, though belief in specific Christian doctrines has less hold than is consistent with a Christian faith which is more than nominal. It is apparent that there is no longer much feeling of compulsion to attend for the sake of social conformity, thirty per cent of the sample said that they do not attend, or do not attend more often, because they have too much to do, and fifteen per cent said that they do not see any point in going. Possibly people felt like this in earlier times but did not consider that they were free to absent themselves.

KAUTILYA'S VIEW OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

DR R. T. JANGAM

To understand Kautilya's view of their kingdom and realized Kautilya's national and international politics, it is necessary to know something about his career and activities. These have shaped and determined the development of his thought.

This great political thinker of ancient India flourished in the 4th century B.C. He studied at the University of Taxila in northern India and became the chief mentor and adviser to the Emperor Chandragupta Maurya, the grand-father of Asoka the Great. A story goes that he was once sharply insulted by Mahapadma Nanda, the King of Pataliputra (modern Patna) of Bihar, whereupon he resolved to take revenge upon the King. Before long, he got hold of Chandragupta, an illegitimate son of the King, and an ambitious and able young man who had run away from the Capital on account of the feud over succession to the throne vacated by the death of the King. Kautilya got Chandragupta admitted to the University of Taxila which offered courses not only in languages and humanities but also those in the theory and practice of war. This was the time when Alexander the Great had invaded the north-west region of India. Chandragupta and Kautilya secretly raised an army and waited for developments and opportunities. The opportunities soon came. Alexander died at Babylon in 323 B.C. Chandragupta aroused and organized the discontented people in the Punjab. Inspiring them with a spirit of nationalism and mobilizing them against the foreigners he started his career of conquest. Soon, he defeated his rivals—the Nandas of Pataliputra, seized

their kingdom and resolved to level the house of the Nandas to the ground. "Guided by the brilliant diplomacy of Chanakya (Kautilya), Chandragupta founded an Empire which, except for south India, covered the rest of the peninsula from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal, and extended to the north to Kabul. A vast unified State thus rose in India for the first time in recorded history".¹ Kautilya's expertise and diplomacy made possible not only the foundation of such a vast empire but also the subsequent establishment of the strong and stable, prosperous and expansion-oriented rule of Chandragupta. Indeed, "But for Chanakya (Kautilya) and Chandragupta, India might have split into national linguistic states like those of Europe. The Empire of the Moghuls, the Confederacy of the Maharattas, the British Empire followed by the Indian Republic of today can be said to be the lineal descendants of the unified State established by these two great figures of Indian history. Diplomatic relations were maintained by the Mauryan Empire, by Chandragupta and his successors; with the Greeks—with Seleukos, Ptolemy Philadelphus and others".²

The principles of expertise and diplomacy which made these achievements possible were embodied in the monumental work, "*Arthashastra*" (Science of Economics, taking

1. Dhan. Somnath : "*Chanakya and The Arthashastra*", Publication of the Indian Institute of World Culture, Bangalore, 1957. p 3.

2. *Ibid.* p 4.

"Economics" in the wider sense of the term). Kautilya wrote this work between 321 and 300 B.C. It contains 15 great sections (Adhikaranas) and 180 subdivisions (Prakaranas). The work deals with practically every aspect of the problems of government and diplomacy—war and peace, neutrality and alliance, design and espionage, military preparations and defence measures, legislation and legal proceedings, population shifts and pattern of taxation, problems of employment and economic well being, education of the King and the qualifications of the ministers, measures to combat corruption and streamline administration and so on.

In other words, it is an encyclopaedic exposition on the problems of government and Politics—both national and international. If we look at the kind and range of political principles and economic measures, the kind and extent of state participation and state control in the various spheres of public life that Kautilya advocates, it appears that he had in mind the kind of liberal state socialism which has been advocated in our century by men like G D H Cole. We should note further that Kautilya was not merely an expert adviser to the Emperor of a vast empire, he was an active and energetic theoretician whose principles and policies informed and sustained the conduct of domestic and foreign affairs and who was in a privileged position to obtain and practise the first-hand lessons of practical politics and the rarely available insights in the conduct of the foreign policy of an empire. His views, therefore, deserve to be distinguished, on the one hand, from those of academic scholars who may not have, and very often do not have, the benefit of such valuable lessons and insights and whose work is chiefly confined to the academic closet and, on the other, from those of political philosophers like Plato and Confucius who had to open schools and

hunt for disciples because they could not practise their philosophies nor could they get kings to practise them. The value and greatness of Kautilya's principles and analysis do not merely rest on logic; logical they are. But what is more, they carry their own credentials of having been successfully put into practice. It was in the fitness of things, therefore, that after Indian independence the diplomatic enclave in New Delhi was christened as Chanakvapuri after Chanakya or Kautilya, the master theoretician and practitioner of the art of diplomacy.

His View of National and International Politics

Kautilya's views on national and international politics are based on history of which he was such a keen and careful student, reason as distinguished from emotion, and his experience as a practising theoretician of diplomacy. The major premise in the light of which we can understand his views is that politics must be conducted, from the point of view of ultimate analysis, in the service of ethics. He does not recommend the pursuit of politics just because it is good in itself or that it redounds to somebody's short term advantage. The ideal of politics, according to him, is two-fold. On the one hand, it must bring about the welfare of people—political, economic and social, the religious and spiritual welfare being left to the people themselves—and on the other, the realization of the supreme aim of the Empire of Religion or Righteousness (Dharma Chakra) through the establishment of a circle of sister kingdoms under the rule of the given ruler or an Emperor. Such a structure of nations is known as Chakravarti system and the Emperor of such a system as a Chakravarti. It is incorrect and wrong, however, to equate such a system of nations with an empire

with all the unethical connotations and detestable implications which the term 'empire' has come to acquire today. For, Kautilya neither intends nor recommends the establishment of economic, social or cultural imperialism. At the most, it is the political imperialism of the most harmless variety amounting to a sort of overlordship or suzerainty of the given nation over other nations. Such overlordship of the given nation serves two purposes at once: first, that the people of the given nation automatically enjoy peace and security since they have no fear of any political disturbance or military aggression against them from outside, and, second, that it makes for the practice of the ideal of Universal Righteousness. The latter aim was, of course, free from the sinister connotations that go with "civilizing missions" or "white man's burden" of the Christian imperialists of recent times. Further, Kautilya insists that the King must always aim at universal conquest for these purposes. For, not to do so is to give his rivals a scope and opportunity to do so. It is for the realization of the above described two-fold ideal that Kautilya recommends what may be called unfair and unethical measures like fraud and duplicity, dissension and fifth-columnism, treachery and murder for only self-defence and while dealing with an enemy nation that resorts to such measures instead of time-honoured, standard and righteous ones. It is in this sense that he recommends the conduct of politics in the service of ethics though he does not rule out the recourse to unfair and unethical means in the absolute sense of the term as explained above.

Kautilya discusses the relevance and efficacy of a number of factors that are responsible for the realization of the two-fold ideal. He also discusses the obstacles and difficulties in the way of it. This

discussion bears directly on the conduct of National and International Politics and employment of diplomacy for it. In this context, he mentions seven factors: King (Swami), Minister (Mantri), people (Janapad), fort (Durga), treasury (Kosa), military power (Danda), and friend (Mitra). This Saptang or the Seven-Element theory accounts for the King's ability or the extent to which he can successfully participate in national and international politics. In order to maintain every one of the factors in fitness and full competence, he lays down elaborate requirements and advice. The King must possess, besides general education and rigorous training, a sound knowledge of philosophy, logic, economics, politics, and the art of diplomacy. The ministers must be selected, among other qualifications, on the basis of their high calibre and resourcefulness, integrity and reliability. The people must be kept educated, informed, happy and contented, loyal and ready to support the King with all their zeal and might. For this purpose, Kautilya recommends the organization of people under the different occupational guilds, small territorial republics and other institutions of local self-government. For, the people living under these organizations develop a stronger sense of homogeneity and unity and it is easier for the King to ensure and control their loyalty than it is in the case of those who remain scattered and unorganized. Kautilya makes no secret of the fact that the structural organization of society must be such that the efficient operation and loyalty of the different institutions and associations in society must be easily amenable to state review and state control. The forts and the military forces must always be kept strong and well fortified, alert and in readiness for action on demand at any time. The treasury must be rich and capable of financing operations of war and conduct of foreign policy. It goes without saying that a sound and

prosperous economy is mentioned as the precondition of a rich treasury. Finally, the King must take care to select strong and reliable friendly nations and must keep on changing friends and shifting alliances to maximize actual power and potential assets.

As for certain circumstances and accidents which may have some unseen hand in shaping and realizing the two-fold ideal, Kautilya says they are of two types: divine (**Daiva**) and human (**Manusa**). The divine circumstances may be favourable or unfavourable. And since they are not predictable or predeterminable, they are not amenable to knowledge of or control by the King. The King, therefore, can do nothing except to deal with them as and when they arise. His advantage or disadvantage will depend on whether they are favourable or unfavourable to him. But, all the same, he must always make allowances for them and be prepared to meet them regardless of the patent difficulty of determining their precise nature and magnitude. The second type of circumstances which the King must reckon with are the man-made ones. These are describable as just or unjust from the point of view of the King and must be dealt with firmly and accordingly.

To realize the ideal of universal conquest, Kautilya further lays down a measure of tremendous importance, namely, the strategic positioning of the given nation in relation to other nations. He recommends a peculiar arrangement of the different nations so that the given nation would be so situated that it will have minimum vulnerability and maximum power in relation to other nations. For this purpose, he advocates the theory of Strategic Arrangement or the theory of Mandala according to which the given nation happens to be at the centre of a group of twelve surrounding nations arranged in three concentric circles

or rings. This is also known as Kautilya's Geometric Model.³ The circle of nations nearest the centre would be of enemies; next to this would be that of friends, while the outermost circle will be again of enemies. Kautilya recommends such a strategic positioning on the assumption that nations are broadly classifiable into four types: enemy nations (**Ari**), friendly nations (**Mitra**), potentially friendly or enemy nations (**Madhyama**), and neutral nations (**Udasina**). Further, their behaviour is said to be characterized and governed by the two laws: attraction and repulsion. Naturally, the corollary is that the friendly nations of the given nation are likely to be the enemies of the enemy nations of it and vice versa. These laws are supposed to characterize the behaviour and inter-relationships of the nations in general and the twelve nations in particular. The power of each of the nations will be determined by the seven elements or constituents to which reference has already been made. That is to say, the King, the ministers, people, fort, treasury, military power, and friendly nations will determine the power of every nation. The inter-relationships of the twelve nations, therefore, will be characterized by the function and behaviour of the eighty-four elements or constituents. The picture of the inter-relationships becomes further complicated by the fact that each nation, in dealing with other nations, may adopt six measures of policy or diplomacy. The set of six measures is known as **Sadugnya**. They are: conclusion of peace (**Sandhi**), starting a war (**Vigraha**), adoption of masterly neutrality with or without a masterly and calculated display of indifference (**Asana**), preparation for opening an offensive or setting on a march (**Yana**), seeking a skilful

3. Campbell, Joseph: "*Philosophies of India*", Meridan Books, New York, 1959, Pp 113-116.

and cautious alliance with other nations (Samasraya), and duplicity of making peace with one nation and war with another (Dvaidhibhava). Looked at from this point of view, the eightyfour elements of twelve nations will be at work to determine and control the inter-relationships in conjunction with the interplay of these six measures of twelve nations.

As regards the practical advice on the details of the conduct of foreign policy, Kautilya maintains that the instrument of diplomacy should be employed as a rule to maximize the power and minimize the vulnerability of a nation. War is no substitute for diplomacy as physical force is no substitute for intelligence and should not be entered upon unless the resources of diplomacy have been exhausted or have failed. War should be entered upon as a second best because it has a number of serious disadvantages. First, it entails the expenditure of military power and money of a nation and secondly, it creates ill-will and bitterness, hostility and opposition among the peoples of the conquered nations, and these come in the way of realizing the ideal of Universal Righteousness. For, armed contest may at the most vanquish the forces of enemy nations but cannot win over the minds and hearts of the peoples of those nations. That is the task of diplomacy. The achievements of diplomacy, therefore, are far brighter, and more lasting than those of armed contest. For, "He who shoots an arrow kills but one at best but he who has

clever thoughts kills even the babe within its mother's body."¹

For the nation which seeks to establish its empire over other nations, Kautilya recommends a number of practical measures which they are advised to adopt in their ascending order. First, the King must try for a peaceful solution of the problem through a friendly settlement and mutual understanding. Secondly, when this friendly approach fails, he must bribe the enemy nation or bring corrupt influences or mobilize all other kinds of available pressures against it until it yields on the desired point. Thirdly, when both these fail, he must practise fraud and fifth-columnism, dissension and disruption within enemy ranks. Finally, when all these methods fail, he must resort to the use of force or open war to attain his objective.

Kautilya has been often compared with Aristotle and Machiavelli whose ideas of national and international politics are regarded as basic and of abiding value in the history of the political thought of the West. Kautilya may be said to have combined Aristotle's originality and comprehensiveness, and Machiavelli's shrewdness and farsightedness in his contribution to the theory and practice of national and international politics. He can be said to have won a permanent place in political thought and practice not only of India but also of the world.

1. Krishna Rao, M.V. : "Studies in Kautilya", Munshi Ram Manohar Lal Publishers, Delhi, 1958, p 51.

THE U.N. AND THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

Prof. S. K. NATHAN.

The emergence of the United Nations Organization after the Second World war represented a fresh attempt by statesmen in 1945 to cope with the common problem of insecurity. They also saw in this world organization a chance for co-operative arrangements to help resolve problems of international economic and political reconstruction.

Though the authors of the U.N. Charter conceived a number of purposes to be fulfilled by the Organization, its one primary purpose is maintenance of international peace and security. Elaborate arrangements have been provided for the achievement of this objective. The General Assembly and the Security Council are responsible in one way or the other for policy making and political action. Apart from these two, there is the Secretary-General who is the head of the Secretariat and who wields enormous powers directly and otherwise.

The Secretariat.

The Charter states that the Secretariat is one of the principal organs of the United Nations. The Secretary-General is the head of the Secretariat, and he is the chief administrative officer of the U.N. Article 97 says, "the Secretary-General shall be appointed by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council." This arrangement implies a unanimous sponsorship by the big powers. Once appointed he enjoys security of service. The Secretary-General is not subject to dismissal at the will of the Security Council or the General Assembly.

As prescribed under Article 101, he appoints the Secretariat staff under regulations established by the General Assembly. He and his staff are protected against improper influence. The responsibilities of this international civil servant are so great that independence and security against improper influence are very necessary. Clause 2 of Article 100 says, "Each member of the U.N. undertakes to respect the exclusively

international character of the responsibilities of the Secretary-General and the staff are not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their responsibilities." The same Article imposes a similar responsibility on the Secretariat staff which demands that they shall "refrain from any action which might reflect on their position as international officials responsible only to the Organization."¹

Functions of the Secretary-General

The Secretary-General is given very important executive, representational, political and administrative functions under Articles 98, 99, 100 and 101. But the principal functions of the Secretary-General are grouped under six suitable headings by the Preparatory Commission. They are : (1) General Administrative and Executive functions ; (2) Technical functions ; (3) Financial functions ; (4) Maintaining the Secretariat ; (5) Representational functions ; and (6) Political functions.

The Preparatory Commission Report says that "he alone is responsible to other principal organs for the Secretariat's work. It is on him that will mainly fall the duty of creating and maintaining a team spirit in a body of officials recruited from many countries."² The representational function of the Secretary-General is unique. He is the only official who has the right of access to any office organ within the United Nations. He is the official spokesman of the world organization. "More than anyone else he stands for the United Nations as a whole."³ Dr. Hammarskjöld during his term of office visited many world capitals to get acquainted with the national leaders and to propagate interest in the affairs of the U.N.

Article 99 and Political Functions.

The political powers conferred upon the Secretary-General are at once sweeping and radical in nature. Article 99 reads, "the Secretary-

General may bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security. It is here we see that it is the Secretary General more than anyone else who stands for the United Nations as a whole.

In the words of Dr. Herbert Lyall, the important express power suggests that under the Charter the Secretary General is intended to be far more than an administrative officer. In my opinion he should be encouraged to play a bold part in all the work of the Organization and to take a large measure of initiative.⁴ In the League of Nations the old duty of the Secretary General was to act as the administrative officer and he was not expected to take any initiative in political matters. Whereas in the case of the United Nations to take an initiative in matters which threaten world peace the Secretary General has a constitutional responsibility. Article 99 was invoked on 25th June 1950 when the Secretary General called upon the Security Council to take steps necessary to re-establish peace in Korea.

It is Article 99 which has made the Secretary General an administrative officer with an explicit political responsibility. In an attempt to analyse the position of the U.N. Secretary General Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld said that his position approximates to that of the President of the United States of America. But the comparison is only of a limited validity in so far as the Secretary General is independent from any interference and his position is constitutional. In the course of a lecture at Oxford he said, "obviously this is a reflection, in some measure, of the American political system, which places authority in a chief executive officer who is not simply subordinated to the legislative organs but who is constitutionally responsible alone for the execution of legislation and in some respects for carrying out the authority derived from the constitutional instrument directly".⁵

More than a Civil Servant

Even though the Secretary General is described as the chief administrative officer and head of the U.N. Secretariat, an analysis of the Charter reveals the fact that he is more than an

administrative officer. As an international civil servant he has to carry out the policies laid down by the General Assembly or the Security Council. But a civil servant will never have any political initiative. A civil servant is independent and impartial. He enjoys security of office; he faithfully executes the policies formulated by the authorities.

In the case of the U.N. Secretariat it is no doubt international in character by its international composition and international responsibilities. The Secretary General is the head of the international Secretariat. But unlike the national administration, the international Secretariat suffers from the lack of unified control or direction. The power is divided and diffused between the Security Council and the General Assembly. The Security Council is not the Cabinet of the world Parliament. The two are often at loggerheads. It is under these circumstances that the Secretary General assumes the power of political initiative as envisaged by Article 99 of the Charter. The Secretariat is one of the Principal organs of the U.N. and the Secretary General as its head has the constitutional responsibility to preserve the principles of the Charter.

In International Statesman

The Secretary General is the vital life link between the Security Council and other organs of the Organization. He is the only official who represents all the organs of the U.N. He is the official spokesman of the United Nations. The technical and informational resources are exclusively in the hands of the Secretary General. The organization and maintenance of the Secretariat is his responsibility. He therefore has a special responsibility for securing the implementation of the purposes and principles of the Charter.

Mr. Schwelb has pointed out that the Secretary General may be said to approximate to that of a twelve member of the Security Council, without a vote or veto. This prerogative of power is conferred upon him by Article 99. The discretionary power which flows from this Article empowers him with a Security Council spring-board to exercise his initiative for the cause of international peace. This demands according to

Mr. Schewebel, "his exercise of the highest qualities of political judgement".⁶ This learned author, therefore, feels that the Secretary-General is intended to be an international statesman with the exclusive responsibility of maintaining international peace and security.

Public Relations and World Opinion

When the Charter goes beyond the limits of national boundaries and appeals for the co-operation of the peoples of the world, there should always be a line of contact between the two. The Secretary-General, more than anyone else, stands for the United Nations as a whole, and he, therefore, has the special responsibility for implementing the principles of the Charter.

The Secretary-General's appeals to public opinion take three main forms, namely, his speeches and statements in press conferences; his introductions to the annual reports of the U.N.; and those of his suggestions to the member states which he makes public. The role of the Secretary-General in this respect is very important in the context of the cold war situation in the Security Council. We have found in the case of Korea, that despite the dead-lock in the Security Council, the U.N. could move forward with enforcement actions because the General Assembly preferred to play the leading role.

Prof. Allan Ford said, "in the hands of the first two Secretaries-General, Trygve Lie and Dag Hammarskjold, the annual report has not been a dull summary of the activities and events of the past year but has been instead a critical review of the world situation, and an instrument in which policy recommendations and positive proposals for United Nations actions have been presented, not only to the General Assembly but also to the world at large".⁷ So through the reports and press statements, the Secretary-General takes the opportunity to appeal to world public opinion in order to develop the Charter interests. Dag Hammarskjold truly believed that power politics among greater nations could be resolved by the "quiet diplomacy" of the United Nations. He associated himself with all aspects of the international organization and gave to the U.N. a personality of its own which was something more than the sum total of its collectivity.

It was to this "personality" that Mr. Krushchev vehemently objected and sought to insinuate a "Troika" as the head of the Secretariat.

Troika for U.N.

In the fa.ceful meeting of the Fifteenth General Assembly, Mr. Nikita Krushchev called for the resignation of Dag Hammarskjold, the then Secretary-General and, his replacement by a *Troika*, i.e., by three Secretaries-General. By three the Soviet Premier meant, one from the Western bloc, one from the Soviet bloc and the third from the uncommitted countries, each with the power of veto. Elaborating his point Mr. Krushchev said, "it is necessary that the executive agency of the U.N. reflect the actual situation now obtaining in the world We deem it wise and fair that the United Nations executive agency consist not of one person, the Secretary-General, but of three persons enjoying the confidence of the United Nations".⁸

Commenting on the Soviet proposal, President Kennedy said, "even the three horses of the *Troika* did not have three drivers, all going in different directions. They had only one, and so must the U.N. To install a triumvirate or a panel or any rotating authority in the U.N. administrative offices would replace order with anarchy, action with paralysis and confidence with confusion". Any serious student of public administration will agree with President Kennedy's views that the Soviet proposal is wrought with grave danger to the international Organization.

Implications of the Troika Formula

In the first instance the *Troika* proposal goes against the spirit of the Charter which aims at the preservation of the international character of the Secretariat and that of the Secretary-General. Under the Soviet proposal the three-man executive is meant to safeguard the interests of the group or bloc they represent and this attitude will definitely affect the international character of the administration. This will help to insinuate the cold war inside the Secretariat of the U.N.

According to Mr. Baily the *Troika* formula has two very important consequences; "First, in certain circumstances a member of the three-man

board would have the power to block executive action either by out-right veto or by delaying tactics. Secondly, the *Troika* would increase the political character of the Secretariat by formally introducing the idea that staff members have a duty to "represent" national or bloc policies. The *Troika* would thus change the idea, stated in the Charter, that the Secretariat is composed of international officials whose exclusive loyalty is to the United Nations."⁹

It may be that the Soviet formula was intended to get applause from the newly emerging nations of Asia and Africa. But it has little constitutional sense. Anyhow, the idea to diffuse the highest administrative authority of the U.N. is not new. Surprisingly enough at Dumbarton Oaks it was the United States of America which suggested that there should be a President and a Secretary-General for the Organization. There was also a proposal to have Joint Secretaries to each big power. The proposals were not accepted because they introduced the element of unanimity, which of course would not work.

Speaking about the nature of the power and position of the Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjöld said, "the drafters of the Charter laid emphasis on the personal responsibility of the Secretary-General; it is he who is solely responsible for performing the functions entrusted to him. The idea of a 'cabinet system' in which responsibility for administration and political functions would be distributed among several individuals was squarely rejected".¹⁰ It is true that there can be no divided duty or sharing of power at the highest executive level in the U.N. Rejecting the Krushchev proposal another commentator says, "beyond doubt, the *Troika* formula does radical violence to the entire U.N. approach, seeking to substitute for a distinguished civil service the crude arithmetic of political patronage".¹¹

Conclusion

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that Soviet Russia's sympathy with correct regional representation is rather misplaced. It is a patent fact that the U.N. after twenty years of existence has brought to light many institutional difficulties. The post-war world has changed so rapidly and radically, that some important

revisions of the Charter is called for. Firstly, regional representation is urgently needed in the Security Council. Secondly, Chapter VII which deals with enforcement actions also needs a new interpretation. In the matter of advisers to the Secretary-General, Mr. U. Thant had struck a compromise formula when he became the Secretary-General in 1962. U. Thant has named eight under Secretaries as special advisers who are already members of the Secretariat, who owe allegiance to the U. N. Charter and who do not represent any ideologies or regions. Thus the formal independence of the Secretary-General is preserved.¹²

Soviet Russia alleged that 'while there are neutral countries, there are no neutral men'. Russia feels that even an independent administrator from a neutral country very soon becomes a man of the Western bloc because of the Anglo-American predominance in the Security Council. So, a suitable reform should be to expand the Security Council membership in order to neutralize the Western power predominance, and not to meddle with the position of the Secretary-General. In a sense the Secretary-General is today the real representative of the U.N. and if we diminish his authority, we diminish the authority of the United Nations itself!

References:

1. U. N. Charter, Article 100.
2. Goodrich and Hambro, *Commentary on the Charter*.
3. Stephen M. Schwebel: *Secretary-General*, p. 19.
4. Dr. Herbert Exatt: *U.N.* (1948), p. 134.
5. Dag Hammarskjöld: *The Servant of Peace* (1962), p. 336.
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7. Allan Ford: in *The United Nations* edited by B. A. Wortley, p. 85.
8. Nikita Krushchev's speech in the U.N. General Assembly on Sept. 23 1960.
9. Sydney. D. Bailey: *The United Nations* (1963), p. 36.
10. Dag Hammarskjöld: *The Servant of Peace*, p. 337.
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CARLYLE AND GANDHI—A STUDY OF THE IDEALS THEY SHARED

K. K. KHULLAR

If the history of the world is to be conceived as a history of moral and fearless ideas, both Carlyle and Gandhi would occupy a very high place in it and, though separated by the forces of time and place, stand on the same tradition of intuition, insight and action. In a larger perspective of literary parallelism, they can be easily knit in a single thread, for both the harsh-tongued sage of Chelsea and the sweet-tongued sage of Sabarmati were men and artists and prophets of unflinching sincerity with exceptionally rational morals dedicated through literature and active public work to the cause of the injured, the insulted, the neglected in a society torn with socio-economic-cultural inequalities and infested with the purest of prudery and the highest of snobbery.

Both were spiritually peerless and irresistibly witty; although brought up in an age of iron and steel, both believed that in the ultimate analysis in human affairs, it is the mind which rules the matter; and while their respective philosophies are irreducible to any perfectly well-ordered system, behind their every spoken or written utterance is a throb of life, a spark of fire, new dimensions of hope, new vistas of vision and new conquests of perception. In their long quest for truth, both questioned the scientist, the evolutionist, the historian, and the economist, the man of money and the man of culture, the dreamer and the visionary; ripped open the moral degeneration of their times, rescuing them from their total cultural and spiritual collapse. In fact, they brought a new renaissance of consciousness and confidence to their people lost to the higher ideals of life in their pur-

suit of empty glorifications of useless ideologies and false hero-worship. Theirs was the voice of revolt against the humbug and the hypocrisy and the cowardice; theirs was the championship of the 'poorest, the lowliest, and the lost'. Carlyle made truth more important and powerful than the British Empire; Gandhi made it more important than any empire. They both had only one answer to every problem: fearlessness—"the only thing we have to fear is the fear itself."

In an age of mammon worship and philistinism, both Carlyle and Gandhi held aloft the torch of moral law and upheld the beauties of Truth. Gandhi's God was Truth found in the hearts of the dumb millions. Carlyle's God, too, was not a bloodless abstraction or a mechanical artifice of a deist but a deeply personal God realized only as a moral, regulative force invisible to the eye but visible in the mysterious shaping of private life as well as history—a source of all moral energy controlling and conducting all life, individual as well as public. According to this victorian leader of idealistic reaction in an age of coal and steam working at full blast, "Not even a leaf forms without the will of God."

Both were inspired souls with superior instincts, extra-ordinary intuition, rare divining powers with mystically penetrating eyes embodying in them the world's sorrow and the world's hope. Carlyle showed that it was possible to remain perfectly Christian even in the 19th century; Gandhi proved it possible in any century, even if one was born and belonged to a different religion. To Gandhi, religion was conscience. In the scheme of Carlyle's

heroes, Gandhi eminently fits in with Christ and Odin and Mohammad.

And yet, both were men of scintillating humour. Not that they found life a comic philosophy; it seemed too often funny. Carlyle's humour had the poignancy of Swift and the irony of Butler. Gandhi's humour was an outcome of the completest control of all his senses and was a direct result of his most equable temperament: "But for my gift of humour," Gandhiji once told a correspondent, "I might have committed suicide." His laughter was three-fold—mental, physical, psychological. Carlyle held that humour was something even higher than philosophy. A man incapable of laughing should be condemned for treason. G. B. Shaw described Gandhi as "the only man in the East with a sense of humour. Even his death was a supreme gesture." How many of us can imagine that Gandhi performed the opening ceremony of a badminton court in Poona jail and, according to Pyarelal, managed to send the shuttlecock over to the wrong side on the fifth or the seventh attempt. When Churchill called him a naked faqir, Gandhi took it as "an unintended compliment" and wrote back that he wanted to go completely naked which was, indeed, a difficult task.

In the same manner, Matthew Arnold branded Carlyle as a tomfool in Christendom, also crediting him with certain powers of a genius. It was a height of miscalculation to charge this 19th century moral dictator with tomfoolery. If Carlyle is indeed a fool, he is a Shakespearean fool, or a fool who might well figure in Shaw's *St. Joan*—a character exposing the sorcery and the imposture of victorian thought lost in the mires of materialism, for he was one lone individual who reigned over a kingdom of intuition in an area of darkness.

It was in such a moment of intuition that he condemned economics as a dismal science—its proud claims and prophecies. It was in reality a protest against the doc-

trine of the Economic Man of Adam Smith and the classical school of economics. Gandhi's call to return to cottage industries and the spinning wheel was an identical protest till he made 'khadi' as our "livery of freedom". Both condemned the machine and its offshoots and hated any kind of privilege and monopoly. Both were ethical giants in largely unethical times. Sorojini Naidu called Gandhi "a poet in action." Carlyle's prose is ebullient poetry, words coming dancing and cascading as if in a shower. But one of the most important points of kinship between these two practitioners of Truth is their basic belief in achieving good ends necessarily by good means. Good means to them were sinless means or even Godly means. Carlyle's love of the Vedanta and his practice of the message of the Lord so beautifully enshrined both in the philosophy of Gita and the Sermon on the Mount attracted men like Emerson and Walt Whitman from America into his following. Both believed in the essential unity of man and life. Gandhiji wrote: "I believe that if one man gains spiritually, the whole world gains with him and, if one man falls, the whole world falls to that extent." The Gita was the sole present which Carlyle gave to his American admirer. If religion is a way of life, Carlyle was as much a Hindu as Gandhi was a Christian. Both were larger than life. They could contain multitudes. Silence according to Carlyle is "the element in which great things fashion themselves"; Gandhi considered silence as the perfection of all speech. Both were perfect Karamayogis whose every word and act carried deadly earnestness and austerity. Gandhiji's life-story is a series of experiments with Truth which is a part of human heritage in the shape of a literary classic. Carlyle's veiled autobiography, viz., "Sartor Resartus"—"Tailor Retailored"—is a history of the steady development of his soul passing from one spiritual crisis to another leading to the

conclusion of the general transitoriness of corruption of the soul. If Gandhiji's economic vision was influenced by Ruskin, his moral vision finds a forerunner in Carlyle. It is here that he affirms his faith in the theory of Karma, the cycle of re-birth and the transmigration of soul. There are many areas of disagreement between them,—the two seers,—but they stand coplanar in the history of moral ideals and the moral influence they had on life and literature is their greatest legacy to whole world's sorrow created by the inner mankind.

“Although the history of the English people is not so full of political explosions as that of the French, because of the more conservative and matter-of-fact nature of the former, still it is nothing if not a continuous, persisting, never failing, never ending record of the struggles of persons, parties, the classes and masses for political rights and privileges. English history is full of valuable lessons to all nations struggling for liberty and it is no wonder that the Anglo-Indian Imperialists should be anxious to eliminate English History from the course of studies followed in Indian schools and colleges. The attempt is, however, bound to fail, because what Anglo-Indians will try to keep back, the Indian patriots will bring forward in such shapes as to make it accessible even to a larger number of their countrymen, than those who studied English History for the purpose of examinations. Moreover, English life is an open page, which can be read even by those who do not come to England.”

Lala Rajpat Rai, in
 “The Leaders of The Suffragette
 Movement in England”,
The Modern Review, March, 1909, p. 195

SOME POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS OF TRIPURA STATE

Introduction

The Demographic study of a country requires the knowledge not only of the total count of its population, but also the various traits that deeply influence the total population composition. These population traits are age, sex and others like fertility pattern or mortality pattern etc. The distributional aspects of these traits tell something more about the economic and social set up of the populations under study than what is being actually realised in practice. Hence, an attempt has been made here to discuss some of the important aspects relating to population growth, age and sex composition and also some socio-economic characteristics, i.e., urbanisation, literacy and economic status for which considerable data is available in the Government of India Publications, particularly in the 1961 Census of India.

The above discussion is of more than mere academic interest especially at the present juncture. Because, Tripura is one of those small states on our eastern border that are being subjected to constant infiltration of illegal entrants and mass exodus of desperate refugee population from East Pakistan. Though these unpleasant happenings are the consequences of partition, they have also some direct bearing upon Tripura's geographical set up. Tripura is surrounded on all three sides except in the east by Pakistan whose prejudicial policy towards India is well-known. In addition to this boundary disadvantage, it is thoroughly lacking in a good transport system, capable of effectively connecting with the nether land. The gravity of the transport situation can be fully appreciated by the

time and distance that one has to cover between Calcutta and Agartala, Tripura's seat of administration. The distance is more than 1086 miles by land route through the Indian territory, i.e., Assam, involving at least about two days' journey, whereas the same is of hardly 196 miles by air which could be covered within a matter of an hour. But air travel is too expensive to be borne by a common man. Another disadvantage Tripura is suffering from is the extreme backwardness of its large tribal population which carries the wasteful methods of Jhumming (Shifting) cultivation. This Jhumming cultivation is gradually destroying the state's precious forest wealth. Being fully aware of these severe limitations, Pakistan is resorting to indiscriminate firing now and then mainly with an idea of ultimately swallowing this border state as a part of its overall ground strategy. In such circumstances, a short but concise study of Tripura's population, specially its population characteristics will be of immense value in grasping many problems that are standing in the way of this state's general progress.

Population Growth

The Population of Tripura according to 1961 Census is enumerated as 11,42,005 persons, out of which 591,237 are males and 550,768 are females, spread out in an area of 4036 square miles. The crude density per square mile comes to 283 persons while it is 370 persons in respect of All India. But the actual density is much more if we were to judge in terms of other indices like net sown agricultural area per head. For instance, the net sown area per head in respect of Tripura is only .86 acres, whereas the same is as much as 1.86 acres in case of

India during 1955-56, according to the figures furnished by the Indian Council of Applied Economic Research. Apart from the density, we can analyse Tripura's Population figures and compare them with those of all-India to know the magnitude of the increase of population say for a period of 60 years from 1901 and 1961. The increase of population in case of Tripura is not only continuous throughout the period, but it is also phenomenal during 1951 and 1961. The total decennial percentage variation for Tripura during 1951-61 is 78.71, while the same figure for all India is only 21.50 thereby demonstrating the huge rate of increase which the above-mentioned period has witnessed. Moreover, the overall increase for the entire period of 60 years, i.e., 1901-61 works out at something like 558.88 per cent which though cannot be easily accepted by many, yet, this is a hard fact. The all India figure for the same duration of 60 years comes to only 85.90 per cent. So, a pertinent question arises as to whether this rate of increase is natural. For the natural rate of population increase stands at 2 per cent, if we were to assume a birth rate of 45 and death rate of 25 consistent with Tripura's prevailing public health conditions. According to this rate of increase, i.e., 2 per cent, the total population of Tripura should be 766835 as against the enumerated population of 1142005 in 1961. Therefore, the remaining population of 375170 is definitely due to other than natural increase. In case of Tripura, it is nothing but sheer migration since thousands of refugees have rushed into Tripura from East Pakistan after 1947. This too is an alarming situation to be handled by a state of the size of Tripura whose economy may go out of gear unless something is done immediately to check this tendency.

Sex and Age Composition

After population growth, age and sex pattern occupy the next place in the order of

importance, because, the age and sex of a community have to be taken into due consideration at every stage for framing the plans with respect to any public welfare measure. Of the two let us deal with sex first.

Sex composition of a community is dependent upon sex ratio. At the general level, the sex ratio is taken as an indicator of social and economic conditions prevailing in a country. At the biological level, it is the sex ratio that decides the population growth. The sex ratio in turn is determined by sex ratio at birth and sex differential mortality rates at different ages. Here sex ratio is used in the Indian sense of the term, i.e., so many females for 1000 males. Sex ratio of Tripura reached 932 in 1961 from 874 in 1901. This is somewhat bright when compared to all India figures which show a declining tendency, since they have gone down from 972 in 1901 to 941 in 1961. However, the living conditions of females in Tripura still require to be much improved except in urban areas where the sex ratio has moved upwards from 836 in 1951 to 884 in 1961. The all India urban sex ratio for the same period exhibits a depressing picture, as it has reached 845 in 1961 from 856 in 1951. The improvement in Tripura's urban sex ratio may be found in the fact that among the refugees from East Pakistan, a good number of females might have preferred to stay in the urban areas to where somewhat better living conditions might have attracted them.

Age composition also tells slightly a different story with regard to Tripura, if we analyse the figures pertaining to the relative despondency load to which the active section of the total population is subjected. The dependent groups in respect of Tripura i.e., 0-14 and 60 years and above age groups constitute something like 48.29 per cent of the total, whereas the same is 46.69 in case of all India. Hence the active age group (15-59) has to bear a heavier burden than that of all India. This is another drawback

of Tripura's economy. Further, we notice that at some stage the female population dominates the scene and at some other stage the male population do so as found in the sex-wise analysis of the five year age groups. For instance, in the age groups of 15-19 and 20-24, females account for 4.05 and 4.45 per cent respectively as against 3.81 and 3.81 per cent of males in the same age groups. This unusual phenomenon has to be explained by the fact that a larger number of females in these groups might have fled from East Pakistan to Tripura mostly for security reasons.

Urbanisation

In addition to the above population characteristics of Tripura, some socio-economic characteristics like urbanisation merit our attention in drawing a comprehensive picture of the demographic situation of Tripura. Tripura underwent very little urbanisation upto 1951, as there was just one town with a population of 42,595 in the third category under which all those towns whose populations range between 20000 and 49999 are included. By 1961, as many as 6 towns came into existence, out of which 1 belonged to the second category (Population between 50,000 and 99,999), another to fourth category (Population between 10,000 and 19,999) and the remaining to the fifth category (Population between 5000 and 9999). Once again migration furnishes the clue for this extraordinary growth of towns. Though this feature by itself is welcome, it has to be sustained by sufficient industrialisation. Otherwise Tripura's growing economy may be severely handicapped at one stage or another.

Literacy

As against urbanisation the progress in the field of literacy attained by Tripura is staggering. It is quite below the all India level as well as that of neighbouring states

like Assam and Manipur. Because, the All India figures have moved upwards by about eight places as they reached 24.0 in 1961 from 16.6 in 1951. Assam's figures rose from 18.3% in 1951 to 27.4% in 1961, while Manipur went ahead by 19 places since its literacy figures were 30.4 in 1951 as against 11.4 in 1951. In comparison to these encouraging figures, Tripura's case is a different one. Because it has moved up by only five places from 15.5% in 1951 to 20.2% in 1961. Nor the progress achieved in the field of female literacy is more satisfactory. If literacy were to be taken as the indicator of the socio-economic progress that a state reaches, Tripura's case is really dark.

Economic Status

The Economic status of a country reveals a clearer picture of its total economic system than the other indicators like urbanisation and literacy. Tripura's position is none too happy even in this respect, because, the majority is heavily dependent upon agriculture and thereby making the economy highly vulnerable. To quote some figures in respect of occupation pattern for 1961, we find about 90.95% males and about 97.29% females follow agriculture as their main occupation. This is significantly far above all India figures whose 67.98% of the males and 81.58% of the females have taken up agriculture. Not only a majority follow agriculture, but then income is also derived more from agriculture in case of Tripura. About 50% of the total income is obtained from the agricultural sector, if we analyse sectional composition Tripura's income, while only 45% is derived from agriculture in respect of all India, for 1955-56. Ultimately the per capita income is equally low. For the same year, viz., 1955-56, it is estimated at only 208 Rupees as against Rs. 255/- for all India by the Indian Council of Applied Economic Research.

G. G. AGARKAR—A STUDY IN RADICAL LIBERALISM 1856—1895

R. S. MARKHANDIKAR

In the late 19th century, political leaders in India were very much influenced by British liberalism. G. G. Agarkar can be said to be a representative of such Indian leaders. Yet he differed in his attitude to Indian politics from the liberal reformers of his day like Justice Ranade, G. K. Gokhale or Justice Telang. In this respect he was nearer to B. G. Tilak. He seems to mark therefore an altogether original and distinctive trend in Indian politics in that he harmonises an ardent devotion to social reform with a radical outlook on political matters.

Like a true liberal he believes in the power of reason to regulate the conduct of life, and in critical views of dogmatic beliefs.¹ Mere antiquity of a custom or authority of sacred texts is not enough warrant for him to accept or reject a mode of action. Thus he wrote "We have as much right to inaugurate new customs and usages as the ancient *rishis*; we enjoy the same favour of God as the ancient *Acharyas*; we are endowed with the same if not greater faculty of discrimination between right and wrong as they. Hence we shall observe only those injunctions laid down by them which we deem beneficial and replace those which we think harmful, by others."² Like the British

liberals he believes that, happiness of the individual (which leads to social welfare) alone, should be the criterion for determining the desirability of any action. Like J. S. Mill he believes in individual liberty: "Excepting those restrictions which are absolutely necessary for social order and progress, the individual should be given maximum freedom to act."³ He wants all social activities to be based on the principle of consent and equality. So he opposed all social (as well as political) practices which implied the use of force or compulsion not warranted by reason. Apparently there would seem to be a contradiction between his advocacy of social legislation and his championship of individual liberty. He tries to explain it by saying, "we do not believe that all reforms desired today can be achieved through legislation; nor do we think that the law should be enforced on all. Society has no right to compel an individual to give up his conduct, howsoever harmful to himself, unless it is injurious to society (persuasion can be adopted) but if the society (through customs and social sanction) has already forced on an individual certain modes of action then the government as the representative of the society should come forward to secure freedom of the individual."⁴ This applies to customs like *Sati*, widow-remarriage etc. Whereas in other kinds of social reforms, e.g., child marriages, 'legislation would be unjustified unless desired by a majority of

1. Liberalism defined by Karunakaran—*Modern Indian Political Tradition*. (Allied Publishers, 1962, Bombay,) page 3.

2. Agarkar—quoted in *Modern Indian Political Thought*—Varma, V. P. (Agra, 1964), p. 238.

This insistence on application of reason as opposed to sacred texts for finding desirability of social reforms marks him out from other social reformers like Ranade. See Nalini Pandit—*Maharashtratil Rashtravadacha Vikas*, (Bombay 1955), p. 74-77.

3. *Sampurna Agarkar Part I*, (Agarkar Prakashan Mandal, 1937), p. 5. (Here after referred to as S.A.I.).

4. *Sampurna Agarkar Part II*, (1938), p. 75-77.

those people who are entitled to vote.⁵ He does not approve of unilateral interference by the government in social matters. Perhaps realising the insecure basis of such niceties of distinction he later admits the educative influence of law and so thinks it desirable. "Though in these matters government law should follow public opinion—this presupposes a progressive public opinion—but where the public opinion is ignorant and obstinate the government would be forced to legislate even against public opinion."⁶ Writing on the Age of Consent Bill he thinks 'the Act recognised that the custom of child marriage should be given up by the people themselves. The Act merely tried to set the society moving.'⁷ It must, however, be said that unlike social reformers like Malbari he laid greater emphasis on discussion, and debate on these issues as the best ways of achieving social reform. The argument that public opinion was not yet prepared, was beside the point. For that was the precise reason why he wanted the leaders to defy and instruct it. 'If they did not have the courage to defy and instruct public opinion who else could?'; he asked.⁸ "Removing of evil customs, spread of learning, search for truth... and all things necessary for human happiness are possible only through 'conflict of ideas.'⁹ All the writings of Agarkar are inspired by the ideas of stimulating such 'conflicts of ideas' rather than merely appealing for governmental action. It is argued by some that there should be a division of labour in the matter of working for political and social reforms and that Tilak chose the former as his field.¹⁰ But the advice Dada-

bhai wrote to Malbari "In the present number of Indian Spectator you have three times hit the political reformers.....Now my dear fellow, what an amount of unnecessary mischief you are doing. By all means fight for the merits of your cause; but why unnecessarily discredit and discourage the important movements?"¹¹

It is very often thought that Agarkar wanted social reforms to precede political freedom and that he broke away from Tilak on this score. Nothing however seems farther from truth. He in fact did not see how these two could be compartmentalised. He wrote, 'the division of reforms into different kinds like political or social is merely for the matter of convenience. It is difficult to give precedence to one over the other. National progress requires reforms on all these fronts simultaneously.'¹² He saw a close relation between the two: "Any one saying that British and Indians are equal in spite of the differences of colour, (reference was to Ilbert Bill) is not going to sound convincing; when at home, he feels polluted by even the shadow of the untouchables."¹³ He thought that an attack on old traditions and customs or a movement of reformation in social matters would awaken the people and would logically lead to the agitation for political freedom. "An attack on child marriage would give us mental strength which could then be employed in different spheres",¹⁴ he wrote. He very often thought that, just as the movement of Reformation in Europe had contributed to nationalism and democracy: similarly a war on the social front in India would have its results on the political

5. *Ibid*, 79.
 6. *Sampurna Agarkar* Part I. p. 6 Also Part II, p. 205.
 7. *Sampurna Agarkar* Part II. p. 82.
 8. *Sampurna Agarkar* Part I p. 6
 9. *Sampurna Agarkar* Part II. p. 128.
 10. Javdekar—*Adhunik Bharat*, p. 228.

11. Quoted in Masani M R's *Dadabhai Naoroji—the Grand Old Man of India*. (George Allen London 1939) p. 300
 12. *S. A.* Part II p. 174.
 13. *N. S.* II. p. 177.
 14. *S. A.* II, p. 68.

issues too. The slavery of India he ascribes to the habit of blindly following in the footsteps of the forefathers and a lack of defiance of traditions. Thus when he saw a batch of rioters equipped with brick bats, ready to break up a meeting in Poona, called to support the age of consent Bill; he remarked; "well done! I thought you to be merely living corpses, but from your actions today I am convinced that you too have passions and feelings. I am confident that the salvation of the Indian Nation is not far."¹⁵

M. D. Altekar, his biographer thinks that Agarkar did not use the word 'reform' in a narrow sense to mean social reform only. For him social reform was an inseparable part of National regeneration. In the very first issue of 'Sudharak' he put down the aim of the journal, as, 'to preach reform in **social matters** like politics, religion, customs.'¹⁶ In a way it can be said that he wanted social reforms **because** they helped political progress. Without them, political reforms in a society like the Indian, he thought, would be difficult.— "The kind of men and women necessary for working them will not be born in the present state of Indian families. If every part of a thing is rotten, the whole thing would be defective. It is natural for slavery and cruelty to be reflected in the political systems when the families in it suffer from these evils.¹⁷ Even if the British were to give freedom to India; the Indian lacks the qualities necessary to preserve it. The spirit of nationalism has totally disappeared and unless it is revived Russians might

replace the British as our masters."¹⁸ "To be free from foreign rule we must be free at home."¹⁹ What Agarkar really thought about the relation between social and political reforms seems to be well brought out in one of his essays in 'Sudharak'. In it he criticises the government for asking the Indians to strive for social reforms first and political reforms later. "Political reforms are as necessary as social reforms.....in fact as Justice Telang has very ably argued, political reforms are necessary even more than the social reforms. Very surprisingly the government wants to change this order. It should be remembered that the political and social reforms are related to each other, as order is to progress. First live then try to live well... Political reforms are vital to the nation, social reforms embellish a society. The evils of caste, and child marriages are nothing, when compared to those of salt tax, military expenses etc."²⁰

Thus it is clear that Agarkar realised the importance of political reforms as clearly as he saw the need of social reforms. Both follow logically from his faith in reason and defiance of traditionalism. He called freedom the 'life spirit' of the nation without which it is as good as dead. Any one, who thought that Indians should always be slaves and so should not even think of independence; was to him, an enemy of the country. Both Tilak and Agarkar admit that excepting their attitude to social reforms they agreed on every political issue.²¹ British injustices in the Crawford affair, in not Indianising the services, or in not protecting Indian textiles, were vehemently criticised equally by Tilak and Agarkar.

Though in the early stages like many other liberals his method was that of

15. V. M. Mahajani—*Manoranjan Agarkar Ank* 1916, p. 86.

16. Altekar. M.D.—*Agarkar G. G. — Charitratmak Nibandh* (Bharat Gaurav Granth Mala. Bombay—1930), p. 301. (cf. the aim of *Kesari* to discuss & educate the public on matters that are beneficial to them e.g. evil customs in society, right of & methods of achieving them. Altekar *Op cit.* p. 68).

17. *S. A. I.*, p. 135.

18. *S. A. I.*, p. 128.

19. *S. A. I.*, p. 170.

20. Quoted in Altekar, 260.

21. *S. A. Part II*, p. 229.

appealing to the public opinion in England and the sense of justice of the British he came more and more to realise that the 'dawn of independence depends 80 per cent on our efforts and 20 per cent on the good sense of the rulers'.²² Nay, years later acknowledging the benefits of the British rule he chides the people that the British rule continues because Indians lack in courage and strength. "It is the natural habits of the people which decided whether a government (would) be tyrannical or benevolent. Those who like freedom and desire happiness might out of helplessness suffer under a foreign rule but given the opportunity will never rest till they regain their freedom. Political rights or freedom can never be got by begging. These have to be won by one's own efforts and intelligence."

All criticism of the British rule is therefore, mainly to bring the injustices to the notice of the people to educate them in realizing the true causes of their suffering and to create in them an urge to remove them. As Achari Javdekar puts it for him, self government became the end and self reliance the means to achieve it.²³ Even as early as 1891 he had realised the role of the National Congress in this struggle. He wrote "**Freedom** is the life spirit of the nation. It is no use weeping over its loss. Through means like National Congress, we are doing whatever is possible to regain it."²⁴ When it was suggested that the Congress be wound up, he wrote in *Sudhakar* an editorial entitled 'the business of the Congress is not yet over'. He writes in it, "Congress is established to make India truly a nation. Unless it becomes one it cannot be said that the Congress has fulfilled its objectives. 'To be a nation'

in modern political phraseology, means 'being governed by the people themselves. Till an Assembly parallel to the House of Commons is established here, the Congress would not have fulfilled its objectives'.²⁵

He did not like the destinies of India to depend upon the varying fortunes of the liberal party in the British elections. He wanted that Indian politics should be thought of independently of the politics in Britain. While severely criticizing Lord Lansdowne for shelving the Resolution seeking Indianisation of services he writes "whatever be the differences in the nature of the Liberals and Tories in Britain (Indians would now think) both (equally) forget these and their much boasted sense of justice while dealing with India." He therefore advised—"either the Indians should give up their hopes of gaining high positions and get accustomed to serving the British like low castes or should be ready to **resist by appropriate means** the insult hurled at us by the Secretary of State; who represents the very Queen of England."

He like Tilak and unlike Ranade accepted the 'drain theory' of Dadabhai Naoroji and in a number of essays shows that the damage done to India was much worse than by the raids of nomadic tribes or by the anarchic conditions prevailing before the coming of the British rule. He warns the British that if this drain continues for another 25 years the misery and hunger would impel the people to throw off the yoke of the foreign rule.²⁶ But he goes further than Dadabhai when he derives from the refusal of the British to levy protective tariffs on textiles the lesson that there is a basic contradiction between the economic interests of the British and the Indian demand for freedom. "There

22. S. A. Part III p. 9

23. S. A. Part III. p. 21

24. Javdekar *op. cit.*, 154

25. Even Tilak did not, till 1902, make it clear that he wanted to achieve *Swarajya* through the Congress.

26. *Sudhakar* dated 28.12.1891 quoted in Altekar, p. 749.

27. *Kesaritil Nidāh Nibandh* Part I p. 34.

28. S. A. p. 190.

is hardly any instance where the Indians have received just treatment when it touched the interests of the British treasury, trade or economic interests."²⁹ Even in the early days when he was the editor of the *Kesari* (in the context of the discussion of possibility of friendship between the British and the Indians) he commented sarcastically, "A nation conquers another in the interests of the conquered!" and wrote "just as there can be no assimilation of stone and wood, metal and earth, so too there can be no friendship between the haves and the have-nots, free and slave. Equal status is the prerequisite of any friendship. He warns the British 'However strong be the ruling nation it should not be vain enough to think that it can keep a country under subjection perpetually. Any nation as soon as it progresses economically and intellectually will become free. If it is true that India is progressing in these respects then Indians can never be friendly with the British but they will have more and more differences, leading to conflicts (revolution?)... It should not be supposed that as soon as the Indians are economically developed and become educated the British would leave of their own accord. History and political science dictate that with the growing strength of the Indians, conflicts will grow and the Indians will drive the British out.'³⁰

What is remarkable of Agarkar is that his strong sense of nationalism is not built on revivalism (as some Extremists tried to do later). He is opposed to anything **nonrational** in social as in political matters. Not that he wants to give up the traditions entirely. He is proud of India's past but thinks that its progress was halted centuries ago. "Indians are 'fossilised'. To revive this plant of Indian nation a great deal of pruning and fertilising it with modern ideas

is necessary so that without losing the Indian genius we can assimilate good things from the western civilisation."³¹ He steers clear of an aping of the British as well as an undue pride of the 'wonder that India was.' He writes, 'there was a time when the wise and learned could think of nothing Indian that could be admired and now there are many who go to the other extreme of idolising everything Indian. I want to strike a middle route'³² His nationalism is therefore based not on a mystic revivalism but on secularism. This need of secularism is stressed by him in his article dated 13-2-92. "For any nation to progress a spirit of amity and friendship is necessary among the people. They should be ready to act with one will. But differences of caste and religion come in the way. For the growth of unity, religion should not have a place in their public life. Relation between God and man is different from that between man and man; the two should not be confused."³³ He cited the example of Dadabhai in this connection. After the communal disturbances in Bombay in 1893 he like Tilak blamed the government for their policy of 'divide and rule' and thought that the Muslims were responsible in that particular instance. But what is significant is that he disapproved of the idea of calling a meeting of Hindus alone in Poona to protest against these. He wrote, 'responsible sections of either communities were not responsible for the acts. Hindus and Muslims equally are political sufferers. If they want political reforms, unity between the two is essential. Muslims as well as Hindus are residents of this land. Therefore both must unite keeping aside their religious differences, if India is to progress.'³⁴

From the above it becomes clear that Agarkar's position is unique

29. *S. A.* Part III, p. 220.

30. *K. N. N.* I, 156.

31. *S. A.* I, p. 5.

32. Quoted in Javdekar *op. cit.*, p. 186.

33. Quoted in Altekar *op. cit.*, p. 427.

34. Article dated 28-8-1893 quoted in Altekar, p. 439.

among the early leaders of the national movement. Like many of the elder politicians (Ranade, Dababhai) he derived inspiration from British liberal thought.³⁵ Like many of them he had faith in individual liberty, laid stress on reason as against tradition, and urged reforms in society. Like many of them his liberal thoughts differed from those of the British liberals. He wanted protective tariffs, state leadership in social reform. Yet in its larger sense "liberalism is a deep lying mental attitude which attempts in the light of its prepositions to analyse and integrate the various intellectual, moral, religious, social, economic and political relationships of human society."³⁶ From this point of view in spite of the difference from the British liberals he can be called a liberal. For what is important is a rational outlook, readiness to accept change when demanded by reason, and critical views of dogmatic beliefs.

'What actually is opposed or is desired may be different from country and time to time.' 'There is no single person of whom it can be said that he was liberal pure and simple.... liberal politicians simply because they are politicians cannot be consistently liberal.'³⁷

Unlike many Indian liberals of his day his liberalism did not make him a Moderate. Carried to its ultimate conclusions (his) liberalism gives rise to radicalism with its . . . attempts to introduce into human society a new order based on reason"³⁸ The rise of nationalism based on revivalism in India made secular nationalism difficult if not impossible. Agarkar marks a different trend wherein on the one hand he reconciled liberalism in social reform with radical nationalism in politics, and on the other hand gave his nationalism the firm support of rationalism instead of traditionalism. It is in this sense that Javdekar has chosen to call him a 'radical liberal'.

35. He cites Mill, Spencer or Comte in a number of article in his support.

36. *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences* Vol IX, p. 435-441.

37. Minogue K. R. — *The Liberal Mind* (Methuen London 1963) p. 15

38. *Encyclopaedia op cit* p. 436-441



SOCIAL PROBLEMS—A SOCIOLOGIST'S VIEW

DR. JOHN E. OWEN

To a sociologist, social problems represent the maladjustments or disorganization of a society. By "society," the sociologist refers to the tissue or network of relationships that bind man to his fellows, the ongoing system of customs, ideas, norms, expectations, and established usages whereby social relations are regulated and controlled.

The sociologist sees society as being made possible through the interplay of four elements, namely, geography, biology, group, and culture. Geography, which comprises climate, terrain, and natural resources, sets the stage on which the drama of man's life with his fellows is played. Biology concerns the inborn element, consisting of the transmission of physical and mental traits through heredity, making possible the continuity of the human species. Geography and biology represent the physical basis of life itself.

All individuals live in groups of various kinds, starting with the family and experiencing others as life extends. Every group forms a psychological environment for its members and it is in group life that man becomes human, acquiring the habits, outlooks, skills, and customs that make his organized relationships possible. Groups, and particularly the family group, also have the function of handing on man's culture or civilization. To the sociologist this is the sum-total of human learning, a way of life, knowledge socially acquired and socially transmitted by means of symbols. It consists essentially in the making of tools, institutions, and values, and it is the prime element distinguishing man from the lower animals.

Culture or civilization can be thought of as having two main branches, material and mental. The first comprises all of man's material achievements (agriculture, industry, techniques of manufacturing) and mental culture consists of man's world of ideas, ideals, language, religion, values, concepts, and science.

Social problems (conditions recognized by a large number of people as standing in need of reform or correction) can arise from the interaction of any of these four elements. They may be geographic in nature (floods, crop failures, cyclones), they may flow from the clash of biological drives and social-economic demands (population problems, inherited tendencies to disease), or they may involve a clash of elements within a culture itself (e.g., an old tradition and new perspectives).

Most of man's problems today stem from disagreements, discrepancies, imbalances, and conflicts within his culture or way of life. Culture is an artificial adjustment between man and nature (systems of agriculture, technology, building, electricity) and between man and man (customs, laws, systems of values, moral concepts).

Very frequently today problems are the result of changes that occur in a culture, especially changes that take place too rapidly for a society to absorb or which involve unequal rates of change between different parts of the culture, known as "culture lag." Thus, where man's scientific achievements have outstripped his ability to restrict their use to peaceful and humane purposes, the moral and religious controls over technology have not kept pace.

In general, sociologists have attributed problems to three main areas, namely, social change, personal deviations, and conflicts of values. Of these, social change is a potent cause of maladjustment in a community. The breakup of established and cherished ways, values, and patterns of living in an agricultural society under the impact of an alien technology, the demands of outside forces that impinge upon a previously self-contained community, new inventions with their disturbing after-effects upon a people's values and routine, the sudden rise of urban influences and population movement to a new

city—all can bring a disturbance of the social equilibrium.

Personal deviations refer to those individuals whose conduct and standards do not conform to the accepted and expected pattern. This would include the criminal, the mentally unbalanced and subnormal, the sex offender, and the dependent classes. If only one per cent of a country's population seriously deviates from the sanctioned norms of conduct, this may mean a total of hundreds of thousands or even millions of problem-persons in the larger nations.

Conflicts of values, the clash of ideologies, and policy disagreements in the economic and political spheres, lack of consensus as to what constitutes a problem or how it may be best resolved, are abundant in nations composed of divergent population elements with different degrees of education and enlightenment. Problems also arise when man's needs (individually and collectively) are not met. These needs, both physical and psychological, are normally fulfilled by means of the social institutions and systems of living in a culture. The profound differences between cultures notwithstanding, there are some pre-requisites necessary for the effective functioning of any society.

Thus, every society has to have an adequate relationship with the physical environment, it has to maintain biological functioning, reproducing new members and fitting them to live in that particular world. It must also, whether agricultural or industrial, urban or rural, technological or emerging, produce and distribute goods and services, and must maintain a degree of law and order. Finally, it requires a system of communi-

cation and must have a philosophy or religious tradition to define the meaning of life for its individual members and give them a sense of motivation. When any one of these "functional pre-requisites" of a social order are not effectively operative, a problem occurs and calls for solution.

A peoples' attitudes to a problem, and whether in fact the particular condition is even defined as a problem, will depend upon their system of values. Community attitudes may even be a constituent part of a problem, e.g., race relations, or an indifferent and hostile attitude to modern methods of crime treatment.

But problems can never be explained in terms of any one single factor, one single cause, or one simple cure. They are nearly always due to inter-related causes, and any problem has to be seen in the light of its background and historical setting. A criminal's behaviour may be rooted in childhood conditioning far removed from his immediate situation. So with community and national problems—there are both immediate factors and remote causes in a people's history.

But when a problem is recognized, the first step has been taken towards its eventual solution. For a people advance through facing and attacking their problems, which can, in effect, be a challenge to man's ingenuity and intelligence. While there is never any guarantee of social perfection, there is always the hope of improvement. It is the social scientist's viewpoint that in bringing the best knowledge, intelligence, and wisdom to bear on the understanding of society and its changes, in a combination of rational intelligence and informed goodwill, lies the best likelihood of the progress of mankind.

Current Affairs

BUDGET PROSPECTS FOR NEW YEAR

decade, and especially steeply during the Third Plan period, has been admitted in responsible official quarters to have been one of the principal causes for the steep rise in demand over the years and the corresponding inflationary pressures that inevitably followed from it. It was universally acknowledged that unless some means were found to attenuate Government's expenditure budget to within more reasonable limits, or at least to contain it within present dimensions in the event of a progressive rise in revenue receipts, it would be impossible to deal effectively with the menace of inflationary pressures upon the price structure. It has also been acknowledged, time and again, that with the present spiralling inflationary pressures upon prices, developmental achievements would be correspondingly attenuated as they have already been proved to have been in the immediate past.

Such a commitment was made one of the implicit undertakings of the 1965-66 Budget in the Finance Minister's statement and explanatory memoranda. The Finance Minister very clearly stated that while the pattern of taxation is expected to serve simultaneously the ends of Government's revenue requirements and a legitimate and wholesome price policy, the pattern of Government's consumption expenditure must, also at the same time, be so designed as to sustain and reinforce such a policy. While presenting his mid-term additional taxation budget earlier in the year, the Finance Minister was understood to have virtually reiterated such an assurance for the future. In the present statement under discussion, however, any acknowledgment of this primary obligation of Government appears to be conspicuously absent, even by implication.

It has, of course, to be acknowledged that the recent Indo-Pakistani hostilities and their long term implications, and especially the attitude of most friendly countries to India's position in this unsought for debacle, have made it inevitable that the country's defence expenditure would have to progressively go up over an indefinite period in the future. That, in itself, would provide a

fairly large burden of pressure upon the price structure. In a period of emergency such as this, especially when the country is being insistently asked to severely tighten its belts and slash even its *essential consumption expenditure*, it is only fair that the civil Government should demonstrate a corresponding measure of abstemiousness and austerity in their spendings. If revenues are likely to suffer an attenuation as the Finance Minister seems to apprehend, it would hardly be enough to reduce expenditure only by a corresponding measure to merely cover the short fall in revenue receipts. A positive budgetary policy, in its relations to a general price policy, would seem to require that measures are taken to reduce Government's consumption expenditure not merely in relative terms to offset a possible fall in revenue, but also in absolute terms. Any indication of such a positive measure of thinking appears to be conspicuously absent in the Union Finance Minister's statement to the Consultative Committee of Parliament or in any of its implications.

Serious Imbalances In Farm Plan Execution

In a news report published in a national daily under the above legend, as we go to press, it is stated that the Planning Commission's Programme Evaluation Organization have discovered serious imbalances in the planning and execution of agricultural programmes. The report is stated to have been based upon case studies of twenty selected agricultural schemes spread out all over the country.

The reasons for the imbalances said to have been thus discovered demonstrate several cases of delay, miscalculation and, even on the part of the authorities at various levels, relate to five major agricultural programmes such as fertilizer availability, seed multiplication and supply, availability of credits, land improvement undertakings and extension work. The report is said to have pointed out that unless practical and realistic measures are taken to deal with the problems assessed by the case studies under

reference, agricultural programmes in the Fourth Plan would be beset by serious difficulties. The report is said to have underlined that coordination in agriculture should not merely mean administrative coordination, but should consist of an integrated plan of action coordinating all related programmes in the field of agricultural endeavour.

Thus, for instance, in the matter of fertilizers, it appeared to be dealt with in isolation from other related programmes for agriculture. Upward revision of consumption estimates in this behalf following upon serious shortfalls in achievements during the first three years of the Third Plan were said to have resulted in subsequent imbalances in distribution and finance. Thus estimates, which are based upon targets and not related to achievements are apt to, as they are stated to have actually done, over-emphasize demand without any reference to actual performance. Specific cases of how this has been happening in various States have been cited to reinforce the conclusion.

In a number of cases, again, a rigid procedural pattern has been found to cause delays in the distribution of fertilizers. Here also, quite a number of cases have been cited to demonstrate how this has been happening. This has been happening not merely with fertilizers supply, but also with the procedures for seed farming and other measures. In the matter of the seed programme, matters are said to get diluted at three stages; supply of breeder stocks to seed farms, utilization of seed farms for

production of foundation seeds and certification, procurement, testing and storage of seeds.

Again in the matter of agricultural credits a sort of chaos and confusion all over the map appears to be the normal condition of affairs. Where multiple credit agencies are said to operate, no coordination is in evidence between such different agencies, nor, elsewhere agencies like Panchayet samities or cooperatives or even official departmental agencies, are seldom found to be effective. Similar is reported to be the case with minor irrigation and extension programmes.

Reading between the lines, although it is not clearly so stated in clear and unequivocal terms, it would appear that the basic disability of our current agricultural efforts is that they are under pressure of political showmanship and official indifference and procedural rigidities. At neither level is there a great deal of genuine concern or even understanding of our basic agricultural problems. At the political level the principal concern seems to be about targets and not actual achievements. At the official level the whole thing is left to the discretion of mainly western-oriented theoreticians who have not enough knowledge of our agricultural problems and prospects. Agronomists trained in Western sociology and agricultural scientists merely familiar with theoretical implications of modern agricultural technology cannot be expected to pull Indian agriculture out of its present doldrums. It is, however, encouraging that attention has, at last, begun to be focussed upon this aspect of the matter.

CHHATRI RAJA JASWANTSINGH AT AGRA

R. NATH

This important building is situated on the right bank of river Jamuna near Balkeshwar. It is said to be the **Chhatri** or **Samadhi** of Raja Jaswantsingh, the powerful Rathor Chieftain of Jodhpur who had taken service with Shahjahan, had fought for Dara against Aurangzeb and ultimately accepted Aurangzeb's suzerainty. The theory that he was cremated here and a **Chhatri** was raised over his ashes does not seem probable, as he was killed fighting at Kabul in 1677. Of course Hindu Rajas had founded a locality of their own in the vicinity as the existence of the nearby village '**Rajwara**' shows. The tradition of a Rajput palace entitled '**Nau-mahala**' is also extant here. But his dead body could not have been brought here for cremation. His relations with Aurangzeb were not cordial and the orthodox and bigoted Emperor could not have allowed such a respectful cremation of an infidel and the construction of such a magnificent structure over his remains at Agra. As it appears more reasonable, the building was constructed during the lifetime of this powerful Hindu Raja who commanded great influence and resources in the Empire and who could employ the best artisans and masons for this artistically planned and exquisitely finished edifice of rich coloured red-sandstone.

The living tradition of '**sati**' is undoubtedly associated with this building; women offer bangles and '**bindi**' on the stone placed loosely in the middle of the central pavilion. A fair for the worship of '**sati**' is also held annually. As it seems, Hada Rani, wife of Amar Singh Rathor who cut down Salabat

Khan in the court in 1644 and who was subsequently killed, committed '**sati**' at this spot and over it; later, Raja Jaswantsingh, with vast resources and influence at his command, erected this structure in the memory of the '**sati**'. Plastic carving work on the columns, capitals and brackets, designs on the eastern facade and rich varieties of jales belong more to Shahjahan's aesthetic age than to the dull and dry days of Aurangzeb's reign. It is, therefore, a **chhatri** built by Raja Jaswantsingh not for Raja Jaswantsingh. The building was undoubtedly constructed between 1644 and 1657.

It is enclosed by a high wall on three sides which is now in a very dilapidated condition. On the eastern side above the water, stone wall has taken the shape of an arcade having a series of small arched openings closed by slightly latticed stones. Three entrances in the form of small gateways have been provided at uniform distances from each of which twin staircases descend into the water. Two small openings have also been provided in the northern and southern walls. As there is no other gateway or entrance the riverside seems to have been in general use for entry. It considerably adds to the element of mystery associated with the origin of the building.

This facade overlooking the river is beautifully sculptured mostly in vases and flower-wreath designs. Outer sides of the gates have taken circular shapes and are designed in the usual Mughal fashion which seem to emulate certain features of temple architecture.

At the end of this arcade on both the southern and northern corners overlooking the river are built two octagonal towers crowned by beautiful kiosks, the columns of which are irregularly hexagonal. The beam and bracket system has been elaborately used; one set of small brackets has been used to support the beams above the pillars and other bigger set to support the broad eaves. Brick form-work has been used to achieve a uniform soffit which is richly plastered. Similar towers were provided on the western side though their kiosks have totally disappeared.

In the middle of the garden an extensive high platform is built which in its exact centre accommodates the **Chhatra** which is the most important part of the entire plan. It is a rectangular building resting on 12 beautiful columns completely closed by means of perforated screens and protected above by extremely wide eaves supported on double, finely-shaped brackets. Patterns are essentially Hindu—bells hanging by chains, lotus flowers opening in circles, flower-wreaths and other floral motifs—though they have been modified according to the influence of the age. Of course the designs are comparatively simple and are executed sparingly and this feature has considerably added to the impressiveness and the overall beauty of the structure.

All the 12 openings on the four sides except one entrance in the centre of the eastern one are closed by means of latticed screens extending to the full height up to the brackets. On the longer side of the rectangle each screen has 12 panels and on the smaller 7, all of which are beautifully perforated in a variety of geometrical designs some of which are considerably complicated. One design has a triangle, a square, a pentagon, a hexagon and an octagonal star simultaneously. This is purely a Mughal contribution to the Hindu technique of the construction which has enhanced the beauty of the building in great measure. Similarly the broad parapet above the eave is designed on the pattern which was commonly used in Mughal constructions.

The real significance of this red-sandstone building lies in the fact that it is the only specimen of its type in Northern India; Hindu builders belonging to the Mughal school of architecture were patronised by the Rajputs probably for the first time and they were given full freedom to exhibit their art and skill in the planning and execution of this structure so much so that in some details it has no match even in the best Mughal monuments of its category. It stands unique.

Book Reviews

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AN ENQUIRY INTO THE NATURE OF ART : By Dr. S. K. Nandi, Presidency College, Calcutta. Published by the Calcutta University. Price Rs. 10/-.

In this book which has grown out of his thesis for the degree of 'Doctor of Philosophy', Dr. Nandi has tried to give a critical and comparative account of the aesthetic theories of Plato and Aristotle, Kant and Hegel, and Romain Rolland, Croce and Rabindranath. To discuss the views of so many great thinkers within the compass of a work like this is undoubtedly a hard task. Judged from this point of view Dr. Nandi's treatment has been fairly exhaustive. In the introduction the author points out some of the fallacies that tend to vitiate theories of art and underlines some of the difficulties that stand in the way of evolving a satisfactory theory. The first chapter then deals with the aesthetic theory of Plato. The author dwells at length on the merits and limitations of the Platonic theory. He is critical of the utilitarian bias and lack of suggestiveness in Plato. Aristotle's conception of art as a mode of Katharsis has been explained and examined in the second chapter. Dr. Nandi holds that in many ways the Aristotelian theory comes very near to the modern theories of art, but the utilitarian bias which Aristotle shares along with his master hampers its proper development. While dealing with Kant in the third chapter the author summarises his position saying that "art is the product of genius" and that "genius is the capacity for representing aesthetical idea". The author remarks that Kant's lasting contribution to the theory of art lies in his doctrine of freedom of the spirit in art. The

salient points of Hegel's theory of art including his fivefold classification of art forms have been discussed in the fourth chapter. The next chapter deals with Romain Rolland. In this connection Dr. Nandi remarks that Rolland had an insight into the true nature of art, but his deep humanism inclined him to a didactic theory of art. The last chapter presents a comparative study of Croce and Rabindranath. The author's sympathy lies with the expressionist theory of Croce and he tries to establish that while Tagore as an artist conforms to that theory (even if unknowingly), Tagore as an art-critic opposes it. Thus Dr. Nandi discovers an element of contradiction in Tagore. The book gives one the impression that the author takes Croce's aesthetic theory to be the last word on the subject. Although the book aims at an "Enquiry into the nature and function of art" one will miss in it any discussion of the Indian theories of the Alankara schools as also of the latest theories of the West. The work is, nevertheless a valuable addition to the literature of aesthetics.

D. P. Sen

THE INNER PATH TO GOD (Two Thousand and one Thought Jewels) : By Swami Premananda. Published by Vantage Press Inc., 120 West 31st Street, New York 1, N. Y. First Edition 1964. Price \$3.50. Pp. 123.

Swami Premananda, born in Calcutta and a graduate of the Calcutta University went to the United States of America in 1928 to assume the duties of the Self-Revelation Church of Absolute monism of Washington, D.C., is author of several books on Vedic and Oriental Philosophy

(which includes the *Dhammapada*, *The Path of the Eternal Law*). He has lectured extensively at Universities, before service, civic and educational groups, as also in christian churches of almost every denomination. Writing, work, service and Masonic activities (he is a 33rd degree Mason, a shiner, a proficient ritualist in higher Masonic degrees and is the one and only Swami to receive the distinction with which he has been honoured by a Masonic body) are his abiding interests.

The work under notice is written in heightened prose—which is at once eloquent and poetic outlines the step-by-step process by which the self comes into ultimate awareness of selflessness and absolute freedom.

Swami Premananda, in his simple but profound thought jewels, reveals the inner path by which mortal man can attain immortality, pointing out the path that leads from misery and sorrow and pettiness to the ultimate peace and supreme joy of self-Realization. Some quotations from the book will not be out of place here.

Of *Awakening*, he says :

"I was alone on the lonely mountain when I heard thy voice is the song of a spring bird. I opened my eyes and beheld thy form. I looked within and found thee in my heart. The light of the new dawn has touched my soul and I am awakened with the vision of thy all-pervading universality and thy transcendental infinity."

Of *Beauty* he writes :

"Thou dost stand before me in the light of the dawn, in the loftiness of the mountain and in the vastness of the shoreless sea. Thou speakest unto me through the song of the bird and the silent music of the wavering leaves. Thy voice comes to me through the cosmic vibration of the universe. Thou art ever near to my being. Let me draw my soul close of thee."

Of *Death* he thinks :

....."By adoration of thee is only fulfilment of thy love for me when I leave this world of light and shadow, my Lord, only one thing will I take with me : it is thy love enshrined in my soul. As the river flows to the mighty sea, even so with all my being, my body, mind, heart and soul, let me reach out for love, place

and perfection. As the river flows to the mighty sea, even so life leads the soul to immortality."

Of *Truth*, the Swami writes :

"Man's first responsibility is to God and to truth. Only that life is unrighteous which is not built upon truth. Wisely speak the truth but with pure and loving heart. Noble words from an unrighteous heart are the worst sacrilege, obedience to truth is the attainment of self-liberation ; only a man of truth is really free. Identification with truth is the invincible shield against fear. Fear is the inherent weakness of the sensory mind as courage is the innate power of soul."

The reader will find enough power and beauty, and may be—he will also get some vision of the ancient wisdom of the East in this book as these 'thought jewels' embody the basic principles of Jnana or 'Wisdom Yoga'. One feels happy to see such a book in today's utterly materialistic world—when human values and love of truth have become things of contempt.

TAKE MY HANDS : By Dorothy Clarke Wilson. Published by Hodder and Stoughton Ltd., St. Paul's House, Warwick Lane, London, E. C. 4 Price 21sh net. 1964. Pp. 217.

This book is the biography of Mary Veighese, the daughter of a plantation owner in South India, who overcame a devastating physical handicap, due to an accident which made Mary a paraplegic shortly after her graduation. It is the life story of an extraordinary Christian faith and devotion born out of intense and long suffering shared with people in many parts of the world.

Mary Veighese decided early in life that she would obtain an advanced education to make herself as useful as possible to her newly independent country and this leads her to the Christian Medical College at Vellore (founded by the famous Dr. Ida Scudder). She became a surgeon and then shortly after an accident made Mary a paraplegic. The book vividly describes how Mary reconstructed her life, how she learned to perform delicate hand and face operations seating in her wheel chair and how she became a fully qualified rehabilitation specialist—which India is in so much in need of.

After the accident Mary thought herself utterly helpless and dependent on others—but she found courage and key to her new useful life in the words of an old hymn.

Take my life and let it be
Consecrated, Lords to thee.

Take my hands and let them move

At the impulse of thy love

In her paraplegic-state Mary went to the United States as both patient and physician-in-training at Dr. Howard Rusk's renowned Institute of Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation, where she learned all about the delicately intricate problem of rehabilitation and the hours to their practical solution. Currently she is the head of the newly established department of Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation at the Vellore Christian Medical College. About herself Mary says—"without the

accident, I might have been only an ordinary doctor, now I have been shown the way to help patients whose needs, in India, were unmet before." This is more than true.

This is a valuable book—not only as testimony of moving faith in God's plan but a biography that will inspire the growing numbers of people who, all over the world, are involved with the rehabilitation of the handicapped. There is scarcely a dull page in the book. Which reads more interesting than a most thrilling romance. We consider the work a must-read for medical people who are interested in rehabilitation of the handicapped—the number of which in countless in India. The book will also be found profitable interesting reading to the general class of readers.

C. K. H.

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Indian Periodicals

PRICE POLICY IN A PLANNED ECONOMY

Writing under the above caption in 'Khadh Gramodyog' in its issue of July 1965, Sri Suresh Chandra Srivastava presents a problem of the most crucial significance in the process of planning. Prices, generally, have been a cause of considerable distortions in the economy almost continuously from the end of the First Five Year Plan period but which have been assuming threatening proportions during the Third Plan period. And if, generally the price structure as a whole has been of crucial importance it acquires far deeper significance when it relates to prices in the primary consumption sectors, especially the agricultural sector.

In view of the predominance of agriculture in India's economy the importance of fixing minimum agricultural prices and stabilising them at a relatively low level cannot be exaggerated. The guiding principles of such a price policy should be the safeguarding of the interests of both the producers and consumers and maintenance of a parity between industrial and agricultural prices and a balance between the relative prices of agricultural commodities.

The need for evolving a comprehensive price policy is, therefore, obvious. Such a price policy has to cater for both agricultural commodities and industrial products manufactured in the private as well as public sector. These fields are interrelated and hence the policies and programme for them should be framed in an integrated manner. No policy or programme for any particular field can be formulated in isolation.

Agricultural Prices

Ours is primarily an agricultural country. Hence the stability of agricultural

prices is comparatively more important to the Indian economy. The prices of agricultural products during the pre-plan and the post-plan years have recorded much wider fluctuations. Quite manifestly it hence becomes essential that a price policy for agricultural commodities should be chalked out first. The guiding principles of such a price policy should be the safeguarding of the interests of the producers and consumers, the maintaining of parity between industrial and agricultural prices and maintaining a balance between the relative prices of agricultural commodities themselves. The central problem, as a matter of fact, is to find a level at which these contending pulls can converge.

Price policy in respect of agricultural commodities should, therefore, be formulated in the light of the above considerations. The basic point is whether the needs of a developing economy are such as to make it imperative that agricultural produce should receive a favoured treatment in respect of prices in comparison with non-agricultural commodities. The experience of most of the developed countries of the West on this point makes the issue clear. The agricultural prices in these countries have either remained or been deliberately kept depressed to keep the cost of living low in other sectors and the country as a whole during the initial stages of economic development. It is only in recent times that the agricultural prices in these countries have received a favoured treatment through price supports and subsidies. The lesson to be drawn from this is that as a strategy of growth agricultural prices should be kept depressed in relation to prices of other commodities at least during the initial stages of economic development.

Strategy

This strategy of economic developments assumes an even greater significance in a

developing economy with a rapidly growing population. In India the desirability of relatively low levels of agricultural prices is decidedly greater because agricultural prices account for more than one-half of the weightage given to all prices in the overall index of wholesale prices. Besides, foodgrain prices occupy a pivotal place in the price structure and account for two-thirds and four-fifths of the total consumer expenditure of the bulk of population. Relative price increases of food and agricultural goods will cause a spiral of wages and prices breeding inflation.

These relative price increases in respect of food and other agricultural goods are likely to do injustice not only to the consumers but to the bulk of the producers as well. It is an indisputable fact that an overwhelming majority of the producers are small farmers who sell a very tiny fraction of their total produce. Many of them have again to buy from market later on in the season. Moreover, they sell in the immediate post-harvest season and are not benefited much from the high prices that usually characterise the major part of the year. The various enquiries that have been made from time to time reveal abundantly that the war-time boom conditions did not do much good to the small farmers who had a small marketable surplus. It is practically the few upper class agriculturists who are benefited by the price factor. But on the whole relatively higher prices of agricultural commodities do not seem to be essential for securing increase in production.

It is, therefore, clear that in a developing economy the agricultural prices will have to be kept somewhat depressed in comparison to prices of other commodities. This policy might not sound justified politically. The utmost that can be done in such a circumstance is to see that agricultural prices do not cross their level of parity with the prices of other groups of commodities.

Fixation of Minimum Prices

This does not, however, mean freezing farm prices once and for all at a low level. Some amount of seasonal and other fluctuations will be there just as there may be some degree of regional price differences. These two aspects of agricultural price vari-

ations should, therefore, form an integral part of any price policy in respect of agriculture. So far as regional variations are concerned—since they are the outcome of many complex forces operating in the economy such as regional disparities in respect of urbanisation, agricultural production and market and transport development—it becomes inevitable to prevent the differences from rising further and following an all-India food policy. In the case of temporal variations it is necessary to determine a minimum price for some of the important foodgrains like wheat, rice, jowar and two or three more of such articles and those for raw materials such as cotton, sugarcane, jute, oilseeds and tobacco. A minimum price programme is already in operation for cotton and sugarcane and a few other commodities. It is necessary to extend it to the remaining commodities. It will not only give incentive to the producer but will tend to maintain the relative position of the agricultural commodities among themselves. The fixation of a minimum price, thus, becomes one of the very important aspects of agricultural price policy in the context of a developing economy like India.

Now a pertinent question arises as to how to fix up the minimum price. Should it cover the cost of production of a representative producer or cover the cost of production of a marginal producer? The answer is quite clear. Minimum price will be such as to cover the cost of production of a representative producer—a producer who represents the bulk of producers of the commodity concerned. The price will not cover the cost of production of the marginal producer for the simple reason that it will then be beyond the reach of the average consumer and will lead to large profits for the bulk of the producers who carry on the productive operation at a comparatively lower cost than those of the marginal producer. The marginal producer will, however, have to be provided with all sorts of non-price variables such as good seeds, adequate manures, sufficient water supply, better tools and technical skill so that he may bridge the gap that exists between his cost of production and the cost of production of the representative producer. The minimum price will thus be equal to the cost of production of the representative producer.

Our discussion so far seems to be dictated largely by the interests of the producers. We have also to take into account the interests of the consumers. To ensure this we will have to lay down the maximum price. This maximum price will be the lateral summation of the minimum price and other charges such as storage charges, allowance for normal trade differentials and the market fluctuations of supply and demand. The difference between the maximum and the minimum price should not be very high or very low so as either to encourage speculation or to hamper the market. In this connection, the suggestion of the Krishnamachari committee that the maximum price should be fixed up 25 per cent above the minimum price appears reasonable.

Industrial Sector

The price policy for industrial products will be somewhat different. Here too we will have to guarantee fair prices both to the producers and the consumers. But in the industrial sector as against the agricultural sector where minimum price plays an important role because of the weak bargaining power of the producer the strategic role will be played by the maximum price. So long as industrial production is lagging behind the demand at the minimum price there is no need for enforcing the minimum price. The moment industrial production equals or exceeds the demand at the minimum price there arises the question of actively enforcing the minimum price. In an industrial sector of a developing economy the normal condition is that the supply is lower than the demand and hence the necessity of executing minimum price arises. The role of the maximum price becomes conspicuous. This leads to the conclusion that in the industrial sector of a developing economy there is always a high degree of probability of maladjustment between demand and supply leaving ample scope for the operation of minimum and maximum prices, the scope for the implementation of the maximum price being more pronounced due to maladjustment and other way round that is when supply is lagging behind the demand.

The minimum and maximum prices in the industrial sector will be determined on

the basis of the cost of production of those commodities. A peculiar problem crops up here, namely, which cost should be taken into account: the marginal unit cost or the average unit cost? In western economic literature there has been a great deal of controversy about this question. The Tausig school of welfare economics emphasises upon the marginal cost whereas the Fabian school led by G. D. H. Cole, advocates average unit cost as the basis. The marginal unit cost principle barring a few exceptions appeals better because it maximises the social advantage. Hence the cost that should be taken into account in this case is the marginal unit cost.

For Public Sector

One thing should however, be noted here. We have to follow neither the marginal cost principle nor the average cost principle while formulating a price policy for the industrial products produced in the public sector. Here we have to follow a 'surplus principle' of price fixing which implies that 'the public enterprises should not only pay their way but also make legitimate profits'. This is just the negation of the accepted opinion and theory of 'no profit no loss' in public enterprise which is particularly peculiar to a socialist economy and if pursued in a mixed economy (it will) hamper the evolution of a mixed economy into a socialist economy. Thus the problem of price policy in public enterprises is the problem of determining an economic price which would not only cover the cost of production of a commodity including an allowance for replacement and normal profit for expansion of capital formation and for maintenance but also leave a margin to finance our development programmes.

Machinery

Thus, the question of a price policy in a mixed economy, boils down to the determination and implementation of the maximum and the minimum prices in the case of the agricultural commodities and industrial products produced in the private sector and the determination and implementation of an economic price for the industrial products produced in the public sector. This

is, however, an extremely delicate task and presupposes the existence of a suitable price fixing, administrative and executive machinery.

It is in this context that the setting up of a price stabilisation board and foodgrains organisation assumes importance. The recommendations of the Asoka Mehta Enquiry Committee in this connection for the appointment of such a board and for setting up such an organisation are worthy of implementation. Hence a broad-based board consisting of the representatives of the ministries of food and agriculture, finance, commerce and industry, railways, the Planning Commission and the Reserve Bank of India to "examine not only the food prices as such but also the prices of all related consumer and producer goods, for example, cloth, oilseeds, fertilisers, iron and steel, etc., study the various margins maintained at different stages before sale to the cultivator and make appropriate suggestions" be established. This would enable us to evolve a broad pattern of an integrated price structure avoiding at the same time the evils of the distortions and obstructions to normal functioning of the market forces. The foodgrains stabilisation organisation should, however, be exclusively under the jurisdiction of the food

ministry to discharge specific "functions of open market and sale procurement of foodgrains and maintenance of stocks" either from internal sources or from external sources in the form of similar agreements like PL 480 to regulate secular, cyclical as well as seasonal fluctuations in foodgrain prices. The establishment of a food trading corporation is not enough as it will deal with only one commodity and its scope is unduly limited. The price stabilisation board and foodgrains organisation must have relevant statistics and also relative intelligence for which an organisation like the price intelligence division may be built up.

The necessity of exercising selective controls over all parameters that affect the economy such as credit, investments, expenditure and consumption is keenly felt in the context of price stabilisation. Price policy in a developing economy can as a matter of fact function successfully only in close adjunct to monetary-fiscal policy of the country. However, it is too much to expect that a price policy in alliance with monetary-fiscal policy can completely remove inflation in a developing economy because inflation is inherent in the process of rapid development but it can definitely avoid epicentric fluctuations in prices.

Foreign Periodicals

NEW YORK—A CITY DESTROYING ITSELF

"Who runs New York? The temptation is strong to reply 'nobody,'" writes Richard J. Whalen in *Life*, October 4, 1965.

A stagnant economy, a people 'resignedly learning to tolerate the intolerable' in a city that exists only in the present having no obligation, it seems, to the future nor any feeling of pride in the past Peter M. Stanford, a trustee of the City Club, has said: 'Business, large and small, has lost confidence in New York', and this city could not generate a single additional job in between 1958-63 outside the construction industry, and government bureaucracy. Instead, New York lost 76,000 jobs in its factory industry.

The story of this 300 years old city, as described by Richard J. Whalen, is given below:

All but a few years of my life have been spent in and around New York city, but I cannot claim an intense feeling of identification with the city. In a sense, one is cheated by being born here. The newcomer never entirely recovers from his stunning first impression. While the native becomes aware of the city gradually and without a thrill of wonder. By the

city we mean, of course, Manhattan, as does everyone who speaks of New York. Yet there is another New York, unstoried and rather drab, consisting of provincial Brooklyn, Queens, and the Bronx.

New York is, of course, a miracle. Through an infinitely complex mechanism, millions of people are fed, housed, clothed, transported, and organized for work that organizes the work of millions of others throughout the world. On Manhattan Island is found the greatest concentration of human skill and energy in the world. Here is the economic, cultural and intellectual capital of the Western world. But how fares the human spirit in this great metropolis?

New York's failure is in human arrangements, a failure with many sources. It can be traced to the apathy and venality of the city's politicians; to the old unconcern of the city's builders....; to the remoteness and indifference of the city's business and financial leaders; to the selfishness of competing groups and interests whose actions and demands take little account of the general welfare....

New York shows alarming signs of spiritual malnutrition and death-by-inches. It is frowning, tight-lipped, short-tempered, the most nervous city in America. It is a city without grace. It is humorless, able to mock and taunt, but, too tense to gain the release of laughter. It is a city that cries 'Jump' to a would-be suicide perched on a window ledge.

The city itself sways on the edge of madness. It almost plunged over during the summer of 1964, when Negro mobs surged through Harlem and the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn, rioting, looting, while sweating, cursing white policemen wearing steel helmets fired volleys of shots in the air. The floodlights and leaping flames, in the streets exposed frightening realities: the state of war existing; Negroes and Police; the inability of so-called Negro leaders to control or even communicate with their presumed followers; and the immeasurably greater failure of white political and civic leaders who possess, but who lack the will and imagination to use it. The riots were produced not by Negro militancy, but by alienation and hopelessness in the ghettos, and apathy in the city at large.

A year after the riots, much talk and increased public spending (most of it siphoned off by the politically favored) have left untouched the chaotic social conditions within the ghettos. While the political generals in the much-ballyhooed 'War on Poverty' quarrel among themselves, the people sit blank-eyed on tenement stoeps and the wild, unwanted children aimlessly

loiter in schoolyards and on street corners. Nothing has changed because the indifference of the powerful is inherent in the very existence of Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant.

Whether or not the city suffers further racial explosions, it will remain frightened by its inner turmoil and capacity for violence. Anyone searching for the causes of New York's decline encounters problems of awesome complexity, but a fundamental cause is starkly apparent and simply expressed: **the city is not safe.** In any city, someone who goes looking for trouble will usually find it, in New York, the most prudent citizen runs the risk of falling victim to sudden, often senseless violence.

Between 1963 and 1964, major crimes of violence in New York increased 13 per cent, Murder rose 16 per cent, forcible rape 28 per cent, robbery 17 per cent. On the transit system, serious crimes increased during the year by 53 per cent, a figure so startling that Mayor Robert F. Wagner took the extreme and costly but popular step of ordering a police guard on every subway train and station during the night time hours.

Such posting of sentries is the sort of precaution civilized outsiders take when they venture into a hostile wild. Is the world's greatest city no safer than a jungle?

Only when the encroachments of the jungle are considered in sum does one realize how they narrow the margin of civilized existence in New York. It is a small thin surely for a young mother living in an apartment house in a good neighborhood not to be able to go unescorted to the basement laundry room. It is no catastrophe that an elderly person chooses to go without tobacco rather than walk to the corner shop on a poorly lighted street. Those women who work at night and those who wish to cast off loneliness by visiting friends or going to a movie if they are afraid to ride the subway, take taxis at additional expense. And they can stay at home if they are afraid of unguarded lobbies and self-service elevators. That alternative is always available to the weak and defenseless in New York. Stay at home. Thus many who tolerate and sacrifice much to live in the city are in one way or another, denied the use and enjoyment of the city.

IS THIS THE GOOD LIFE?

Nothing is certain in this world but uncertainties. Men seem to be tired of these uncertainties, and they long for a little peace of mind. Peace they seek because they suffer from endless worrying. To them the world they live in is a bad pattern and a bad pattern is not improved by being enlarged.

J. B. Priestley, in his **Doubts About Dynamism** (*New Statesman*, 29th October, 1965), unfolds this life as he sees it. Nay, He questions this life. Is this the good life?—his answer. It is not. And

The leaders of our three political parties together with the public men who support them, all seem to share one assumption. And as far as I am concerned, what they assume is quite wrong. I don't wish to live, as they appear to think just off Madison Avenue, New York City. Yet this is what they seem to offer us as a target, a goal, a reward. We have only to try a little harder and we can get there. And they are so confident that this is what we want that all the leading politicians bring it into perorations. We have only to follow them to find ourselves living in a dynamic society. This sounds fine but every time I think about it I see that I don't want to live in a dynamic society. I want to live in a sensible, pleasant and civilised society where Madison Avenue well out of sight.

I have dragged in Madison Avenue because all this talk about dynamism and growth and how wonderful our life might be in 1970 is based on its values. Everybody will have a car and drive home in it to watch colour television and eat frozen scampi and artificially flavoured peas. We shall be living in an adman's dream. But is this what we really want? No doubt we must pay our way but do we have to keep on paying a bigger and bigger way so that everybody can have an electric toothbrush? Before we listen to any more appeals to hurry up and go and get there, we ought to ask ourselves where the hell we think we are going.

Take an obvious example. We are told we could soon double the number of cars in private ownership. But this would be a nightmare. In order to cope with all these cars, the whole face of the country would have to be changed, all cities and large

towns replanned and rebuilt, billions of pounds spent—and for what? Society does not exist simply to provide motor transport. Except to half-dotty teenage lads—and of course, people in the automobile trades—there are more important things in life than owning a car. I suspect that half the people who own cars now would be better off without them.

One reason why owning a car appeals to so many people is that they are becoming more and more restless. They don't know where they want to go but they want to go somewhere. Life might be better there; it isn't satisfying here. Our whole society is restless, dissatisfied, longing for somewhere else, something else. Hence all this go-go, git up an' git. Nobody has enough money, not even Mr. Clore. Pay may go up but then so do prices. And there is always something you long to buy but you just can't afford—or can you? Every night, after the admen have done with them, millions of couples are urging, trying to plan, suddenly deciding to spend more than they can afford. Is this the good life? It is not.....

Many moralists of my generation condemn our society, especially in its more American aspects, for being too 'materialistic'. They seem to me to have missed the point. They are in fact less materialistic than 1960 or 1865. And America is less materialistic than Europe. What is wrong with the American style of life we are so busy re-

producing is that it starves both the soul and the senses. It chiefly exists in a sterile realm of figures, diagrams, abstractions, in which flesh and blood and the taste and touch and solidity of material things are just a nuisance..... This realm has a dehumanising process that is beginning to make all cities look alike and all food taste the same, and is already making plans to replace any organ of the body that gives trouble with something made of plastics. It would like everything to be made of plastics. It makes the world seem more and more monotonous, boring, unaesthetising to everybody except its own experts, practitioners, power men. But it is not materialistic; it is bloodlessly immaterialistic, which is worse, and it is about as close to the good life as *Time* magazine to Keats's poetry....

The great question like a vast curve of fire in the night, still remains—what kind of lives are people living? If they are so fortunate to be living now, as they are so often told, then why does the crime rate go up and up, why is there so much vandalism and violence, so much cynicism or apathy, so little sense of a common purpose, so small and feeble an identification with the community, with that very society which they are told has done so much for them? Drive and dynamism are all very well, but they may be dangerous if the driver doesn't know where he is going and the dynamo has been installed to produce only more frash and folly

Editor—ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

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